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GERMAN CULTURE OF THE PRESENT AGE¹

Every natural culture owes its origin to various sources. Over and above the original character and the material and intellectual wealth of a people the influence of other civilisations with which it comes into contact in course of its history is an important factor. In the present day we have moreover to reckon with the influence of technical sciences which are independent of all national characteristics and have left far behind all human achievements of the previous ages.

A German always makes a distinction between culture and civilisation. To civilisation belong all the practical and technical institutions of life which serve to make the social life comfortable and the social order beautiful. Culture, on the other hand, is to a German, above all, the affair of the psyche. Culture grows out of the psychical and characteristic qualities of a people,—civilisation is its outer garb. Still it is not always easy to draw a line of demarcation between the phenomena of inner cultural life and those of outer civilisation. The two run into each other at several points, as we shall have occasion to experience in course of the following pages.

¹ Received through the kind co-operation of Dr. Franz. Theisfelder of Die Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Bavaria,—*Editor-in-Chief*,

Before we enter upon an exposition of the German culture of the present day, when it is particularly meant for foreign readers, it will be necessary to give at the outset a short survey of the history of German culture.

Two mighty waves of foreign influence have had far reaching effect on the German people as they were originally characterised by intellectual tendencies and material wealth. Both were originally foreign and both were revealed to the German people at the same epoch. They are the antique Graeco-Roman culture and the Christian Church. The German culture of the Middle Ages was based on these two elements. During the long centuries of the Middle Ages, Latin was the language of culture and learning everywhere in Europe and every man was subject to the authority of the Church. Germany was no exception to this rule ; but there was always an element of discontent in the heart of the Germans, and above all an ever-growing urge to vindicate the rights of the individual against the traditional authorities. Among other nations, the individual is prone to think, to judge and to behave as others do. One can say, of course not without a certain amount of exaggeration, if one knows *one* Englishman, one knows Englishmen in general ; if one knows *one* Frenchman, one knows the whole French nation. The Englishman, the Frenchman and also the American represent the English, French and the American type respectively. He is, so to say, a collective personality. But the Germans are different. Consciously or unconsciously, a German would be something unto himself. Therein lie at once his strength and also his weakness.

The true German spirit stood revealed before the world at the end of the Middle Ages when the seed of Reformation sprouted on the German soil, that is, the spirited opposition to the authority of the Church over human life as well as over science and art. These three things may be brought under the one head of human culture. In the Middle Ages, not only in Germany but also in every other part of Europe, culture was dominated by

the Church. The Church assured the people that they would have to fear no consequences in the life beyond if they followed the commandments of the Church and thus it succeeded in gaining ascendancy over the people.

The original significance of the Reformation, which took its rise from Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was to show that the Church and the clergy are not necessarily the infallible exponents of the Christian religion entitled to dictate the true path to the laity ; it is rather a matter of personal faith. The Reformation was therefore at the beginning a religious movement (religion being also a highly important factor in culture—having pretty often even shaped and dominated national culture), but as it placed the individual over the Church, it exercised great influence also in other regions. Its influence was most potent in the field of intellectual activities. Both the intellectual and the natural sciences were hitherto controlled by the authority of the Church. It is well known how in the Middle Ages philosophical thought was shackled by the Church, and when the natural sciences began to grow, how the first achievements in this field were condemned by it. Later on, however, a certain degree of rapprochement was achieved in this region.

What are then the decisive elements at the beginning of the modern age which compose the essence of German culture ? When such a question is raised it is to be understood at once that no mechanical juxtaposition of national characteristics, not to speak of a motley of facts, would ever suffice as an answer. A nation is a living entity ; so is its national culture. One cannot even imagine that the Christian religion and the Church have now no significance for German culture or will ever cease to exercise any influence on it. We can say rather categorically that German culture has branched off towards two different poles. On one side, represented by the Church, religious views reign supreme ; on the other, the side of personality and individual freedom ; and the individual strives to chalk out his own path of culture and civilisation.

The question about the constituent elements in German culture which we have raised has been answered in the following way by one of the noblest spirits of our age,—the philosopher Ernest Troeltsch (in his last days he was a professor in the Berlin University) who died a few years ago. First of all, there is the antique faith in the dignity, beauty and harmony of the free man who depends on nobody but himself and feels himself a limb of the harmonious corpus of the universe,—the taste for beautiful form and noble proportions and the faith in the right and justification of the life of enjoyment also in man. The second element is Christianity. As against the antique view of the world, Christianity has founded its basic principles not on the experiences of the everyday life of joys and sorrows but on inner perception and therefore it stands aloof from, or is even antagonistic to the interests, passions, beauty and enjoyment of human life. The third contributing factor is constituted by the boundless imagination of the Nordic and Germanic races, their spirit of unbridled adventure and the lyrical and poetic turn of their mind, the vital force and fulness of individual life which has always characterised these races, the untamed will and the stirrings of the individual soul, the romantic love of the motherland and at the same time a longing of the soul for all that lies beyond the bounds of the mortal world.

This combination of the elements described by Troeltsch has determined the course of German culture till up to the beginning of the present age and these elements are exercising their influence even at the present day. But new forces have gradually come into play. The Middle Ages have given birth not only to the conflict between the individual and the authority of the church but also to the internecine strife among the European nations. In the Middle Ages the modern national State was quite unknown. The princes and rulers of those days carved out for themselves these states and empires without any consideration of national boundaries. Gradually however the

nations separated and every ethnic group developed the national ambition and will for political unity and independence. Already at the end of the fifteenth century Spain became a composite national State. In the seventeenth century France and England (as through the union of England and Scotland arose the kingdom of Great Britain) followed suit and Russia in the eighteenth century. Only two nations did not succeed in establishing national states—the Italians and the Germans. But still the State of Prussia occupied a large portion of Germany and it became also the natural leader of the German States. Even to this day Germany is not a homogeneous national State, for there are millions of Germans who even live on the soil which is traditionally associated with the German people, such as in Austria, in Bohemia, in the western part of Poland, in south Tyrol, etc., but still do not belong to the German Reich. In this respect the German people have not yet reached that goal which has been arrived at by the other larger or smaller nations of Europe. Yet, however, German culture has been profoundly influenced by the ideals of the modern state.

The relation between the individual and the state in modern Europe is different from that of the Middle Ages or the ancient times. The State has penetrated deeper into the life of the individual, it demands more from him and requires him to mould his life according to this demand. But there is a difference in the rôle played by the State within the sphere of German culture and that of the English, French or the Americans. The Anglo-Saxons and the Latin races are inclined to consider the state more as an institution which assures individual security and freedom for his employment, vocation and the amenities of life, interferes in his personal life as little as possible, but has naturally a claim to some kind of requital for the advantages offered by it in the shape of obedience to law and order, payment of taxes, etc. The German ideal of the state is different. According to it, it is the duty of every

individual to serve the state and even to sacrifice himself for it.

Frederick the Great, the greatest Prussian king has said, "the king is only the first servant of the state!" The Prussian kings of the previous ages have cultivated and developed to the highest degree the ideal of the state that the state is entitled to demand absolute obedience and devotion, above all from the officials, and they have also trained the people according to it. The philosopher Hegel who was appointed in the University of Berlin in the first half of the nineteenth century and possessed great influence declared the state to be the highest achievement of the human spirit. Hegel taught that it is the first duty of man to establish a perfect state and then to devote himself to its service.

This ideal of the state gave rise to another characteristic trait in the intellectual culture of Germany, *viz.*, the habit of strict discipline in the German people. The state organised a system of strict administration, the state organised the whole system of education from the University to the primary school and the state organised also the official hierarchy and the army. The state was a mighty and successful educational machine for the whole nation. The characteristic love of order, adherence to duty, conscientiousness and punctuality of the German people were perhaps partly present already in their original natural tendencies, but the forces of opposition are also present in the German character, and it is a great achievement of the German State, above all of Prussia, that they were successfully subjected to order and discipline.

But there were also other consequences which are less happy. It is a peculiarity of Germany that society is here divided into classes and that every class considers itself in some way greater than and superior to the classes which stand lower in the order. The nearer a German is to the top of the State as a government official, military officer or politician, the more he considers himself to be exalted. In North Germany which

was dominated by Prussia for centuries this notion has gained even firmer ground than in South Germany or in the Rhineland where for a long time only small states were known and where the people were not so thoroughly trained in the ideal of the state as in Prussia. The people in these parts therefore possessed in their character a more natural, democratic trait and retain it even to this day.

The development of German culture was for a long time further influenced by another fact; in comparison with her neighbours France and England, Germany was a poor country. In the seventeenth century the Thirty Years' War devastated almost every part of Germany. The country was divided into numerous small states and was thus unable to pursue a united and profitable policy of trade and commerce. Only the English, the Dutch and the French took part in the commerce of the world and gave their stamp to the economic system of the world and amassed enormous wealth thereby. Yet the comparative poverty of the German people could not hinder them from securing the highest intellectual achievements. The year 1772 saw the result of the work of the Professor of philosophy in the University of Königsberg—Immanuel Kant: the publication of "The Critique of Pure Reason." Since the days of Plato and Aristotle no philosophical work has exercised so much influence on the western world as this. Goethe died in the year 1832—one of the greatest poets of the Occident. There is not a single cultural language on earth into which his principal works have not been translated and through which they have not worked on the mind of the educated. A period of sixty years intervenes between the appearance of "The Critique of Pure Reason" and the death of Goethe. The famous Frenchman Taine has said, there is not a single region of human intellectual activity which was not greatly enriched during this half a century directly through German science, German philosophy and German poetry.

Taine has not at all exaggerated the true state of things in these words. In those days in foreign countries Germany was

called the land of poets and thinkers. But this nation of poets and thinkers was politically weak. The German states formed a loose confederacy in which the two most powerful members Prussia and Austria always contended for supremacy. Austria however consisted not only of German provinces but contained also such other races as Slavs, Hungarians and Italians. Austrian interests therefore did not coincide with those of the German people. On the other hand, Prussia lay wholly within Germany. It was therefore only natural that Germany and Austria would come to blows for the sake of leadership. Bismarck, the Prussian statesman, brought the conflict to an end by means of "blood and steel," but if Germany was ever to be a national state, there was no other way open for it. The trouble with the Austrian Empire was that only half of it was strictly German and the other half a foreign body. The German Empire too, as founded by Bismarck, was not a German national state in the full sense of the term. It was not the "united Germany" of which the German bards had sung for half a century; it comprised only a part of the German people. The Austrian Germans had to remain outside its boundaries, for it was not possible—nor would it have been statesmanlike—to destroy the power or separate existence and individuality of Austria for ever. But the real enemy of German unity was France, for the French people feared that a united Germany would mean the end of their supreme position in Europe to which, they have always believed, they have the first claim.

The Franco-German War of 1870 brought into existence the German Empire. This political event had a profound influence on the cultural development of Germany. Two things were hitherto wanting in the German people which have been of the highest importance for the culture of the nations of the earth from the beginning of history to the present day—national strength and national wealth. For this reason the German political horizon was always limited to the narrow

circle of the native provinces and the immediately neighbouring countries. But through political unity and this great victory over France, Germany attained a much higher position in the world than ever before. Above all, Germany rapidly developed a spirit of adventure in the field of trade, industry and commerce, and investigations and researches in science, particularly in chemistry, physics, mechanics and electricity were undertaken on a large scale with extraordinary success and fruitful results till science was utilised with unparalleled success by German enterprise and industrial activities. The material wealth of the people increased at an unheard-of pace. Germany's foreign trade was doubled with every decade. France and America were quickly left behind and Germany rapidly approached the standard of England itself in the practical field of applied science. The Germans became at last an affluent people and a prosperous nation economically, just as politically they grew into the position of a great power.

If magnificent edifices are to be raised, valuable pictures to be painted and precious and beautiful figures to be shaped out of marble and bronze—money is always needed to give stimulus to architects and artists, not only in the body politic called the state but also in principal cities and in private citizens able to serve as patrons. Great scientific laboratories and experimental stations, new universities and technical colleges—all require money. Now the outer garb of German culture too began to show signs of affluence. The cities grew rapidly and public buildings began to be constructed in large proportions, and magnificently, out of adequate materials. The German industrialists and merchants as well as the highly paid technicians and artists built beautiful houses for themselves and filled them with the works of art. The ordinary citizen would no longer be satisfied with such simple lodgings and furniture as in previous times and tried to imitate the luxury of the affluent upper classes as far as possible. Even theatres, musical halls, and pleasure resorts had a good time of it. The works of

German poets, and literary men in general passed through many editions with the diffusion of culture resulting from financial prosperity and speed of education.

In this period of wholly material prosperity, the beauty, taste and harmony of the new German life was often yet wanting at first. The picture of German culture during the first decades after the establishment of the German Empire is too flagrant with gay colours, little tempered by good taste. But already at the juncture of the nineteenth and the twentieth century clear signs of improvement were visible. The demand became louder and more insistent "back from this multicoloured flagrancy to divine simplicity," which now became the artistic creed of the new era. Yes, "back to the harmony of stuff and form and away with imitations, away with the surrogates!" If any body soberly considers the German town-halls, railway stations and private houses, the arrangement and decoration of private rooms, works of art and the products of artistic vocations, which appeared in the decade just before the World-War, in reproductions or in their original form, it will at once appear that a great advance had been made in Germany in inner culture during this period. The danger which is always associated with quickly earned riches and suddenly attained position and which threatens the inner quality of human culture, was already passing away.

It was at this critical time that the World-War broke out. It is well-known how it ended. Germany has lost her wealth, her international position as a great power; she has lost millions of men in this devastating conflagration and has been cut up into pieces by the not very honorable Peace of Versailles thrust on an unwilling, though defeated, country. And above all, an enormous weight of reparations has been imposed upon her which is quite unheard of in the history of mankind. "What has been the effect of this war on Germany and how will it affect the further development of German culture?"

If we want to answer such questions, we must first of all make it clear to us as to what are the material and intellectual

assets of Germany which have survived the carnage. There is still the voluntary submission to national discipline. There is still the aptitude for organisation. There are still the will and determination for industry and labour and conscientiousness in this labour. There are still the diligence and deftness of the German intellect and the German hands. The reconstruction of an orderly state in Germany, reorganisation of German industries, of the German merchant marine and the recapturing of Germany's share in the world trade are great achievements of modern Germany which have astounded the nations of the world. A similar achievement on the part of a conquered and plundered people was never recorded in history before. It is in reality an achievement of the German spirit, the inner forces of German character, intellect and culture. Still, this culture is now threatened by a powerful and dangerous enemy—it is so called modern *civilisation*!

Here we come back to the problem of the difference between culture and civilisation which has been referred to at the beginning of this article. The modern age is a machine age and life is now penetrated by machines. But machine is not culture; it is at best civilisation. There is sense and will in this civilisation of machines, but it has no soul. A man may possess the highest thing that machine can procure, he may fly in the air and freely move under the surface of the ocean, he may telephone and telegraph from his office room in Cologne or Berlin, New York or Chicago, he may hear the music in reception of the Zeppelin in Los Angeles, the New Year's bells of St. Paul's in London and the opening speeches in the Australian Parliament—but for all this flaunting splendour he stands yet far from being a man of culture. He enjoys all the amenities of civilisation at the most.

A clever Chinese said twenty years ago: "When Mr. Lloyd George speaks of culture he means thereby cheap soaps and wireless telegraphy; but when I speak of culture I mean thereby my capacity of being enthusiastic over the beauty and the fine

shades of the colours of flowers in a peony garden, varying from the lightest to the deepest tones of hue." Here in a nutshell is the whole difference between civilisation and culture in the German sense of those words, brought out by means of a single example,—in a single sentence full of significance.

The enormity of mal-treatment and exploitation which Germany has experienced and is still experiencing as the result of her defeat in the World War, has compelled the German people to set its heart at perfecting the machine, for it is now through the help of machine alone that it can live, struggle with competing nations of Europe and America, survive in such a struggle, and raise itself again. Germany is being transformed into a vast chemical, physical and electrical laboratory, into a factory equipped with enormous scientific resources, into a dock-yard or a workshop for commercial prosperity as well as propaganda—and all this only to be *able to live*, to supply nourishment to the German people, thrust back from all sides into a cramped and narrow sphere of activity, all this only to make her sell her produces and pay for the raw materials imported by her and to meet the reparations.

A pound of raw iron costs only a few pennies. But if it is transformed into steel and the steel into spiral wires for the smallest and the finest pocket-watches, then the value of the piece of iron becomes a thousand shillings. If there are enough buyers for these watch-wires and other articles which are manufactured in the same process—the process of raising the value of raw material by means of German intellect and industry—out of copper and caoutchouc, wool and cotton, wood and leather, etc., then all is well. Then the German people may get enough to eat and fulfil her obligations. Thus it is compelled by sheer necessity to devote all its intellectual capacity to these external things, and that is a real menace to German culture.

To-day there is no other country in the world which may compare with Germany as an excellent workshop for apprentices in the field of scientific, industrial and technical activity. There

is no other country to-day where the system, method and discipline for industry can be better learnt. But there is the saying that man does not live by bread alone. In the same strain we may say to-day that man cannot afford to live *on machines alone*; nay, he does not live on *civilisation* alone, he requires inner culture to make his life worth living.

Culture is an attribute of the soul. If a man or a people is unable to plunge into its own self and even for a time forget *the outer* mechanism of life in order to turn to its inner depths—to the beautiful, the exalted and the mystical, to art and poetry, the higher realm of philosophy and poesy,—then, with the progress of time it will never escape the fate which is sure to overtake it. Perhaps the will shall be still there throbbing and vital, but its soul will be dried up.

This is the danger which is threatening German culture to-day and it arises out of the fact that Germany has now been compelled to consider the machine as the only means of rescue and the ladder by means of which she can again rise to her pristine glory. This danger can only be averted if Germany can be freed from the enormous pressure of the burdens which have been imposed upon her through the injustice, violence and hypocritical moralistic exaltation of the victors. A nation is in a position to save its culture only when it is above the pressure of this type of soul-killing mechanical compulsion and brutal oppression.

DR. PAUL ROHRBACH

FEDERALISM

The next question that invites our attention is the distribution of powers which "is an essential feature of federalism."¹ In a federation, two authorities, we have seen, exist side by side. Each of these two is expected to be supreme in its own sphere. Their orbits should as far as possible, never cross. The functions which the two authorities are to discharge should therefore be rigidly divided and separated. The regions of the two should be clearly apart. It is on this account that the two governments should not be given authority over the same function. That will create an atmosphere of vague uncertainty, and introduce an element of complexity and a chance of conflict between the authorities. Hence their jurisdiction should be exclusive and not concurrent. Of course, this is an ideal arrangement which no existing federal union has been able to reach. But this is an ideal all the same which should be before the makers of all federal constitutions. Now once it is decided that the two fields of authority should be clearly separate, the question would arise as to how the line of demarcation between them is to be drawn. There cannot of course be any hard and fast rule about it. "The exact position of the line is not of the essence of federalism."² It may vary according to circumstances. In the United States of America, the forces of state particularism were immensely strong and powerful. The people were very tenacious as to their local patriotism. Their suspicion of a strong distant government over them was quite pronounced. Hence the powers conferred upon the central government were cribbed, cabined and confined. Only those functions were made over to the federal organ, without the jurisdiction over which no government commensurate to the exigencies of the

¹ Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*, p. 147.

² W. H. P. Clement, *Law of the Canadian Constitution*, p. 371.

Union could be established.¹ "The government of the states still remained the rule and that of the confederation became the exception."² The federal government was thus given authority only over a few well-defined and enumerated functions while the states became the legatee of the general residuary powers. The tenth amendment of the constitution clearly explains the position of the two governments. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution," says the amendment, "nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively or to the people." Hence the—central government has no jurisdiction over a function which has not been expressly delegated to it by the constitution. The states on the contrary may take up any duty which has not been given to the federal government or which has not been definitely withdrawn from them. "In other words, the competence of the federal government is *positively* determined by the constitution, while that of the local government is *negatively* determined."³ Section 8 of Article 1 of the Constitution contains all the subject-matter of federal legislation. The Congress cannot take any duty which is not explicitly or implicitly mentioned in this schedule. The list embodies only some eighteen subjects with which the central legislature is concerned. Even such an important subject as criminal law, the uniformity of which, throughout the federation, seems to be essential on all grounds, is left out of it. Of course the central government to-day is not "only one department of foreign affairs," as it was characterised to be by Jefferson. Powers and functions of government have increased rapidly everywhere. And the countries with distinct *laissez-faire* tendencies have also been compelled to abandon their distrust of governmental agency. The government at Washington could possibly be no exception to this rule. In the course of the last half a century or more the powers of the

¹ The Federalist, No. 44.

² Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Tr. Henry Reeve), Vol. I, p. 120.

³ J. W. Garner, *Political Science and Government*.

central government have in fact grown apace. But this development has not any way disturbed the balance between the central and the state authorities. If the federal government has grown in scope of its jurisdiction and power it has grown not to the curtailment of the authority of the states, but only by way of supplementing it.¹ Really speaking in these days of collectivism, if the powers of the federal government have increased to some extent, the powers of the states have increased no less. Again not only are the powers of the central government limited and defined, but in some cases they are not even exclusive as well. Over certain items of legislation, the states and the federal government have been given concurrent jurisdiction. Over the subjects like bankruptcy, pilot laws and harbour regulations, the two authorities alike have been invested with jurisdiction. But the states can exercise their power over such items only in the absence of federal legislation. Similarly both the states and the central legislatures are competent to determine matters relating to the election of representatives and senators. But the state legislation in this field is valid only in the absence of a federal law. If the Congress make any arrangement, the state law gives way.²

The problem of the division of powers between the central and the provincial governments exercised the mind of the Canadian federalists as well. Both the external and the internal circumstances in Canada were of course favourable to the organisation of a far stronger and more powerful central government. By the time the publicists of this country were sitting in a conference at Quebec to form a durable union among all the North American provinces of Britain, the weaknesses of the American system had been brought out into clear relief. The American Union itself had been threatened and it had almost collapsed in the Civil War. And all this mishap, according to the Canadians, was due to the principle upon which the division of powers between the federal and the state governments had been based in the

¹ Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States*, p. 51.

² Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 316.

United States. It was simply because the residuary powers were vested in the states that they could put forward such pretensions of sovereignty. The Canadian statesmen must hence profit by the experience of their great neighbour. They any way could not take lightly the warning which the American situation was proclaiming so loudly. They must reverse the arrangement, and make the central government the legatee of general powers. Nor was this strengthening of the central government opposed to the internal circumstances of the colonies. It was a fact no doubt that a legislative union as proposed by Sir John Macdonald, the great statesman of Upper Canada, was not acceptable either to Lower Canada or to the Maritime Provinces.¹ But it was none the less a fact that once the principle of local autonomy in functions that vitally and exclusively affected the local interests was recognised, neither Lower Canada nor the Maritime provinces would oppose the concentration of the rest of the public functions in the hands of the central administration. The leaders of the Quebec Conference gauged this situation correctly. They agreed to maintain the corporate and autonomous character of the different provinces. But they proposed to delegate to them only those limited powers which were of exclusively local concern. The rest of the functions was to be vested in the federal government. This was the happy "medium" hit upon by the architects of the Canadian federation. This would conciliate the provincial pretensions and this would at the same time give the people the strength

1 "I have again and again stated in the House that, if practicable, I thought a Legislative Union would be preferable. I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt. But—in the first place, it would not meet the assent of the people of Lower Canada ;—it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada—would not be received with favour by her people. We found too—there was a great disinclination on the part of the Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality as separate political organisation."—John A. Macdonald in the Debates in the Canadian Parliament on the Confederation.

of a legislative union. This would make the federation stable and provide against the weaknesses to which the American constitution had proved to be open. Section 91 of the British North America Act of 1867 which was based upon the Quebec Resolutions, empowers the federal government to make laws "in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces." In other words this section makes the central government the legatee of residuary rights and duties. Of course, it also enumerates a list of public functions which must be exclusively exercised by the federal government. But this enumeration of exclusive duties does not mean that this government is invested with jurisdiction over them alone. It is only "for greater certainty" that these subjects of central legislation are so clearly mentioned. Otherwise the insertion of this list of powers does not restrict and limit the generality of central authority. The next section of the Act makes the position of the federal government further simple. Section 92 enumerates a number of subjects upon which a Provincial legislature "may exclusively make laws." Beyond these clearly defined functions the provincial government has no jurisdiction over any other subject. The central government in Canada is thus a government of general powers, while the provincial governments exercise only some delegated functions.¹ Of course with this general statement everything is not said with regard to the division of functions between the two governments. In spite of all the attempts of the framers of the

¹ No. 16 of Section 92, of course militates against any restriction of provincial jurisdiction. It gives the provincial government authority over "generally all matters of a merely local or private nature in the Province. In other words the province has not only exclusive jurisdiction over the fifteen subjects mentioned in Sec. 92 but has authority over all other subjects of purely local character and concern. It is with an eye to this provision that Justice Clement emphatically declares that "it would appear to be a misnomer to say of either jurisdiction that it carries with it the residuum. There is in fact a residuary or supplementary clause in each of the two Sections 91 and 92 ;..." See the *Law of the Canadian Constitution*, p. 452.

constitution to draw a clear line of demarcation between the two jurisdictions, they now and again cross each other. Besides the exclusive powers specially enumerated in Section 91, the central government, we have seen, may take up any other duty, not made over to the provincial authority by the next section of the Act. But when the central government undertakes any such legislation, its authority in this field is not exclusive. Simply the fact that the central legislature may initiate a law on such a subject, cannot prohibit the provincial legislature from making a local law of similar character.¹ Again the subjects enumerated in Sections 91 and 92 of the British North America Act overlap and interlace in some cases. No. 14 of the subjects cited in Section 92 gives a province the exclusive authority over the administration of justice in the locality including the constitution, maintenance, and organisation of civil and criminal courts. But No. 21 of the powers enumerated in the previous section invests the central government with exclusive jurisdiction over bankruptcy and insolvency. This necessarily involves the organisation of an insolvency court and the administration of justice connected with insolvency on the part of the federal government. Thus the two exclusive powers to some extent overlap. In such cases of overlapping "neither legislation will be *ultra vires* if the field is clear."² With regard to the above subject of the administration of justice it is easy to draw a clear line of demarcation between bankruptcy and other branches of justice. Hence any measure of the central government for the organisation of a bankruptcy court is as valid as any provincial legislation for the constitution and maintenance of any other court of justice. But if the subjects of legislation cannot be so differentiated and the central and the provincial governments both make laws on the same topic, "the provincial legislation must yield to that of the Dominion Parliament."³ Any way we find

¹ *E.g.*, temperance legislation. See A. H. Lefroy, *Canada's Federal System*, p. 109.

² *Ibid*, p. 119.

³ *Ibid*, p. 123.

that concurrent jurisdiction could not be avoided in Canada inspite of all the attempts of the founders-statesmen. Only in two subjects, agriculture and immigration, they provided for concurrent legislation, so that both the central and the provincial governments are now competent to make laws upon them.¹ In actual practice, however, the concurrent jurisdiction of the two legislatures is not confined to these subjects of immigration and agriculture alone. The meeting ground has extended farther and wider. Complete separation of the two fields of authority is the ideal basis of federalism indeed, but neither in the U. S. A. nor in Canada the ideal is attained. Nor is it any way a characteristic of the Australian system.

Sir Henry Parkes, who may be called the Father of the Australian Federation, was in favour of a closer union of the colonies. He preferred the Canadian system to the American model. He wanted to make the central government the repository of general powers and the states governments the legatee of delegated functions only.² His views, however, were overruled. The forces of state particularism were too strong for such a plan of unification being assented to. Mr. Inglis Clark, the Attorney-General for Tasmania, expressed the opinion of most of the delegates, when he observed, in the Melbourne Conference, "I regard the Dominion of Canada as an instance of amalgamation rather than of federation; and I am convinced that the different Australian Colonies do not want absolute amalgamation."³ Accordingly it was settled that, as in the United States the residuary duties should remain vested in the government of the states and the central government should exercise only some clearly defined and enumerated functions.⁴ Chapter I, Part V,

¹ Sec. 95.

² See the Parliamentary Paper C. 6025, p. 105.

³ *Ibid*, p. 60.

⁴ *Cf.* "The Government of the Commonwealth, as distinct from the states is one of enumerated powers,.....The federal Parliament is supreme in dealing with matters which are either expressly or by necessary implication given to it."—Sir John Quick, *The Legislative Powers of the Commonwealth and the States of Australia* (1919), p. 18.

of the constitution definitely makes over thirty-nine subjects to the jurisdiction of the central government. Beyond this schedule of duties, this government cannot exercise its authority over any other subject. In order to be doubly sure of this restriction of federal power, the constitution-makers further provided in sub-section 107 of Chapter V that the states parliaments were entitled to exercise all powers and functions not definitely given to the central government nor withdrawn from the state authorities. Thus as in the United States, "the Commonwealth government is a government of limited and enumerated powers; and the parliaments of the states retain the residuary powers of government over their territory."¹ Of course though enumerated and clearly defined in character, the number of functions discharged by the central government in Australia is much greater than the number of central powers in the U. S. A. In America the government at Washington is endowed with authority by the constitution only over eighteen functions while in Australia the number reaches the figure of thirty-nine. Thus with regard to the scope of central authority and jurisdiction, we may say that the Australian Commonwealth occupies a position midway between the American federation and the Canadian Dominion. In the U. S. A., the central government is an exception and in Canada it may be said to be the rule, while in Australia it is neither the one nor the other. No doubt it must be borne in mind that "the legislative powers of the Commonwealth Parliament are not in general—exclusive powers."² Of the thirty-nine functions vested in it, twenty-three are subjects upon which both the central and the states parliaments may legislate. The two authorities have, in other words, concurrent jurisdiction over these duties of administration. This, however, does not affect much the supreme authority of the central government in this field. For in case the federal and states laws come into conflict, the latter goes to the wall.

¹ Moore, *The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia*, p. 69.

² *Ibid*, p. 70.

In Switzerland, "the distribution of powers between the national and the cantonal governments is generally similar to that of the American and the Australian federations."¹ The constitution definitely points out that the cantons exercise all the rights which are not delegated to the federal government.² The residuary powers are thus vested in the Cantonal authorities while the central government enjoys only the enumerated powers. This authority of the federal government, though defined and circumscribed, is, however, wider in scope and jurisdiction than the central authority in America. "Legislation upon the construction and operation of railroads is in the province of the confederation."³ With regard to the customs, the power of the Swiss central government is not limited only to the import duties. It may levy export duties as well.⁴ The right of marriage is placed also under the protection of the federal authority,⁵ which has power to deal with matters of commercial, civil,⁶ and criminal law as well. Again it is a point of major importance that "the Swiss federation may deal legislatively with commerce as such; that is it is not confined to the regulation of inter-state commerce alone,—an illogical limitation which in the United States has led to such interminable economic and judicial controversy."⁷ Thus the central government in Switzerland is not at all a weak attenuated body. Though restricted to certain definite functions, its jurisdiction is wide and its authority not quite mean. Of course all the powers vested in the central government are not exclusive in character. Some of them may be dealt with by either of the governments. In cases of such concurrent jurisdiction, the statutes of the federal legislature "prevail against those of a Canton."⁸ In this respect, the

¹ Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 388.

² Article 3.

³ Art. 26.

⁴ Art. 28.

⁵ Art. 54.

⁶ Art. 64.

⁷ Robert C. Brooks, *Government and Politics of Switzerland*, p. 61.

⁸ Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 384.

Swiss system is the same as obtains in the U.S.A., Australia and Canada.

From the above examination of the methods of the distribution of powers between the central and the provincial authorities in different countries it is clear, that the Union Government in a federation cannot be merely a department of foreign affairs which Jefferson wanted it to be. It must have of course exclusive control over the management of this department and be responsible solely on that account for the declaration and conduct of a war and the conclusion of peace. It must have also undivided authority over the customs and tariffs. Without the exclusive jurisdiction of the central government over this vital subject, the federal union would be nothing but a misnomer and a sham. If the different territorial communities composing a federation had a common policy in all other fields of public activity and followed divergent paths only in matters of tariffs and customs, the union would still be reduced to a nullity. Nothing creates strifes and disagreements more than separate tariffs.¹ Besides it is one of the major heads of revenue of the central government. And if it is to be left to the hands of the provincial governments, the central administration will be immediately reduced to bankruptcy.

The federal legislature again must have not only exclusive jurisdiction over inter-state commerce, but it should have authority over commerce generally. In these days the distinction between local and inter-state commerce is hard to maintain. In the U.S.A., we have seen, it has given rise to some anomalies and undesirable results. The best course would be to give the central and the state governments a concurrent jurisdiction over the subject, so that the state government may legislate only in the absence of a central law. With regard to criminal law, the practices to-day differ from country to country. In Switzerland

¹ Mr. Deakin observed in the Melbourne conference, "a common tariff is the *sine qua non* of national life. There can be no true union which does not include a customs union."

and Canada, the subject is vested in the central authority, while in the U.S.A., it is a state function so that criminal law changes as one travels across the country. What is a crime in New York may not be a crime in California. What may be a capital offence in Ohio may be only a venial offence punishable only slightly in Maryland. In Australia, the question as to the location of this function has remained an open one. "There is not to be found in the Australian constitution as there is in the British North America Act, Section 91, any express power to legislate with respect to criminal law. Yet the federal Parliament has passed laws imposing punishments and, in one case, the death penalty."¹ It is time to be definite in this respect and give up the particularism which the U.S.A. has followed at much cost, and to accept the centralisation which has given greater security of life and property in Canada and Switzerland. Criminal law should be vested in the central government.

Next we have to discuss the question of the actual relations between the two governments. In theory they are indeed expected to be completely separate and as such not interested in each other; in practice however, an intimate contact necessarily comes about between the two. Not only the two authorities meet and touch each other at various points but the provincial government is very often controlled by the central. In Australia and Switzerland, no supervision of the federal government over provincial laws is provided for in the constitution. The cantonal laws of Switzerland and the states laws of Australia do not require the assent of the central governments to be valid. In the U.S.A. also the central government has been given no authority to veto the legislative measures of the state governments. In the federal Convention of 1787, of course, there was a distinct group of influential statesmen, who advocated some such provision. A resolution was in fact moved to the effect that the national government should have veto power over all laws of the

¹ Sir John Quick, *The Legislative Powers of the Commonwealth and the States of Australia*, p. 92.

states legislatures which were not deemed proper and safe. The powerful support of Madison was enlisted in behalf of this resolution. He observed that without this negative upon state laws, it would be impossible to check the tide of local encroachment upon federal authority.¹ The arguments of Alexander Hamilton also were in the same direction. He rather wanted to go a step farther. In his sketch of the constitution, he provided not only for a national veto over state laws but for making this negative more stringent and efficient. He wanted the chief executive of every state to be appointed by the central government and to be endowed with the right of turning down state laws.² This safeguard against state encroachment upon central jurisdiction was not accepted by the convention. No such interference with state autonomy could be carried through that body. Hence, as remarked above, the state governments remained the final authority with regard to the passing of their laws. Now the Canadians in 1865 interpreted this absolute autonomy of the American states in legislation as one of the real causes of the civil war and the apparent dissolution of the federal union. If such a contingency was to be avoided at all in their country, the Canadians argued, the central government must have authority to negative provincial laws. Without this national supervision over the law-making authority of the provinces, the Canadian federation might be disrupted in the same way as the American was thought to be. Accordingly it was provided in the British North America Act of 1867 that an authentic copy of every provincial Act must be sent to the Governor-General. And if in the course of one year, the Governor-General in Council thought it right to disallow the Act, it would be annulled automatically. During the first decades of the Dominion, the central government made full and unflinching use of this veto power. It even justified the fear of Mr. Dorion who had opposed this veto power of the central government in the Canadian Parliament in 1865. He

¹ Hunt and Scott, *Debates in the Federal Convention*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

was sure that the central government would use this power not simply on legitimate grounds but also for party purposes. He pointed out the danger that in case the central and provincial governments were of different party badges, a law passed by the local authority might be vetoed by the central government only by way of grinding a party axe.¹ This apprehension of Mr. Dorion proved, to some extent at least, true. "There were many cases of disallowance," observes Mr. Justice Riddell,² "where the Dominion and the provincial governments were of different politics, some which can hardly justify themselves at the bar of history." The Dominion government for some time after the federation, looked upon the provincial parliaments as no greater in status than the municipal councils.³ The treatment meted out to them was also similar. No measure passed by the Provincial legislature was safe at the hands of the central executive. This sort of domineering attitude on the part of the central government, could not, however, continue long. And for the last few decades "the practice has been settled for the Dominion not to interfere except where the legislation is plainly *ultra vires* the Provincial Parliament."¹ But this function can be better and more efficiently discharged by the judicial courts. In fact, the courts in Canada actually act as the guardian of the constitution. And if the Provincial Parliament oversteps its boundary, the court, in a case duly brought before it, rectifies the position. The veto of the central government, limited as it is now only to the *ultra vires* cases, is superfluous. It is also quite inconsistent with the fundamental principle of federalism. Both the central and the provincial governments being the agents of the people, charged with duly differentiated duties, it is not up to the Dominion authority to interfere with local initiative. In case the provincial legislature actually does anything

¹ Kennedy, Documents of the Canadian Constitution, p. 655.

The Constitution of Canada (1917), p. 98.

"'A Big Country Council' was the favourite way of expressing the thought."—*Ibid.* p. 98.

indiscreet, its mentor should be the people organised in the electorates and not the federal government. The veto power of the Canadian central government over provincial legislation is an anomaly and should not be an example.

Another very insidious and dangerous form of central control over state action has been initiated and developed in the United States of America. This is the control exercised through what is known as the grant-in-aid. In Canada, the central government has to distribute a part of its income among the provinces. But this is a duty imposed upon this government by the financial system of the Dominion. No condition attaches to this contribution from the central funds. The provincial governments undertake no obligation by accepting this money.¹ In the United States, however, the subvention is based upon a different principle altogether. It is almost of the same character and involves the same conditions as the local grant-in-aid system in the United Kingdom. Up to the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the English local bodies were truly self-governing and autonomous. But since the year 1833, the Government at Whitehall have come out to help them with central funds. This help has of course been of incalculable material benefit to local life and conditions. It has added considerably to the activity and efficiency of the local institutions. But it has at the same time placed them under the thumb of the Whitehall agents. The central government grants the money only on its own conditions and in fulfilling these conditions the local bodies have to carry out the injunctions of the central government. Quite similar has been the state of things in the U.S.A. The residue of functions has been vested by the constitution in the states. Hence the government of the states is saddled in this country with heavy duties. Nor can these duties be discharged in a half-hearted, shilly-shally fashion. There is constant demand in

¹ *Ibid*, p. 98.

² A. B. Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (2nd Ed.), Vol. I.

the country for better schools, better roads, better protection. A higher standard of public service is the cry of the people. But they are not prepared to supply the sinews commensurate with this demand for greater efficiency. As a result, "the problem of getting more money without raising tax rates has become acute."¹ Now when the state legislatures were thus in a fix as to their wherewithal, the federal treasury came to their rescue. The central government offered to assist the states with financial aids, but this on its own terms. "To these terms the states have agreed and so the federal government has found in its hands a weapon with which it can establish national policies and national standards in fields of activity over which the constitution has denied it any measure of control."² In promoting education, in developing agriculture, in fighting filthy diseases, in opening and maintaining roads, the government of the states now draws upon central funds. But these subventions are accompanied with detailed conditions upon the fulfilment of which the continuance of the grant depends. In their eagerness for perpetuating this help, the state authorities, of course, do everything as directed by the central departments. The central government has authority over inter-state commerce. It, therefore, can and does regulate the travel of venereally affected persons across state frontiers. Over intra-state commerce, however, it has no jurisdiction and hence it cannot, of itself, control the travel of such persons within the borders of a particular state, though such regulation is indispensable. What was the central government now to do? If it asked the state governments to make such regulations, the latter might take it as an unwarranted interference in state jurisdiction. But the state governments required money from the central treasury for combating this disease. This placed all at once the trump card in the hands of the federal government which made the passing of these

¹ A. F. Macdonald, *Federal Subsidies to the States* (1923), p. 2.

² *Ibid*, p. 3.

regulations a condition of the grant. "In this manner the federal government exercises a practical control over intra-state commerce, a matter reserved to the state under the constitution."¹ In England the local bodies have to conform to the standards and regulations prescribed by Whitehall in appointing their police, public health and other officers. The grant-in-aid depends upon this conformity. Likewise, the federal government in the U.S.A. prescribes rules according to which the appointment of officers has to be made to the departments that enjoy federal subsidy. Nonconformity to such rules would amount to the discontinuance of the grant—a contingency not to be faced by the state authorities.² This way the central government has created an opportunity for poking its nose into spheres of action not allotted to it. In fact "the effect of this subvention system is to render less distinct the respective spheres of the federal and state governments."³ If the principle of one who pays the piper must call for the tune is extended at the present rate, the line of demarcation between the two jurisdictions will fade away completely and the balance of power between the two governments will break down altogether.

The central government in the U.S.A. has also opportunities of interfering with state affairs in a more straightforward manner. Section 4 of Article IV of the constitution enjoins the federal government to guarantee the republican form of government to the states. It also empowers the same government to interfere in state affairs for protecting the people against domestic violence. This authority is of course limited in the fact that the central government can intervene only on an application for help from the local government. In practice, however, circumstances so turn out to be now and again, that the central

¹ *Ibid*, p. 3.

² In Georgia agricultural experiment station, a director was appointed who had not the necessary qualifications. The central department forthwith suspended the grant on the ground of noncompliance with law. At last the director resigned and the grant was revived.—*Ibid*, p. 23.

³ Holcombe, *State Government in the United States* (1926), p. 10.

government actually does intervene without the invitation of the state government. Troubles, though confined within the boundaries of a single state, may not be merely the concern of the government of that particular state. They may affect inter-state commerce and similar other subjects that are within the ambit of federal authority. Accordingly if the federal government comes forth to deal with these local troubles without local invitation and even in the teeth of local opposition, its action would not be illegal. During the Pullman strike in Chicago in 1894, President Cleveland looked upon the situation as sufficiently threatening inter-state commerce and immediately sent out troops to deal with it with a strong hand. Not only he did not wait for the application of help from the state government, but he actually followed his course in the face of the protest of the Governor of Illinois against his gratuitous interference.¹

These powers of intervention at once bear witness to the fact that division of authority between the two governments in a federal union cannot be absolutely rigid and hidebound. Both of them are after all the agents of the same people. And when their interests are at stake, the line of demarcation may not be religiously observed. Nor is the rule followed in all federal unions that the laws of the two governments should be executed only by their own agents. In the U.S.A., of course, the principle is logically followed that the one government should not be dependent upon the other for the execution and administration of its policy. During the days of the Confederation, the central government had to depend solely upon the state authorities for the carrying out of its measures. And the latter governments very seldom discharged this duty faithfully. As a result the Confederation government found itself absolutely impotent and its measures were quite innocuous. When therefore the American statesmen sat together in the federal convention, they were

¹ S. E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 400-402.

bent upon rectifying this state of things. They were determined to make the central government independent of local help and co-operation as far as possible. And to-day we have two sets of independent authorities working side by side in the U.S.A. As the state laws are promulgated by the state legislature, executed by the state executive agents and interpreted by a chain of state judicial courts, so also the federal laws are made by the congress administered by the federal executive agents and interpreted by a complete line of federal courts. It is only with regard to the election of the senators and representatives to the congress, the choosing of the presidential electors and the maintenance of the militia, that the federal government is in any way dependent upon the states. "Otherwise the national government has but little to do with the states as states."¹

In Australia also, "the commonwealth government and the states governments are in their relations independent and not hierarchical."² Generally the laws of the central government are not left to the state authorities for execution. They are administered by the central agents. Of course Section 5 of the Constitution Act makes it obligatory to the state governments to administer properly any central law left to them for execution. But it was discovered recently by the central government that the state authorities had on three occasions defied their constitutional obligation and failed to carry out the federal laws left to their care. Accordingly "in 1925, the federal parliament was compelled to legislate to provide for the appointment of peace officers to execute laws."³ So far therefore, as the administration of its measures is concerned, the commonwealth government is now practically independent of the state authorities. In the judicial field, however, the two governments are not so independent of each other. As the judicial system is now organised, a close co-operation between them is essential for the proper

¹ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 819.

² Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³ Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, Vol. I, pp. 649-60.

administration of justice. The High Court of the commonwealth does not stand as the head of a chain of federal judiciary. It stands alone as a federal court. This court of course does not and cannot discharge all the federal judicial business. It is upon the state courts, invested with federal jurisdiction, that the commonwealth government is dependent for the application of its laws to the ordinary cases in the first instance. Nor is the central government alone dependent in the matter of its judicial administration. The state governments also have to depend upon the federal High Court for the hearing of many of their appeal cases. Thus in this field of the administration of justice, the principle of federalism has not been wholly worked out in Australia, a similar situation is noticeable in Canada as well. As provided for in the British North America Act, the Dominion Government has set up a central supreme Court. It is, however, only a court of appeal. Cases in the first instance are heard and dealt with in the provincial court upon which "the federation has undoubted power to confer authority in federal matters."¹ Hence both in Canada and in Australia the two governments are interdependent with regard to the discharge of their judicial duties.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

(Concluded)

¹ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 545.

MODERNISM IN SPIRITUAL CULTURE.¹

I have chosen for my paper a title of rather ambitious import. This is done with a purpose; for where the sense is lacking the only effective way to an assured hearing must be by raising high sounds. The expression 'Spiritual Culture' is in itself high-sounding enough, and when to this we add 'Modernism' the effect is simply bewildering. There are different lines of approach to the subject-matter of our enquiry, and it would be nothing short of a medley of confusion if we have to introduce them, each in detail, within the body of this paper.

To take the case of 'spiritual culture' first. There are at least three different ideas bound up with this expression. It might signify a special type of culture that has for its objective the functioning and fulfilment of the spiritual concerns of mankind as distinct from, and perhaps opposed to, that usual form of culture which is occupied with the enriching and enhancement of the temporal goods of life. Spiritual culture, in this sense, stands antagonistic to secular culture. But on this point one may raise pertinent doubts as to whether culture should have any internal division within itself. Does not all culture belong fundamentally to one and the same type? Culture as ordinarily understood has a touch of secularity and refers to that aspect of life that admits of improvement by skilled nurturing and practice. In its innermost core lies the idea of personal effort and acquisition. Spirituality, however, cannot be claimed as an outcome of personal effort. It is a divine gift that comes to man from afar, won through God's grace, as it were, and not acquired by human endeavour. In the light of this it would be wrong to characterise spiritual life as a mode of culture. The expression 'Spiritual Culture' would be then open to question, being a problem mooted for

¹ Read before the Rajshahi College Association.

discussion, not an accepted idea wherewith to start. These are the two different points of view engaging our attention, and presently they suggest a third, wherein spirituality gets incorporated in culture. To this end traditional spirituality with its other-worldly outlook is pushed aside on one side, and culture with its pre-eminently secularistic implication is made more elastic on the other, so as to harmonise with the demands of spirituality. So spiritual culture may mean a sort of hybrid combination, growing out of twofold impulses of life, *viz.*, to stand by and make the most of present-day realities of life and at the same time to seek satisfaction of the yearning for the 'invisible beyond,' not through faith which is abominable, but on the basis of positive evidence furnished by science.

So much about spiritual culture. Coming next to modernism I experience similar, if not greater, embarrassments. Modernism stands for a variety of temperaments. To some it signifies merely a negative attitude of life that, unable to reconcile itself to the doctrines of credal religions, grows indifferent to the religious call altogether. Not that these people are necessarily sunk deep in the grosser concerns of life, in satisfying the cravings of the flesh, but the influence of an exclusive training in science has made such a havoc upon the simple life of unquestioning faith that it has become impossible for this people to go through the customary forms of worship and prayer growing out of that faith. In the case of others again modernism indicates quite a positive frame of mind. It means the re-awakening of a new type of religiosity in the shape of humane service and love so as to elevate and uplift mankind, even though he be a child of the dust, knowing nothing of the Heavenly Father above and beyond, nor owing any allegiance to him. Humanism is the name given to this new form of religion. To people however not accustomed to play the rôle of a philanthropist, the busy life of moving and speaking as inculcated by Humanism, modernism provides a different form of religious consolation in the self-centred life of personal

ethicalism, illustrated in the scholar's devotion to truth and the artist's enjoyment of beauty. But in more recent years modernism has undergone another phase of transformation. Even humanism with its lofty aims and laudable ideals, or the finer aspect of personal ethicalism is found to be a poor substitute for the loss of that faith in the deity that formed the central animating principle of traditional religion. If the first onrush of scientific wave tended to undermine that faith we must call upon science to furnish new lines of scientific evidence, on the basis of which a semblance of that faith may be reconstructed. Such lines of evidence are already pouring in and the outcome has been the birth of a new science, justifying faith in the 'Beyond' on the strength of what can be felt and perceived in the immediate present. This is the new complexion that modernism assumes. Slowly and gradually it crystallises into a definite creed to which one is found to give his assent, not in the name of scriptural authority, but in the name of well authenticated evidence of science.

There are two elements in this new creed of modernism; one centres upon the idea that our present-day world in spite of its apparent measurability in time and space, is not the measure of existence. Existence embraces an interminable system without the limiting conditions of fixed time and space; so that every bit of 'here' and 'now' is necessarily enveloped in, and conditioned by the limitless extent of the 'hereafter.' The second point grows out of the first and relates to the never-ending cycle of changes through which life perpetuates itself. If existence is interminable, life itself must be so. To live in one plane means but the prelude to a life in a different plane. What we call death is simply the event of transition from one plane to another. The keynote to this newly growing faith is being furnished by the modern science of spiritualism which testifies to the phenomenon of survival after death.

I have outlined above some aspects of modernism; and that is enough to show the tangle of confusion to which we must be

driven if we have to discuss them in detail. For the present I intend to simplify the issue by regarding modernism primarily as the expression of certain tendencies of the age to evolve a new type of spiritualistic temper in consonance with the demands of science.

The first impact of science has been decidedly in the direction of shifting the centre of man's interest from the invisible to the visible. It has broken down many of the happy dreams associated with the old orthodox religious temper. It no longer satisfies the votaries of modern science to be told that man has suddenly sprung up on the face of the globe in the image of God through his creative *fiat*. New information about nature, man, his origin and proclivities became available that dealt a death-blow to the old cosmology and anthropology based on the authority of the Scripture. With every stroke of science age-long faiths in the supernatural began to crumble away with the result that men hastened to turn away from the quest of 'the mysterious unseen' and devote themselves more and more to the affairs of the present-day existence.

So from the very beginning science has been moving in the direction of naturalism and positivism which to the people of older generations, brought up in the faith of the supernatural appeared as akin to atheism, pure and simple. Science started with matter as the only reality, and the world of events to the minutest details was thought to be dominated by the law of rigid determinism. But the hideousness of this new outlook of mechanistic fatalism was kept concealed in the new incentive to culture which the continued progress of the modern sciences afforded. Both in point of external embellishments and in the development of inward personal virtues modern science has proved to be a blessing to mankind. The output of modern science in the shape of mechanical appliances and the command over nature which with the help of steam and electricity, it gave to man have been a marvel of perfection.

They brought within the easy reach of mankind an extensive

treasure of comfort and convenience of every shade and description. People have found new ways of enjoying life, individually as well as collectively. And on the other hand, the pursuit of science has also deepened the sense of superior dignity of a life of disinterested service to truth. Let us but turn for a moment to "the magnificent edifice of the modern sciences and see how it was reared. What thousands of disinterested moral lives of men lie buried in its mere foundations, what patience and postponement, what choking down of preference, what submission to the icy law of facts are wrought into its very stones and mortar." What finer examples of devotion to truth, of sacrifice and suffering could anybody cite? And the light of knowledge lit by science has also saved man from the oppression of all manner of false hopes and superstitions to which, steeped in the darkness of ignorance, he was fastened so long. He has ceased to be a prey to baseless fears, and on the other hand he has learnt to grow sober, not given any more to indulging in an exaggerated estimate of his powers. The real man, self-reliant, vigorous and powerful, and yet sober and steady with sufficient self-restraint, has emerged on the field. In the face of all this, why should we blame science that it has created a hard and hateful world?

All this is true; and nobody need castigate science in order thereby to strengthen the cause of traditional spirituality. The question is: Does not the scheme of a purely secularistic progress, as modern science embodies, prove to be self-destructive? In fact, the dreariness of a purely secular life, with nothing beyond to look for, could not long be suppressed. The loss of faith in the 'above and beyond' continued to haunt the modern scientific man and sapped at the very source the taproots of that energy wherewith he hoped to reconstruct a wholly mechanistic view of life. That for a brief span of life,—a brief span merely, no more than a tiny little speck in the boundless ages of eternity—man should engage in ceaseless toils and turmoils, dazed him evermore. Why all this craze for health and happiness, progress

and efficiency, if the values we achieve to-day are doomed to perish in oblivion to-morrow,—if that little hairless animal called man, creeping along the surface of the globe, be nothing but a short interlude in the never-ending cycle of changes of that primeval dust in its journey to dust again ? Reflections like these have already seized and possessed the minds of the 20th century man, and opened up prospects for the growth of this new order of spiritual enthusiasm typified in modernism.

The invasion of this new wave of spiritualistic fervour has already begun, and we are witnessing interesting developments of this new craze for religion leavened with science. Indeed modernism in its endeavour to entrench itself in the armour of science seems to be one of the wonders of the 20th century.

I have characterised modernism as an effort at spiritualising science. Science is primarily disposed to treat the sensuously given alone as real, but modernism seeks to impregnate it with a new cult that the non-sensuous elements extending beyond the confines of the given are also real, and form the subject-matter of scientific enquiry. It thus helps to restore, in a way, men's belief in the 'beyond.'

The ways employed by science to preach the gospel of new transcendental immaterialism have set up a ferment. Until that subsides a bit it would be rash to pronounce an opinion. One thing will interest the reader that the very science of physics which, in the early days of its career, promulgated the cult of materialism, and turned its back upon spirituality, has been the earliest to work towards the disintegration of materialism. Both in its practical application as well as in its theoretical implication physics has been making a headway towards disavowing the reality of matter. The old views of matter as consisting of particles of hard and solid stuff, persisting in time, are no longer in favour with modern physics. The traditional conception of time as a uniform flow, homogeneous in all places has received a fatal blow, so also has the notion of space undergone a complete revolution. In place of the old notions of time and space as two

independent entities, whereon particles of matter were supposed to have been located, we have a new idea of time and space as two variables relatively determined by each other, so that without reference to time it is nonsense to speak of space, just as much as to speak of space without reference to time. To think of time as a determinant of space and of space again as a determinant of time leads to the abolition of one cosmic time and one cosmic space as two independent entities with which classical materialism was so closely bound up. The intricacies of the scientific argument on this point have been a puzzle even to professed students of science but the philosophical import may not be difficult to grasp. In a popular way we may represent the position as involving a complete revolution in our traditional conception of the structure of the world. If time should be a factor in moulding space we can no longer rest content with the assumed size and shape of the so-called atoms constituting the stuff of the world. The old solidity of atomic bodies is gone and with it also disappears any fixedness of their structure and size. This is how the materiality of the so-called material world speedily loses itself in the smoky wilderness of unsubstantial dreams. And so we must give up what Whitehead admirably calls the 'pushiness of matter.' "We naturally think of an atom," to use the words of B. Russell, "as being like a billiard ball. We should do better to think of it as like a ghost which has no pushiness and yet can make us fly."

In the practical sphere also the discoveries and inventions of physics have shown the possibility of tampering with time and space. Years ago it staggered the imagination to think of traversing the distance from one holy city to another. Already with the introduction of steam swifter motion became possible. People have begun to think less of space. What matters most is the element of time. It is noticed further that the most effective way of manipulating time is motion. For us, human beings, the stupendous distance between our earth and the stars is bewildering. But, for the rays of light our earth is as if it

were but the next-door neighbour to the stars. The speed of an aeroplane has superseded that of a steam locomotive so that we are no longer afraid of the distance between one end of the earth and the other. Even mightier changes have taken place in regard to the transmission of speech. With the coming of radio one man now can speak to millions spread over a whole country. What a marvel, people thousand miles apart can now listen to the addresses delivered by a single soul in a little corner of the globe! These are only some of the many changes that science has accomplished, and when we reflect on these the conclusion is irresistible that science no longer holds to the old doctrine of the reality of matter. At any rate it is clear that the so-called matter has ceased to be as material as it was once supposed to be. This accords with the supposition advanced by the spiritualists that matter is only an appearance of what in its inner core has no touch of materiality.

Champions of orthodox faith are too apt to make capital of the way in which science is veering round a non-materialistic standpoint. And they welcome it as a re-affirmation of the faith to which they have clung so long. But before they should proceed further in this delightful mood it is necessary that a warning be raised. There is a world of difference between the type of spiritualism embodied in modernism and that cherished by old-fashioned religious people. To the latter set religion was the only sheltering ground to provide an escape from the hard grip of a deterministic world. Faith can remove mountains. Years of sinful life can be redeemed by a single stroke of divine grace. It was a faith of this sort that made them so intensely religious. In short, spirituality was to them a sort of magic wand that could at any time unsettle the settled order of things. But the new code of spirituality to which modern modernism drifts is in no mood to concede to such a demand for the arbitrariness of the divine will. On the contrary, the very idea of miracle is tabooed. The inexorableness of the law is emphasised, although we be far removed yet to

comprehend the fulness of details as to its mode of operation. One thing is certain. The elements which help in the working out of the laws are unlike anything with which we are acquainted. They may be softer than smoke, fleeting like ghosts, and far more elusive than the thoughts of man. If modernism verges on immaterialism, it is a spirituality of this type.

The position is thrown into bolder relief if we estimate it in relation to its attitude to God. In the old scheme, God was the central pivot of spirituality. But modernism, though inclined to acknowledge the claims of spiritual reality in one form or another, finds no room for God in the traditional sense. The idea of God together with everything associated with divinity is banished from view, for science does not succeed in discovering any of these. On the contrary, it considers belief in God as devitalising. An outworn faith in God cherished merely out of fear or slothful inertia of the will has a cramping influence. For long souls have been warped and maimed by the inhibitory fear-complex and deity obsession. Our new scientific religion thus proclaims to be doing a service to humanity in freeing his soul from the fetters of God-superstition. At the same time it holds before it the promise of a new life and the hope for a 'beyond' that is sure to counteract the heedlessness of the life of mere 'getting and spending.'

In several ways modernism in spiritual culture differs from the old orthodox religious temper. Religion in the old sense was a function of the whole man prompted by love and reverence for the supreme Deity, the embodiment of all holiness and perfection. To know him, to love him, to do the will of him that sent him on earth the religious devotee dedicated himself. Out of the fulness of the heart he cried out, 'O Lord, thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless till it rest in thee.' To win His heavenly grace he sacrificed every bit of earthly comfort and convenience. It is for others to enjoy the goods of life, but to the spiritual man nothing is dearer than the privilege of serving the will of his Master. He prayed

that he might have a chance of serving; he worshipped God in secret that he might nerve his whole being in hours of trials and tribulations. 'The world passeth away and the lusts thereof, but the soul inflamed with spirituality lives unaffected by the ravages of time.' This is how the old traditional deity-centric religion worked to inspire its devotees to leave aside all earthly concerns for an eternal life in heaven.

The spirit of modernism stands aloof from such enthusiasm. It no longer holds religion to be a synonym for world-renunciation, nor does anybody, under its spell, feel obliged to give up the amenities of a life of secular enjoyment to prosper in the grace of God. The modern man is pre-eminently a man of affairs. He is a lover of the world, and longs to abide here in this world in pursuit of ideals to which no limit can be set. If he speaks of spirituality and makes a religion of it, it is not with the idea of finding favour with God, to be cut adrift from all worldly occupations and transported bodily into heaven; for a zestless heavenly life, with no hopes and desires, no struggles and achievements, no promise of progress does not appeal to him. What he demands from religion is an ever-increasing assurance that every little progress that he makes to-day will, even through setbacks and oppositions, stand and make for greater progress to-morrow. His religion is to encourage him in his faith in the conservation of values, in which his love for the continuity of life takes a leading place.

Modernism is thus faced with a new problem. The desire for assurance that our life does not come to a full stop, but prolongs indefinitely through an unbroken succession of moments presses upon modern science to eke out lines of scientific evidence in support of man's survival of bodily death and we have, as a result, the science of spiritualism. Spiritualism proclaims with the definiteness of science that man need grieve no more over death. It is recorded on the observations of eminent scientists that the life of man, a complex unit of emotions and passions, tastes and desires as it is, does not close

soon as certain physiological operations of the body are set at rest. This complex framework of psychic individuality is carried beyond the point of ordinary death, and there is nothing to tell us that it ever terminates in time. On the contrary, it is quite possible so to re-arrange the situation that the disembodied individual would re-appear in our midst to enliven us with stories of his strange experiences and renew his old acquaintance.

I would not enter upon an examination of the specific nature of the evidence on which spiritualism rests its case. It is enough to show how it has affected the old notion of immortality. In classical spirituality, immortality signified a kind of divine illumination whereby the individual was elevated into a region of pure self-identical existence beyond the cycles of birth, growth, change and decay. Such divine illumination accounted for the transmutation of the whole personality of the man, so much so that from the level of an ordinary insignificant creature, clamouring for food and drink, swayed by petty hopes and desires, he rose to the dignity of 'a spectator of all time and existence.' This is the true sense of being immortal.

But modernism knows nothing of this. It holds in its place the uninspiring drama of a mere prolongation of this animal life in a brute matter-of-fact manner through an infinite order of time series with all its accessories of changing hopes and varying desires. The grief-stricken heart may be tempted to attend spiritualistic *seances* to assuage his sorrow with the evidence that the dear departed ones still continue to live, but that will never reveal to him the real excellence and beauty of the spiritual life. Our modern spiritual celebrities, equipped in scientific armour, may have elbowed out the old ministers of religion preaching the gospel of faith and prayer, but they do not seem to be alive to the spiritual needs of mankind. On the contrary, when they proclaim that we are destined by nature to carry this burdensome trail of existence through an infinite series of moments, that only takes off the dignity and

glory of human life. For it does not signify the triumph of spirit against the forces of inexorable fatality, but simply shows how spirit is overrun by blind necessity of spatio-temporal laws. That such a picture should prove consoling shows to what extent we are overtaken by the cult of materialism.

It is high time, therefore, that we should make up our mind as to the issues raised by modernism. It has two wings, each of which comes to us with a deceptive colouring, and makes us feel as if in them we have a better substitute for the traditional religion. One of these presents before us the picture of a world made up of something not like what we see as matter, but more akin to what we understand by a spirit. It is believed such a picture will persuade the soul to forego the coarse enjoyment of the immediate present, and work for the refined values of the 'hereafter.' And on the other wing is written the message of hope to mankind that he need have no fear of death. These two doctrines, it is held,—one guaranteeing the continuity of moral progress and the other continuity of life,—mark the dawn of this new religion for the enlightened. The question is: will it give satisfaction to humanity? We doubt very much. It is not enough for a man to be told that he shall survive even after death, nor will it make for the purification of his inward being if he simply learn that things are not what they seem. The noblest service that religion renders is that it helps man to realise the intrinsic worth of living a life of spotless purity. The pure in heart, it has been said, shall alone be saved; for the pure soul is ever at peace with himself. If any soul aspires to be at peace with himself, unmoved by anxieties of success and failure, life and death, let him but strive after cleansing the heart. But the heart is cleansed best when it gains in expansion. With the expansion of the heart all the filth and impurities float on the surface and the cleansing affair becomes an easy operation. It is with the expansion of self that spiritual awakening takes place. But the trouble is nobody can say definitely how to realise self-expansion.

Perhaps there is no better help to lead the soul to this goal than an immediate vision of the sublime. The sublime in nature overpowers the self with its external majesty. It makes us feel at once our littleness and insignificance. But the sublime in spirit leaves the soul with a consciousness of its vastness and immensity. Religion fastens upon God as the ideal embodiment of such a picture of the sublime. The truly religious soul in his devotional mood is privileged to come in contact with this noblest and highest form of sublimity. The frail little human frame no longer continues to be frail, but is made to participate in the life of the divine. Religion is competent to work out such a miracle, because it relies upon God. But science working with her laws of necessary connection, moves from little to little. How should it offer a substitute nobler than the sublime?

Our life, if it is to enter the joys of eternal life, must, by the strenuous endeavour of the will, keep its daily contact with the supreme sublime mind that stands above the whole family of minds. To be in touch with him is to keep untarnished the inward purity and suppleness of life. This is how the freedom of the spiritual life is won, and with freedom comes our right to inherit Life Eternal. The free soul alone can say : O Death, where is thy sting ? O Grave, where is thy victory? Let no one then be deceived with the trivialities of spiritualism. Of real life, its beauty and glory even in death it can suggest no legitimate answer. Real life is ensured against death because it can, through its self-conscious will, elevate itself into a divine plane. This is the everlasting message of religion. If modernism should grow in this temper of God-loving spirituality it will have amply done its service to humanity.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVARTY

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS : FIRST INTERPRETATION

II

Of his 150¹ sonnets Shakespeare wrote the first 125 to a man, the remaining 25 to a woman. Though distinctly unusual, it was not necessarily ludicrous to write a sonnet series to a man. But it was funny of Shakespeare to say precisely the same things to this man as all the other sonneteers were saying to their lady. The first 17 urge him to marry, so that when he dies his personal beauty may not be lost, but live in a son. Sidney uses this argument to a woman in his *Arcadia*.

Those hours, that with gentle work did frame
The lovely gaze where every eye doth dwell,
Will play the tyrants to the very same
And that unfair which fairly doth excel;
For never-resting time leads summer on
To hideous winter, and confounds him there;
Sap check'd with frost, and lusty leaves quite gone,
Beauty o'ersnow'd and bareness everywhere;
Then, were not summer's distillation left,
A liquid prisoner pent in walls of glass,
Beauty's effect with beauty were bereft,
Nor it, nor no remembrance what it was:
But flowers distill'd, though they with winter meet,
Leese but their show; their substance still lives sweet.

To further this argument Shakespeare delights in threatening his friend with old age, because then beauty fades; oh take a wife, he pleads, and rear a son to inherit this beauty.

Really 154. I give only the rough proportions to avoid a quarrel.

Then let not winter's ragged hand deface
 In thee thy summer, ere thou be distill'd:
 Make sweet some vial; treasure thou some place
 With beauty's treasure, ere it be self-kill'd.
 That use is not forbidden usury,
 Which happies those that pay the willing loan;
 That's for thyself to breed another thee,
 Or ten times happier, be it ten for one;
 Ten times thyself were happier than thou art,
 If ten of thine ten times refigur'd thee;
 Then what could death do, if thou should'st depart,
 Leaving thee living in posterity?
 Be not self-will'd, for thou art much too fair
 To be death's conquest and make worms thine heir.¹

Or *Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye*, or again

2O! that you were yourself; but, love, you are
 No longer yours than you yourself here live:
 Against this coming end you should prepare,
 And your sweet semblance to some other give:
 So should that beauty which you hold in lease
 Find no determination; then you were
 Yourself again, after yourself's decease.
 When your sweet issue your sweet form should bear.
 Who lets so fair a house fall to decay,
 Which husbandry in honour might uphold
 Against the stormy gusts of winter's day
 And barren rage of death's eternal cold?
 O! none but unthriffs. Dear my love, you know
 You had a father; let your son say so.²

And so on he goes for 17 sonnets. The humour is not forced; a solemn reader may easily miss it, indeed many have. We are prepared to hear any amount of this sort of thing written to a woman; it was the fashionable pose. But dress a man in this fashion, make him as beautiful as a woman, let him inspire the same artificial sentiments, the same affectionate and adoring

language, and we have humour—poetry with a comment of twinkling fairy laughter.

Shakespeare's man like the other poet's lady shows what Beauty is ; when other poets wrote of their beauties they but prophesied of him.

When in the chronicle of wasted time
I see descriptions of the fairest wights,
And beauty making beautiful old rime,
In praise of ladies dead and lovely knights,
Then, in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,
Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,
I see their antique pen would have express'd
Even such a beauty as you master now.
So all their praises are but prophecies
Of this our time, all you prefiguring ;
And for they look'd but with divining eyes,
They had not skill enough your worth to sing :
For we, which now behold these present days,
Have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praise.¹

Or,

O! that record could with a backward look,
Even of five hundred courses of the sun,
Show me your image in some antique book,
Since mind at first in character was done !
That I might see what the old world could say
To this composed wonder of your frame ;
Whe'r we are mended, or whe'r better they,
Or whether revolution be the same.
O! sure I am, the wits of former days
To subjects worse have given admiring praise.²

The final couplet would be as sharp as Pope, if things can be sharp and not hurt. He does not forget his friend's sweet scent.

The forward violet thus did I chide :
Sweet thief, whence didst thou steal thy sweet that smells,
If not from my love's breath? The purple pride
Which on thy soft cheek for complexion dwells

In my love's veins thou hast too grossly dy'd.
 The lily I condemned for thy hand,
 And buds of marjoram had stol'n thy hair;
 The roses fearfully on thorns did stand,
 One blushing shame, another white despair;
 A third, nor red nor white, had stol'n of both,
 And to his robbery had annex'd thy breath;
 But, for his theft, in pride of all his growth
 A vengeful canker eat him up to death.
 More flowers I noted, yet I none could see
 But sweet or colour it had stol'n from thee.¹

He sometimes turns round and mocks the fashion more directly, yet still half directly for Sidney was fond of this attitude.

So is it not with me as with that Muse
 Stirr'd by a painted beauty to his verse,
 Who heaven itself for ornament doth use
 And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,
 Making a couplement of proud compare,
 With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems,
 With April's first-born flowers, and all things rare
 That heaven's air in this huge rondure hems.
 O! let me, true in love, but truly write,
 And then believe me, my love is as fair
 As any mother's child, though not so bright
 As those gold candles fix'd in heaven's air:
 Let them say more that like of hear-say well;
 I will not praise that purpose not to sell.²

Talking so much of beauty, he does not forget to write about a looking glass.

Alack! what poverty my Muse brings forth,
 That having such a scope to show her pride,
 The argument, all bare, is of more worth
 Than when it hath my added praise beside!
 O! blame me not, if I no more can write!
 Look in your glass, and there appears a face
 That over-goes my blunt invention quite.
 Dulling my lines and doing me disgrace.

¹ XXVII

² Cf. also XXVIII.

Were it not sinful then, striving to mend,
 To mar the subject that before was well?
 For to no other pass my verses tend
 Than of your graces and your gifts to tell:
 And more, much more, than in my verse can sit,
 Your own glass shows you when you look in it.¹

I do not mean to say that men never look in their glass except to shave, still a serious poet who introduces his hero in the Narcissus attitude does so at a risk. But Shakespeare risks all seriousness in praise of his friend. He is obsessed. Like all the other poets, he has his friend's image in his heart, but I cannot quote everything. He personifies his eyes and heart as the others do.

Mine eye and heart are at a mortal war,
 How to divide the conquest of thy sight;
 Mine eye my heart thy picture's sight would bar,
 My heart mine eye the freedom of that right.
 My heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie,—
 A closet never pierc'd with crystal eyes,—
 But the defendant doth that plea deny,
 And says in him thy fair appearance lies.
 To 'cide this title is impannelled
 A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart;
 And by their verdict is determined
 The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part:
 As thus mine eye's due is thine outward part,
 And my heart's right thine inward love of heart.²

He does full justice to the theme of making his friend immortal.

Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
 Or you survive when I in earth am rotten;
 From hence your memory death cannot take,
 Although in me each part will be forgotten.
 Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
 Though I, once gone, to all the world must die:
 The earth can yield me but a common grave,
 When you entombed in men's eyes shall lie.

Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
 Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read;
 And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
 When all the breathers of this world are dead;
 You still shall live,—such virtue hath my pen,—
 Where breath most breathes,—even in the mouths of men.¹

The *gaucherie* at the end was surely intentional.

Like the other poets Shakespeare goes on a journey, moping all day and thinking of his friend all night.

Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed,
 The dear repose for limbs with travel tired:
 But then begins a journey in my head
 To work my mind, when body's work's expir'd:
 For then my thoughts—from far where I abide—
 Intend a zealous pilgrimage to thee,
 And keep my drooping eyelids open wide,
 Looking on darkness which the blind to see:
 Save that my soul's imaginary sight
 Presents thy shadow to my sightless view,
 Which, like a jewel hung in ghastly night,
 Makes black night beauteous and her old face new.
 Lo! thus, by day my limbs, by night my mind,
 For thee, and for myself no quiet find.²

Since I left you, mine eye is in my mind;
 And that which governs me to go about
 Doth part his function and is partly blind,
 Seems seeing, but effectually is out;
 For it no form delivers to the heart
 Of bird, of flower, or shape, which it doth latch:
 Of his quick objects hath the mind no part,
 Nor his own vision holds what it doth catch;
 Nor if it see the rud'st or gentlest sight,
 The most sweet favour or deformed'st creature,
 The mountain or the sea, the day or night,
 The crow or dove, it shapes them to your feature:
 Incapable of more, replete with you,
 My most true mind thus maketh mine untrue.³

¹ LXXXI.

² XXVII.

³ CXIII.

Or whether doth my mind being crown'd with you,
 Drink up the monarch's plague, this flattery?
 Or whether shall I say, mine eye saith true,
 And that your love taught it this alchymy,
 To make of monsters and things indigest
 Such cherubins as your sweet self resemble,
 Creating every bad a perfect best,
 As fast as objects to his beams assemble ?¹

or more beautiful and with less ironic comment, *From you have I been absent in the spring,*² and *How like a winter hath my absense been.*³

Shakespeare does not leave the other commonplace themes out. Praise or love from his friend compensates him for all the evils the world can do.

When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes
 I all alone beweepe my outcast state,
 And trouble deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
 And look upon myself, and curse my fate,
 Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
 Featur'd like him, like him with friends possess'd,
 Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
 With what I most enjoy contented least:
 Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising,
 Haply I think on thee,—and then my state,
 Like to the lark at break of day arising
 From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate;
 For thy sweet love remember'd such wealth brings
 That then I scorn to change my state with kings. ⁴

When we read sonnets with this theme, we must not take it that Shakespeare's lot was really miserable. He exaggerated his lucklessness for effect. There would be no point in saying "I have only ten friends and a moderate income, but you make up for the want of more friends and money" He must, like all the poets, be the orphan of fate before the power of his friend to

¹ OXIV.² XCVIII.³ XCVII.⁴ XXIX.

make up for the loss of life's comforts and of popular respect is worth recording.

Your love and pity doth the impression fill
Which vulgar scandal stamp'd upon my brow;
For what care I who calls me well or ill,
So you o'er-green my bad, my good allow ?
You are my all-the-world, and I must strive
To know my shames and praises from your tongue;
None else to me, nor I to none alive,
That my steel'd sense or changes right or wrong.
In so profound abysm I throw all care
Of other's voices, that my adder's sense
To critic and to flatterer stopped are.
Mark how with my neglect I do dispense:
You are so strongly in my purpose bred,
That all the world besides methinks are dead.¹

He combines this with another commonplace.

When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
I summon up remembrance of things past,
I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought;
And with old woes new wail my dear times waste:
Then can I drown an eye, unus'd to flow,
For precious friends hid in death's dateless night,
And weep afresh love's long since cancelled woe.
And moan the expense of many a vanish'd sight:
Then can I grieve at grievances foregone,
And heavily from woe to woe tell o'er
The sad account of fore-bemoaned moan,
Which I new pay as if not paid before.
But if the while I think on the, dear friend,
All losses are restor'd and sorrows end.²

He exaggerates still farther in the next sonnet, where all his dead friends are mystically included in his present friend, much in the same way as all beautiful ladies become Stella in Sidney's sonnet.

¹ CXII; see also CXI.

² XXX.

Thy bosom is endeared with all hearts,
 Which I by lacking have supposed dead;
 And there reigns Love, and all Love's loving parts,
 And all those friends which I thought buried.
 How many a holy and obsequious tear
 Hath dear religious love stol'n from mine eye,
 As interest of the dead, which now appear
 But things remov'd that hidden in the lie !
 Thou art the grave where buried love doth live,
 Hung with the trophies of my lovers gone,
 Who all their parts of me to thee did give,
 That due of many now is thine alone :
 Their images I lov'd I view in thee,
 And thou—all they—hast all the all of me.¹

Shakespeare can write dismally too. When out of favour with his idol his sun is out.

Full many a glorious morning have I seen
 Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,
 Kissing with golden face the meadows green,
 Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchymy;
 Anon permit the basest clouds to ride
 With ugly rack on his celestial face,
 And from the forlorn world his visage hide,
 Stealing unseen to west with this disgrace;
 Even so my sun one early morn did shine,
 With all-triumphant splendour on my brow;
 But, out ! alack ! he was but one our mine.
 The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now.
 Yet him for this my love no whit disdaineth;
 Suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth.²

This reminds us of Drayton's 49th sonnet, with for theme

Tell me, if ever since the world began
 So fair a morning had so foul a set,

or of Spenser's No. XL. He writes another sonnet on the same theme leading on to another joke, and reflecting Spenser's fortieth sonnet more particularly.

¹ XXXI.

² XXXIII.

Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day,
 And make me travel forth without my cloak,
 To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
 Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke ?
 'Tis not enough that through the cloud thou break,
 To dry the rain on my storm-beaten face,
 For no man well of such a salve can speak
 That heals the wound and cures not the disgrace :
 Nor can thy shame give physic to my grief ;
 Though thou repent, yet I have still the loss :
 The offender's sorrow lends but weak relief,
 To him that bears the strong offence's cross.
 Ah! but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
 And they are rich and ransom all ill deeds.¹

In the next sonnet he takes over his friend's sin.²

No more be grieved at that which thou hast done
 Roses have thorns, and silver fountains mud ;
 Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun,
 And loathsome canker lives in sweetest bud,
 All men make faults, and even I in this,
 Authorising thy trespass with compare,
 Myself corrupting, salving thy amiss,
 Excusing thy sins more than thy sins are ;
 For to thy sensual fault I bring in sense,—
 Thy adverse party is thy advocate,—
 And 'gainst myself a lawful plea commence :
 Such civil war is in my love and hate,
 That I an accessory needs must be
 To that sweet thief which sourly robs from me.³

By the next sonnet he has absorbed his friend's sin so completely that his friend, now cleared, can no longer acknowledge Shakespeare laden with his base sin.

Let me confess that we two must be twain,
 Although our undivided loves are one :
 So shall those blots that do with me remain,
 Without thy help, by me be borne alone.

¹ XXXIV.

² Cf. Daniel, XXX, XXXII and XXXIII.

³ XXXV.

In our two loves there is but one respect,
 Though in our lives a separable spite,
 Which, though it alter not love's sole effect,
 Yet doth it steal sweet hours from love's delight.
 I may not evermore acknowledge thee,
 Lest my bewailed guilt should do the shame,
 Nor thou with public kindness honour me,
 Unless thou take that honour from thy name :
 But do not so; I love thee in such sort
 As thou being mine, mine is thy good report.¹

Such sonnets written to a woman do not compromise her very far since her sin is coldness and disdain. Addressed to a man, if the first ridiculousness is not caught, they make his guilt sound dastardly. Some readers miss the second stage in the joke (where Shakespeare takes over his friend's sin) and now believed Shakespeare some sort of social pariah, and when later he assumes the conventional humble unworthiness of the sonneteer, they take this solemnly as farther evidence.

Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,
 And I will comment upon that offence :
 Speak of my lameness, and I straight will halt,
 Against thy reasons making no defence.
 Thou canst not, love, disgrace me half so ill,
 To set a form upon desired change,
 As I'll myself disgrace; knowing thy will,
 I will acquaintance strangle, and look strange;
 Be absent from thy walks; and in my tongue
 Thy sweet beloved name no more shall dwell,
 Lest I, too much profane, should do it wrong,
 And haply of our old acquaintance tell.
 For thee, against myself I'll vow debate,
 For I must ne'er love him whom thou dost hate.²

All the sonneteers write like this, but in Shakespeare it sounds either ridiculous, or sordid. Custom has not habituated us to take trifles between man and man seriously, as it has those between man and woman.

¹ XXXVI.

² LXXXIX.

At other times he makes the sonnet play humorous by over seriousness, pretending that an artificial sentiment is a sincere and strong emotion.

When I have seen by Time's fell hand defac'd
 The rich-proud cost of outworn buried age;
 When sometime lofty towers I see down raz'd,
 And brass eternal slave to mortal rage;
 When I have seen the hungry ocean gain
 Advantage on the kingdom of the shore,
 And the firm soil win of the watery main,
 Increasing store with loss, and loss with store;
 When I have seen such interchange of state,
 Or state itself confounded to decay;
 Ruin hath taught me thus to ruminat
 That Time will come and take my love away.
 This thought is as a death, which cannot choose
 But weep to have that which it fears to loose.¹

In other sonnets he plays with the idea of two being so united that they are one.

Take all my loves, my love, yea, take them all;
 What hast thou then more than thou hadst before?
 No love, my love, that thou mayst true love call,
 All mine was thine before thou hadst this more.
 Then, if for my love thou my love receivest,
 I cannot blame thee for my love thou usest;
 But yet be blam'd, if thou thyself deceivest
 By wilful taste of what thyself refusest.
 I do forgive thy robbery, gentle thief,
 Although thou steal thee all my poverty;
 And yet, love knows it is a greater grief
 To bear love's wrong than hate's known injury.
 Lascivious grace, in whom all ill well shows,
 Kill me with spites; yet we must not be foes.²

I like the little snap at the end—"Kill me with spites; yet we must not be foes." He makes the efforts of the mystic

¹ LXIV.

² XL.

union more ridiculous, by using it to excuse one of the most outrageous offences a friend could commit.

That thou hast her, it is not all my grief,
 And yet it may be said I lov'd her dearly;
 That she hath thee, is of my wailing chief,
 A loss in love that touches me more nearly.
 Loving offenders, thus I will excuse ye:
 Thou dost love her, because thou know'st I love her;
 And for my sake even so doth she abuse me,
 Suffering my friend for my sake to approve her.
 If I loose thee, my loss is my love's gain,
 And losing her, my friend hath found that loss;
 Both find each other, and I lose both twain,
 And both for my sake lay on me this cross:
 But here's the joy; my friend and I are one;
 Sweet flattery! then she loves but me alone.¹

Or he combines this with another conceit.

Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye
 And all my soul and all my every part;
 And for this sin there is no remedy,
 It is so grounded inward in my heart.
 Methinks no face so gracious is as mine,
 No shape so true, no truth of such account;
 And for myself mine own worth do define,
 As I all other in all worths surmount.
 But when my glass shows me myself indeed,
 Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity,
 Mine own self-love quite contrary I read;
 Self so self-loving were iniquity.
 'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise,
 Painting my age with beauty of thy days.²

"thee" is of course his friend, whom he cannot distinguish from himself. As all the other poets have grown wrinkled and old with love's worry, Shakespeare, not to be outdone, is "Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity." Curiously enough, though this has helped to date the sonnets, so far as I know

it has never been taken to prove that Shakespeare was a coachman. Just as Drayton¹ got into difficulties over his union with his love, when he played the accountant, so does Shakespeare get himself into the same hole, but more uncomfortably, for when he brings in the lady, he has three people all tangled up together by love. He says to the lady

So, now I have confess'd that he is thine,
And I myself am mortgag'd to thy will,
Myself I'll forfeit, so that other mine
Thou wilt restore, to be my comfort still:
But thou wilt not, nor he will not be free,
For thou art covetous and he is kind;
He learn'd but surety-like to write for me,
Under that bond that him as fast doth bind.
The statute of thy beauty thou wilt take,
Thou usurer, that putt'st forth all to use,
And sue a friend came debtor for my sake;
So him I lose through my unkind abuse.
Him have I lost; thou hast both him and me:
He pays the whole, and yet am I not free.²

Sometimes Shakespeare's mock submission is ironical directly. Speaking to the man he says

Being your slave, what should I do but tend
Upon the hours and times of your desire?
I have no precious time at all to spend,
Nor services to do, till you require.
Nor there I chide the world-without-end hour
Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock for you,
Nor think the bitterness of absence sour
When you have bid your servant once adieu;

* * *

So true a fool is love that in your will,
Though you do anything, he thinks no ill.³
That god forbid that made me first your slave,
I should in thought control your times of pleasure,
Or at your hand the accounts of hours to crave,
Being your vassal, bound to stay your leisure!

¹ No. 10.² CXXXIV.³ LVII.

O! let me suffer, being at your beck,
 The imprison'd absence of your liberty;
 And patience, tame to sufferance, bide each check,
 Without accusing you of injury.

* * *

I am to wait, though waiting so be hell,
 Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well.¹

When Shakespeare comes to sing his swan song for he also may die of love, or rather friendship—they are so much more beautiful than any one else's that we hardly think of them as skits. When he has not died of love, he is between the heats and colds of it,

So are you to my thoughts as food to life,
 Or as sweet season'd showers are to the ground;
 And for the peace of you I hold such strife
 As 'twixt a miser and his wealth is found;
 Now proud as an enjoyer, and anon
 Doubting the filching age will steal his treasure;
 Now counting best to be with you alone,
 Then better'd that the world may see my pleasure;
 Sometime, all full with feasting on your sight,
 And by and by clean starved for a look;
 Possessing or pursuing no delight,
 Save what is had or must from you be took.
 Thus do I pine and surfeit day by day,
 Or gluttoning on all, or all away.²

Again, this short of thing would not be funny addressed to a woman, but it is not an emotion one man feels for another. I know that the Elizabethans are said to have valued friendship very greatly; who that has ever had a friend, does not? I do not think it extravagant for one man to write ardent or impassioned sonnets to another, any more than Tennyson's *In Memoriam* is extravagant, but I do say that the feelings Shakespeare expresses in the sonnets are not the feelings of friendship but of love. A healthy friendship never fears its dissolution

as the sonnet love does, nor though unselfish, is itself abashing. The emotions of friendship are steady and give self-respect; the joy of a friend helps rather than hinders in the of life; its is not the sunsetting, upsetting, absorbing, distraught emotion of the sonnets. Since there is nothing physical in friendship, love, spatial separation does not rob friends of sleep in fevered nights or discolour the day with aimless fancies. Shakespeare's sonnets taken seriously are exaggerated, over-balanced, even foolish. Despite all their far-fetched affectations, the Elizabethan sonneteers had, if not sincere, at least natural emotions behind the twisted strands of their conceits. The emotions behind Shakespeare's sonnets are not natural for one man to feel towards another. To put it crudely, if Shakespeare meant those seriously, he must have had a "Grand Passion" for a man much younger than himself, in fact something less possible than that. So unnatural are his sentiments that despite his use of the masculine gender for the first 125 sonnets—and without one single exception—some of his readers, including Coleridge, declare that they are all addressed to a woman. The easier and first impression is that they are intentionally absurd; they tickle our humour, and I see no reason why we should control that tickle. The dramatist who portrays emotion on the stage with such a sane proportion, would not suddenly lose that just balance when writing in the most conventional form he could use, unless he did it deliberately.

But there is even less doubt about Shakespeare's skit where he writes to the woman; he concentrates most of the darkness on her; the Elizabethan sonneteers almost made a dual personality of their lady, angel and devil; Shakespeare went one better and wrote to an angel man and a devil woman. Though he does occasionally write a petulant sonnet to the man,¹ and one less

¹ XCV-XCVI, *cf.* Spenser in such sonnets as XLVII, Drayton, 30, etc., and CXIX-CXX *cf.* Sidney in XCIII. V.

compromising to the woman, on the whole, he keeps to black for one and white for the other.

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,
Which like two spirits do suggest me still :
The better angel is a man right fair,
The worser spirit a woman, colour'd ill.¹

His first sonnet to the woman refers to Sidney's audacity in writing to a black-eyed lady. Sidney excused her eyes as mourners :

When nature made her chief work, Stella's eyes,
In colour black, why wrapt she beams so bright?
Would she in beamy black like painter wise,
Frame daintiest lustre mixt of shades and light?
Or did she else that sober hue devise,
In object best, to strength and knit our sight?
Lest if no veil these brave beams did disguise,
They sun-like would more dazzle than delight.
Or would she her miraculous power show,
That whereas black seems Beauty' contrary,
She even in black doth make all Beauties flow:
But so and thus, she minding Love should be
Placed ever there, gave him this mourning weed;
To honour all their deaths, who for her bleed.²

Shakespeare comments :

In the old age black was not counted fair,
Or if it were, it bore not beauty's name;
But now is black beauty's successive heir,
And beauty slander'd with a bastard's shame:
For since each hand hath put on Nature's power,
Fairing the foul with Art's false borrow'd face,
Sweet beauty hath no name, no holy bower,
But is profan'd, if not lives in disgrace.
Therefore my mistress' brows are raven black,
Her eyes so suited, and they mourners seem
At such who, not born fair, no beauty lack,
Sland'ring creation with a false esteem:
Yet so they mourn, becoming of their woe,
That every tongue says beauty should look so.³

¹ OXLIV.

² VII.

³ CXXVII.

We must not miss the significance of "therefore" in the 9th line; this is Shakespeare's explanation of the darkness of his lady. In another sonnet he harps on the same theme.

Thine eyes I love, and they, as pitying me,
 Knowing thy heart torments me with disdain,
 Have put on black and loving mourners be,
 Looking with pretty ruth upon my pain.
 And truly not the morning sun of heaven
 Better becomes the grey cheeks of the east,
 Nor that full star that ushers in the even,
 Doth half that glory to the sober west,
 As those two mourning eyes become thy face:
 O! let it then as well beseem thy heart
 To mourn for me, since mourning doth thee grace,
 And suit thy pity like in every part.
 Then will I swear beauty herself is black,
 And all they foul that thy complexion lack.¹

The second sonnet to the woman is a pretty conceit, the third one against Lust.

The expense of spirit in a waste of shame
 Is lust in action; and till action, lust
 Is perjur'd, murderous, bloody, full of blame,
 Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust;
 Enjoy'd no sooner but despised straight;
 Past reason hunted; and no sooner had,
 Past reason hated, as a swallow'd bait,
 On purpose laid to make the taker mad:
 Mad in pursuit, and in possession so;
 Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
 A bliss in proof,—and prov'd, a very woe;
 Before, a joy propos'd; behind, a dream.
 All this the world well knows; yet none knows well
 To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell.²

Although anyone who examine this closely will see that it says a number of ridiculous things, this sonnet has been taken to show that Shakespeare's moral command was weak. One

1 CXXXII.

2 CXXIX.

might charge Sidney with a similar weakness because of his sonnet on Desire.

Thou blind mans marke, thou fooles selfe chosen snare,
Fond fancies scum, and dregs of scattred thought,
Band of all evils, cradle of causelesse care,
Thou web of will, whose end is never wrought.
Desire, desire I have too dearely bought,
With praise of mangled mind thy worthless ware,
Too long, too long asleepe thou hast me brought,
Who should my mind to higher things prepare.
But yet in vaine thou madest me to vaine things aspire,
In vaine thou kindlest all thy smokie fire.
For vertue hath this better lesson taught,
Within my selfe to seeke my onelie hire:
Desiring nought but how to kill desire.¹

This is of course in preparation for the medieval translation of his earthly love into a heavenly Love, but Sidney has debased and falsified his real feelings. Shakespeare shows the pretense by stepping behind him, and with awesome solemnity mimicing an even more exaggerated and un-Sidney-like attitude.

In the fourth sonnet he hits directly at the conventional picture of the poet's love.

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;
Coral is far more red than her lips' red;
If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;
If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.
I have seen roses damask'd, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks;
And in some perfumes is there more delight
Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.
I love to hear her speak, yet well I know
That music hath a far more pleasing sound;
I grant I never saw a goddess go,—
My mistress, when she walks, treads on the ground;

¹ P. 322 of Cambridge edition (1922), usually No. CIX. Sir Sidney Lee quotes this sonnet as the "origin" of Shakespeare's.

And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare
As any she belied with false compare.¹

This is the dark lady of the sonnets, who wrecked Shakespeare's life and tortured his soul; this woman destroyed the youthful pensive poet of *Romeo and Juliet*, the gay humorist of the *Merry Wives* or *Hénry IV* and turned him into the tragedian who writes from the depth of tragic passion; she is assuredly the model for Cleopatra, if not indeed for nearly every woman Shakespeare portrays. Truly a joke is a dangerous thing.

The next two sonnets return to the mourning eyes, the first trips us up unexpectedly at the end.

Thou art as tyrannous, so as thou art,
As those whose beauties proudly make them cruel;
For well thou know'st to my dear dotting heart
Thou art the fairest and most precious jewel.
Yet in good faith some say that thee behold,
Thy face hath not the power to make love groan;
To say they err I dare not be so bold,
Although I swear it to myself alone.
And to be sure that is not false I swear,
A thousand groans, but thinking on thy face,
One on another's neck, do witness bear
Thy black is fairest in my judgment's place,
In nothing art thou black save in thy deeds,
And thence this slander, as I think, proceeds.²

But we cannot go through them all, explaining the joke. He delights chiefly to play upon his lady's ugliness the conceits the other poets use for the charm of their beauties. All the other ladies steal men's hearts, and Shakespeare uses the same theme but makes it ugly.

Thou blind fool, Love, what dost thou to mine eyes,
That they behold, and see not what they see?
They know what beauty is, see where it lies,
Yet what the best is take the worst to be.

¹ CXXX.

CXXXI.

If eyes, corrupt by over-partial looks,
 Be anchor'd in the bay where all men ride,
 Why of eyes' falsehood hast thou forged hooks,
 Whereto the judgment of my heart is tied?
 Why should my heart think that a several plot
 Which my heart knows the wide world's common place?
 Or mine eyes, seeing this, say this is not,
 To put fair truth upon so foul a face?
 In things right true my heart and eyes have err'd,
 And to this false plague are they now transferr'd.¹

He personifies the parts of his body but not to flatter his love.

In faith I do not love thee with mine eyes,
 For they in thee a thousand errors note;
 But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,
 Who, in despite of view, is pleas'd to dote.
 Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted;
 Nor tender feeling, to base touches prone.
 Nor taste nor smell desire to be invited
 To any sensual feast with thee alone;
 But my five wits nor my five senses can
 Dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee,
 Who leaves unswayed the likeness of a man,
 Thy proud heart's slave and vassal wretch to be:
 Only my plague thus far I count my gain,
 That she that makes me sin awards me pain.²

His love makes him mad, as it did Drayton,³ so he writes like the others.

My love is as a fever, longing still
 For that which longer nurseth the disease;
 Feeding on that which doth preserve the ill,
 The uncertain sickly appetite to please,
 My reason, the physician to my love,
 Angry that his prescriptions are not kept,
 Hath left me, and I desperate now approve
 Desire is death, which physic did except,

¹ CXXXVII.² CXLI, also CXXXIX & CL.³ 48,

Past cure I am, now Reason is past care,
 And frantic mad with evermore unrest;
 My thoughts and my discourse as madman's are,
 At random from the truth vainly express'd;
 For I have sworn the fair, and thought thee bright,
 Who art as black as hell, as dark as night.¹

In the midst of these we find this simple little plea.

Be wise as thou art cruel; do not press
 My tongue-tied patience with too much disdain;
 Lest sorrow lend me words, and words express
 The manner of my pity-wanting pain.

* * *

For, if I should despair, I should grow mad,
 And in my madness might speak ill of thee:
 Now this ill-wresting world is grown so bad,
 Mad slanderers by mad ears believed be.²

It is almost unbelievable how anyone should imagine Shakespeare wrote these sonnets to a real woman. They take their meaning as a final fling at the conventional sonnets. Nothing in any of them shows that he wrote seriously, and there is every sign he conceived them in the spirit of a "rag." We cannot very well argue about this, bringing logic to prove the humour of a joke. But I do not think we could miss the joke if we read the sonnets in their proper atmosphere, especially if we could get rid of our false reverence for Shakespeare, and the loss of our false reverence will not hurt our real reverence for him. Some of them are so humorous that even serious people have to control an inclination to smile. Mr. Massey³ was troubled by one to the woman.

Lo, as a careful housewife runs to catch
 One of her feather'd creatures broke away,
 Sets down her babe, and makes all quick dispatch
 In pursuit of the thing she would have stay;

¹ OXLVII.

² CXL.

³ *The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets unfolded*, p. 329.

Whilst her neglected child holds her in chase,
 Cries to catch her whose busy care is bent
 To follow that which flies before her face,
 Not prizing her poor infant's discontent:
 So runn'st thou after that which flies from thee,
 Whilst I thy babe chase thee afar behind;
 But if thou catch thy hope, turn back to me,
 And play the mother's part, kiss me, be kind;
 So will I pray that thou mayst have thy Will ¹
 If thou turn back and my loud crying still.²

Massey says that the idea of Shakespeare representing "himself in love with, and stark mad for, a bold bad woman—by the image of a poor little infant, a tender child, toddling after its mammy and crying out for her apron-corner to hold by, and her kiss to still its whimpering discontent...would be laughable, if not too lamentable. But Shakespeare did not write to be laughed at." Thus we put a natural interpretation of the sonnets out of court at once. Where they are so absurd that they force a smile out of us, we check ourselves—"There must be some deep meaning in this. Shakespeare did not write to be laughed at." Thereupon only the very bravest students of Shakespeare admit that they did suppress a smile.

We do feel a sort of wonder, even a mild shock, when we see a great man relaxing and playing the fool. We small people, should we win the respect due to a little more wisdom than the average, would lose our exalted reputation if we relaxed into foolishness. Common report will not have a man both wise and frivolous. We find it difficult enough to imagine how one mind can hold both the swollen emotions of *Antony and Cleopatra* and the trifling fancies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The sonnet parody is perhaps more whimsical than we expect from the creator of *Macbeth*, till we remember some of Shakespeare's fools. But his humour had a fanciful and delicate strand, observable even in his roaring drunkards. I

¹ Even this poem is copied from the other sonneteers.

² CXLIII.

can easily imagine him reading his sonnets to his friends in solemn tones, watching the joke escape the heavy-minded and dawn on the more agile.

Perhaps this was an inevitable joke to the Elizabethans, their attitude to the emotions being perhaps freer from sentiment than any age till our own. Think of the difference between Thackeray's or even Wordsworth's attitude to emotion and theirs! The Elizabethans were too sincere to be sentimental. Their liveliest part was their brain; the renaissance had stirred their imagination, a sense of newly discovered worlds, and more worlds to be discovered, their intellect; wars kept them practical, and the late Protestant revolt helped them to a truthful outlook. We have much in common with them: science has both stimulated our imagination and intellect by the discovery of new realities, and forced on us, at first unwilling but now grateful, the attitude of truth. But the Elizabethans differed from us in not thinking so much about emotions which they felt perhaps more strongly. Like us,¹ they were robust and sincere, neither sentimentalizing nor magnifying their feelings, but not puzzled about them. Any unnatural excess or affectation was easily laughed at. We may illustrate this from the only book even attributed to Shakespeare's library—Florio's translation of Montaigne's essays. In the essay on sorrow and sadness and the effects of strong emotion, Montaigne, after telling how some have died of grief, some of joy, adds "I am little subject to these violent emotions." We can imagine a modern humorist treating the grand emotions flippantly like this. Looking at things straightforwardly without flinching or pretence, the Elizabethans could hardly be sentimental. Their only artificialities were affected ones. When they write artificially they do it on purpose; they knew they but trifled when they dressed their feeling in intellectual

¹ Meaning by "us" the average intellectual reader, for when all is said, they alone were concerned, or ever will be concerned with Shakespeare's sonnets.

or imaginative conceits. The average steady-going among them could not take their sophistications seriously, nor mistake sentiment for feeling. Nor would the Elizabethans imagine that the sonnets were the poetry of real feeling, and indeed, would probably have looked for real feeling anywhere rather than in poetry. A parody on this game of verse lovemaking would be no sacrilege in that age, though it may seem sacrilegious to us, who have learnt from Wordsworth to take poetry seriously. And more, Shakespeare was not the only poet to laugh at the fashion, though the joke may easily have begun with him. Davies wrote a series of Gullinge Sonnets in 1595.¹ I do not know the date of Gabriel Harvey's *Amorous Odious Sonnet*. And apart from these, Shakespeare would not have continually made fun of the sonnet on the stage, if his public were not ready to laugh; while even those who read the sonnets solemnly, may find him criticising the affectations of this fashion.

KATHARINE M. WILSON

Sir Sidney's Life, Appendix IX.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN JAINISM

By birth and education, every one of us has been placed within the sphere of power of one or another of the great human civilizations, which exercised its influence on our bodily and mental training, and on the whole development of our personality, and even impressed, on the mind of the majority, the stamp of its particular religious dogma. Strengthened by history, tradition, custom, and convention, this net-work of influences fettered the individual nearly as firmly as those bonds of kinship do, that connect him with the race of his ancestors.

Still, as those bonds of kinship do not hinder a person from attaching himself with even stronger bonds, bonds of love and friendship, bonds of fellowship and mental affinity, to other, distant persons, just so that other bondage must not keep anybody back from glancing around himself, discovering merits in heterogeneous religions, and measuring his own conceptions by the noblest of theirs.

But then : how to judge of the merit of a religion, how to know what is great and noble in it? Is not one single religion, isolated from its sister-religions, like the isolated petal of a flower, the isolated note of a melody? Is it not, in its one-sidedness, comparable to the opinion of a single one of that group of blind men, who, standing before an elephant for the first time in their lives, tried to define its nature : the first, who happened to touch its forehead, declared the elephant to be a big pebble; the second from the touch of one of its tusks, defined it as a pointed weapon, the third, after touching the trunk, said the elephant was a leather bag; the fourth caught hold of one of the ears, and defined the whole animal as a flapping fan; the fifth, after passing his hand over its back, declared it to be a mountain, the sixth, who had touched one of the legs, said the elephant was a pillar; and the seventh described it as a piece of rope, because

he had just caught hold of the tail. Each of them grasped only part of the nature of the actual thing. And just so, each of the various religions on earth appears to make us see a different aspect of Truth Divine. How then are we entitled to speak of merit in one or another of them ?

As a matter of fact, the individual, whenever acting, endeavours to act so as to establish, or to maintain, an optimum of physical well-being, in response to its innate egotistic instincts. In this activity, it feels itself often and again checked by another kind of inner voices, which (no matter whether they be called conscience, or categorical imperative, or social instincts, or whatever else) regularly warn it, whenever egotism tempts it to transgress one or another of the universal commandments of ethics, and to endanger, thereby, directly or indirectly, the well-being of the social body to which it belongs. Life seems to be nothing but an attempt of the individual to keep itself balancing, as it were, on the delicate line of demarcation between the postulates of egotism and those of ethics, avoiding to hurt its own interests on one, and those of society on the other side. This state of equilibrium is experienced, by the refined mind, as the optimum of inner happiness attainable under the given circumstances. It is that bliss, that "peace of God," which religion promises to its followers.

For religion has always considered to be its task to indicate that line of demarcation winding along between those two postulates. Every religion has approached this task with boldness and determination, and in its own peculiar way, following its own particular character and tradition. If a religion has succeeded in fulfilling its task well, its doctrines must guarantee a state of perfect and permanent harmony between the well-being of the individual and that of society, under whatever conditions imaginable. It is obvious that reversely, the degree and constancy of perfection characterizing the harmony of the above two factors must allow us to judge of the merit of the religion by which it is being vouched for.

Measured by this standard, there can be no question as to the high value of Jainism, that time-honoured religion, which goes back to the teachings of Vardhamana Mahavira, the great contemporary and countryman of Gautama Buddha, and to his predecessors, for its teachings seem to guarantee indeed "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" not only of men, but of living beings, under all circumstances imaginable. This is why I make bold to draw the attention of the reader on this extraordinarily fascinating and important subject to-day.

According to Jainism, everything that lives, has got a *soul*, or, to speak in the beautiful concise language of the Scriptures, is a soul. And all the souls are fellow-creatures: the god-like recluse in his purity and unshakable peace, the active man of the world with his never-resting ambitions, the innocent infant, and the criminal, the lion and the nightingale, the cobra and the dragon-fly, the green leaf and the rose flower, the tiniest particle of water and the smallest of the corpuscles that compose the shining crystal, each of those myriads of beings that form the wings of the breeze, and of those that waver in the scarlet glow of fire: all are fellow-creatures, all are brothers. For all have got bodies, all have got senses, all have got instincts, all take food and digest it, all multiply, all are born and die, all are capable of suffering and enjoying, and all bear the germs of perfection within themselves. That means, all are able to develop, during the long chain of their respective existences subsequent to one another, their innate dispositions of perception, knowledge, activity, and joy, to a degree of highest perfection. And all find themselves placed in the middle of the struggle against "*Karma*."

"*Karma*" designates that substance which we incessantly assimilate by our bodily and mental activity, and which remains latent in the depths of our personality, until it "ripens" at the critical moment, destining the whole complex of our personality, as far as it is foreign to "soul," and shaping our whole fate. We bind *Karma* by walking and speaking, by eating and

Jaina Scriptures. They state, it is true, that the soul is indeed constantly under the control of Karma, that its body and its sufferings and joys are indeed shaped by Karma, and that even those passions that shake it, and all the fatal instincts that arise in it, are predestined by Karma: but, on the other hand, they most emphatically declare that the soul is endowed with the power of breaking, by its free resolution and activity, the most obnoxious of the fetters of this very Karma, of destroying its own evil dispositions, and of suffocating the flames of all the various kinds of passion, before they can overpower it. That means nothing else but that the first and essential step towards religious activity, is a pronounced act of free volition, and that the soul is indeed, to a considerable extent, the lord of its own fate.

Thus, Jainism does not torpify its followers by the terrors of Karma, nor does it make them languish in unhealthy, effeminate fatalism, as many people think all oriental religions do: but on the contrary, it trains the individual to become a true hero on the battle-field of self-conquest.

For it does presuppose a great deal of heroism on the part of the hearer, to make him fully realize the cruel irony of this play of life, *viz.*, how they all strive after happiness by all means of physical and mental activity, from eating, drinking, sleeping, dressing, up to sport and play, traffic and trade, art and science, how they strive after happiness at any cost, even at the cost of the well-being of others, to reach, alas, just the contrary, *viz.*, the binding of undesirable Karma, and therewith latent sorrow and suffering! To make him realize all this, and to make him know that he cannot even quietly sit and breathe without killing and harming life round about, killing and harming brother-souls, and adding thereby to the stock of his own misfortunes! To make him aware of it, and still encourage him to take up the desperate struggle against this world of dark nights within and about him!

How can he take up this desperate struggle?

“कहं चरि कहं चिट्ठे कहमासे कहं सए ।

कहं भंजंतो भासंतो पावं कम्मं न बंधइ ॥

“How to walk, how to stand, how to sit, how to lie down, how to eat, and how to speak, without binding undesirable Karma?”

The Dasavaikalika Sutra (IV. 7 f.), after giving a detailed description of the harm people do to other creatures merely by carelessness, puts these questions, and immediately lets the answer follow :

“जयं चरि जयं चिट्ठे जयमासे जयं सए ।

जयं भंजंतो भासंतो पावं कम्मं न बंधइ ॥”

“By walking with care, standing with care, sitting with care, lying down with care, eating with care, and speaking with care the binding of undesirable Karma can be avoided.”

The Acaranga Sutra discusses the subject in full breadth, and the Suttrakritanga Sutra, which goes more into the depth of the abstruse problem, goes so far as to state (II. 4) that the soul is binding bad Karma at any time whatsoever, even if it does not directly do evil actions, *i.e.*, even in sleep or in a state of unconsciousness. For as a man who has made up his mind to kill a certain person at the first best opportunity, goes about with his murderous intention day and night, and as his subconscious mind is constantly filled with those hostile sentiments towards that person, just so the individual is constantly filled with hostile sentiments towards the whole of creation, as long as he is inwardly prepared to satisfy, as soon as they will arouse him, his physical instincts, at the cost of the well-being of any other creature.

There is, according to the Sutras, only one way by which the individual can save himself from binding bad Karma, and that is the “*Pratyakhyana*,” *i.e.*, the solemn vow of restriction concerning harmful acting. For it is not enough

not to do evil deeds, after all, but one must avoid them with full intention and deliberation. Thus, one can, *e.g.*, vow not to eat meat in order to give an assurance of safety, “Abhaya-dana,” the noblest of all gifts, to a large group of animals; one can vow to avoid eating at night in order to put another kind of limit to one’s actions connected with indirect harm for others; one can vow not to wear silk or fur, or leather foot-wear, for the benefit of the animals producing it; one can vow not to break flowers ; or not to kill any animal whatsoever, down to worms and insects; one can vow not to waste any articles of daily use, such as water, fire, food, clothes, beyond one’s actual requirements; one can vow not to encourage the captivating and training of wild animals for the sake of sport or amusement, by avoiding to visit shows, etc., referring thereto; and one can vow to avoid thousands of similar actions connected with direct or indirect injury to other creatures. There are various kinds of Pratyakhyanas, from Pratyakhyanas of single actions of the above character, up to the stereotyped group of the five all-comprising Pratyakhyanas, called the Panca-Mahavrata or Five Great Vows, *viz.*, the Pratyakhyana of all physical injury whatsoever, that of all verbal injury, that of appropriating things arbitrarily, that of sexual intercourse and everything connected therewith, and that of keeping property or belongings of any kind. These five vows are taken by every Jain monk at the time of his initiation in a form of absolute strictness. They comprise not only the doing of those objectionable actions, but also the causing of their being done and the approval one might give to their being done, by thought, word, and action. The five Great Vows guarantee indeed the optimum of faultlessness attainable in this world. And this optimum is only attainable by persons of the highest qualities, who do not care to keep up any attachment whatsoever. Thus, a genuine Jaina Muni, even one of the twentieth century, will never use any vehicle, nor shoes, nor keep money, nor touch a woman, nor kindle or sit before

a fire, nor use unboiled water, nor take any food containing a trace of life, nor such food as has been prepared expressly for him, nor touch a green plant, for fear lest its delicate body might suffer from his bodily warmth, nor keep any property except his begging-bowls, his stick, and the scanty clothes that cover his body. And even these few things cannot well be called "property" in the sense of the Scriptures, because in their case, the characteristic which distinguishes property, viz., the attachment of the owner, is wanting. And there are even a group of Jaina monks who renounce these few utensils too, walking about unclad, and using their hands as their eating vessels. But there are only a few of them, in the whole of India: the "Digambara" or sky-clad monks, whereas the other branch, the "Svetambara" or white-clad monks, come to several hundreds.

The standard of the usual Pratyakhyanas for lay men consists in the group of fixed Pratyakhyanas called the Twelve Laymen Vows, which can be taken in various shades of strictness and in optional number. Though standing below the standard of the ascetical vows, still they represent a high form of ethical conduct.

Not only the Jaina monks, but also the laymen are very particular about taking and keeping, besides those groups of fundamental "Vows," which are being taken only once in the whole life, and for life-time, a number of other, detached Pratyakhyanas of the above described character for an optional period. For the Pratyakhyana is the very key to "Moksha": constant binding alone can lead to final "Liberty." Thus, there is practically no Jaina who will eat meat or fish or fowl, or even eggs, and there is no Jaina who will intentionally and without purpose kill or trouble a harmless living creature, be it even a fly. Most Jainas even avoid potatoes, onions, garlic, and other vegetables believed to be endowed with a higher vitality, as well as eating at night, and most Jainas take, for certain days, the vow of abstention from green vegetables, or from

travelling and moving out, or the vow of chastity and vows of innumerable other things.

The theoretical and practical valuation of the different kinds and shades of Pratyakhyanas depends not only on their duration, or on the quantity of the objects concerned, but first of all on their transcendental quality. For though all the souls, *i.e.*, all the living creatures, are equal in their original disposition, still they are observed to be in various phases of development towards perfection, in various stages of self-realization. According to the principle of economy, the higher developed ones are higher valued than the lower developed ones. Therefore the Karma bound by harming a higher developed being is thought to be of graver consequences than that bound by injuring a lower creature. Thus, plucking a handful of vegetables is by far less harmful than killing a cow, killing a menacing tiger less harmful than the murder of a peaceful antelope, or punishing a dangerous criminal of less consequences than an offence done to a saintly monk. This valuation, by-the-by, seems to have a counterpart in those less refined, universally adopted conceptions, which, with all expressions of disgust, condemn cannibalism, but do not object to the slaughtering of animals for culinary and other purposes, or which strictly forbid the bloodshed of a human being, but allow the murdering of the murderer, or that of the assailing or otherwise menacing enemy, all of which persons have ethics against them.

Thus much may be said concerning the Pratyakhyana of "Himsa," *i.e.*, Injury, that precaution against the binding of new latent suffering by deliberate abstention from actions connected with harm for others.

It has its counterpart in the attempts of securing new latent happiness, by furthering the well-being of others. Though there is no hope of gaining genuine, *i.e.*, completely pure and unhampered happiness as long as any particles of Karma of either kind mar the soul, still a certain amount of

good Karma is a necessary condition in order to secure that bodily and mental constitution from the basis of which the struggle against the obnoxious Karma particles can be successfully taken up. Good Karma is believed to be secured by charity, hospitality, and selfless service. And here too, a gradation of objects can be observed. It is, of course, meritorious to practise charity wherever our heart is moved to compassion. It is meritorious to build Pinjrapoles for the relief of poor, sick animals; it is meritorious to provide the poor hungry with bread, people suffering from cold with clothes, and homeless ones with a roof over their heads; still nothing can come up to the service done to a poor pious brother in Mahavira. The more he comes up to the ideal laid down in the Scriptures, the higher is considered to be the merit of serving him. This explains the remarkable zeal with which one can see Sravakas (laymen) hasten to feast a brother Jaina, especially on the day when the latter breaks a fast of long duration; and it accounts for the readiness with which a Jaina community or Jaina institution hastens to receive and to give facilities even to a foreign scholar who happens to be a student of Jainism, and whose learned activity in connection with Jainism is considered to be an undoubted religious merit. And it explains, last but not least, the unspeakable pleasure and devotion with which a Jaina family sees approaching towards their door the saintly monk or nun, who will enter with the greeting of " Dharmalabha " or a similar formula, and will allow the lord or lady of the house to put a small quantity of eatables into their bowl, provided that this action includes no direct or indirect injury to anybody, and that everything is in strictest accordance with the rules of monastic conduct and decency.

Now I have been asked several times whether it is true that the Jainas as alleged carry the virtue of charity so far as to cause, now and then, some poor wretch, whom they pay off, to yield his body as a pasture-ground for lice and fleas and other amiable creatures, and let them have their fill. According to my

firm conviction, this horrible allegation must be a bold invention. And if it is perhaps, against all probability, true that some ill-informed fanatic did such a thing, then he would have acted in straight opposition to the tenets of Jainism : for to make a being so highly developed as a human soul suffer in such a degrading way, in the name of all religions, would clearly fall under the heading of "Himsa" of worst and meanest injury, and would, besides, mean a downright insult to Religion in general.

Resuming, one can say that the social conduct prescribed by Jainism is characterized by the four attitudes "*Maitri*," "*Pramoda*," "*Karunya*," and "*Madhyasthya*," which have been grouped together in the following stanzas :

मा कार्षीत् कोऽपि पापानि मा च भूत् कोऽपि दुःखितः ।
 सुखतां जगदप्येषा मतिर्मेवै निगद्यते ॥
 अपा त्राशेषदाषाणां वस्तुतत्त्वावलोकनाम् ।
 गुणेषु पञ्चपातो यः स प्रमोदः प्रीतिमयः ॥
 दीनेष्वर्त्तन् भीतेषु याचमानेषु जीवितम् ।
 प्रतीकारपरा बुद्धिः कारुण्यमभिधीयते ॥
 क्रूरकर्मसु निःशङ्क देवतागुरुनिन्दिषु ।
 चात्मशंसिषु योऽपेक्षा तन्माध्यस्थ्यमुदौरितम् ॥

"By *Maitri*, i.e., amity, is meant that mentality which makes one wish that no creature should commit evil actions, that no creature should be suffering, and that the whole universe may find Salvation."

"*Pramoda*, i.e., joy, designates the fullest appreciation of, and admiration for, the virtues of those who have shaken off all sin, and who can see through the essence of all things."

"*Karunya*, i.e., compassion, is that trend of mind which makes one wish to help all creatures in need, all that are afflicted, and all that ask for their lives."

"*Madhyasthya*, i.e., impartiality, is that indifference, or rather leniency one should always bear towards those who commit cruel actions, those who openly blaspheme the Divine,

or the spiritual teacher, and those who are filled with arrogance."

It is clear that all such principles, put in action, guarantee such an amount of happiness and peace within the whole brotherhood of living creatures, such a paradise-like state of general bliss, that one should wish them to be universally adopted and followed, to the benefit of all that lives.

On the other hand, it is true, they presuppose what appears to be a kind of sacrifice on behalf of the individual.

This apparent sacrifice at the cost of which that state of general well-being is being brought about, consists in a certain amount of personal happiness, or of expedients of the latter, which the individual has evidently to renounce, in the case of even the most insignificant of the Pratyakhyanas, and in every one of its positive altruistic efforts.

It is clear that the equilibrium of personal and general well-being would indeed remain incomplete, and Jainism could not be said to have fulfilled its noble task in the ideal way claimed before, if the individual would feel the apparent sacrifice to be an infringement on its happiness. In reality, however, both the sides are in perfect equilibrium: for there are deliberations which not only reconcile the individual with that so-called "sacrifice," but make it realize that it is, on the contrary, being benefited by it, and that this benefit by far outweighs the apparent disadvantage.

First of all, the motivation of the very "sacrifice" is, as we saw, an egotistic one: for if the individual submits to those restrictions, it does so in order to avoid the binding of unfavourable Karma, and therewith the storing up of latent suffering, and if it recurs to those actions of positive altruism, it does so in order to bind favourable Karma, and to secure latent happiness.

And both kinds of actions, those of negative as well as those of positive altruism, it does with the assistance of certain of its own natural dispositions, which form part of its "conscience." I mean those emotions of sympathy and compassion, which make us place ourselves in the situation of a suffering creature and suffer, as it were, with it, especially

when we have reason to feel ourselves responsible for its sufferings : as in the case of a night-flutterer rushing into the light we allowed to burn unscreened, in our carelessness, or in the case of a bird which was starved in its cage through our forgetfulness, or in the case of a helpless deer which we killed with our own hand, in a fit of huntsman's zeal, and the sight of whose mutilated body makes us, after all, sick and miserable. It is that universal postulate, which Hemachandra, the great Acharya and teacher of King Kumarapal of Gujarat, has expressed in that often quoted stanza (Yogasastra II, 20) :

आत्मवत्सर्वभूतेषु सुखदुःखे प्रियाप्रिये ।
निःस्पृहता नोऽनिष्टां हिंसामन्यस्य नाचरेत् ॥

“ In happiness and suffering, in joy and grief, we should regard all creatures as we regard our own self, and should therefore refrain from inflicting upon others such injury as would appear undesirable to us if inflicted upon ourselves.”

Akin to dispositions of this kind is a certain sense of chivalrousness, a certain generosity, which overcomes us whenever we see a small innocent creature being at our mercy, provided our mind is calm enough to visualize its utter helplessness : that feeling which unfailingly overcomes even the case-hardened hunter on the occasion of battue-shooting, and which makes him, perhaps for an instant only, regret to have joined such an ungentlemanlike sport as this wholesale slaughter of helpless creatures surely is.

Another feeling of this kind is a certain instinct of economy, which, with sensible persons, proves a powerful pleader in favour of Ahimsa : I mean that spontaneous conviction that it is not right to kill, or to cause to be killed, such a high organized creature as a pigeon or a deer or a cow in order to flatter one's gluttonous appetites, when a dish of well-dressed vegetables would have served the same purpose just as well, if not better.

The appeasement of all these, and others of our social instincts, by avoiding the harming of, and trying to benefit, fellow creatures, is, after all, in itself a valuable personal gain.

In addition to avoiding bad and securing good Karma, and to appeasing its innate social instincts, the individual gains, by its non-egotistic attitude, a third advantage, which is perhaps the most valuable of all : it consists in the lasting and genuine bliss, that only renunciation can give.

For what is the good of trying to gratify all one's wishes, all one's passions, all one's ambitions? Is the advantage gained thereby, indeed worth so much hankering, so much worrying, and so much harm brought about? No, says the sage.

The happiness we crave for is transient like a dream, like a cloud, like beauty. It leaves the bitterness of its absence behind, as soon as it is passed, and it leaves behind, like a dose of opium, the ardent craving for more and more. It is just so as the Uttaradhyayana Sutra states (IX, 48) :

सुवन्नरुप्यस्य उ पव्वया भवे सिया इ केलाससमा असंखया ।

नरस्य लुब्धस्य न तेहिं किंचि इच्छा इ आगाससमा अणंतिया ॥

“ Let there be mountains of gold and silver, let them be as high as the Kailasa, and let there be innumerable ones of them : still to man in his greediness all this will mean nothing. For desire is boundless like space.”

So what is the good of a drop of nectar, when you are thirsty for a cup-ful? The cup-ful being denied to you, why bother about the drop? Shake off that foolish wish and forget it.

And further, if gained, the happiness you crave for means possession—possession of land or fortune, houses or fields, beauty or skill, friends or family, honour or reputation. And possession involves the sorrow of its maintenance. You have incessantly to take care of your land and of your

fortune, you have to recur to lots of contrivances if you want to preserve your beauty or to retain your skill, you have to bring sacrifice over sacrifice for your friends and your family, you tremble for their lives when sickness shakes them, and suffer agonies when fate separates you from them, and the concern about his position and reputation, etc., has even proved able to urge a person to suicide and other desperate steps. In short, to speak in the words of Bhartrihari, the great Sanskrit epigrammatic writer :

सर्वं वस्तु भयान्वितं क्षितितले वैराग्यमेवाभयम् ॥

“ Everything on earth is unstable. The only stable thing is Vairagya (*i.e.* world-weariness). ”

What is the good of a happiness including so much agony? What is the good of this feasting with the Damocles-sword of sorrow threatening above your head? Would it not be much better to give up all this possession guaranteeing such a doubtful happiness? To give it up, as those saints of old did, of whom the Uttaradhyayana Sutra (IX. 15 f.) says as follows :

चत्तपुत्तकलत्तस्स निव्वावारस्स भिक्खुणो ।
पियं न विज्झइ किञ्चि अप्पियं पि न विज्झइ ॥
बडुं खु सुखिणो भइमणगारस्स भिक्खुणो ।
सव्वतो विप्पमुक्कस्स एगंतमणुपस्सओ ॥

“ To the begging monk, who has given up family life and all secular activity, nothing appears desirable and nothing undesirable. ”

“ Great indeed is the bliss of the monk, the homeless beggar, who is free from all attachment, and who is aware of his solitude (which includes the metaphysical solitude of the soul). ”

And then, say the wise, whether you hanker for its gain, or trouble for its preservation : all this happiness you are so particular about, means slavery in the last end. The anxiety you

feel about it, fills your mind, and mars your thinking from morn till night, so that, in your continuous worrying about your business, your position, your hobbies, your friends, your pleasures, and your wife and children, you do not find so much time as to ask yourself why you are doing all that, why you live, what you live for, and where you are steering to. You think that you do not care to ponder over it. But in reality, you are not free to do so, because you are the slave of your attachment to that empty, transient bit of happiness, which is, in reality, no happiness at all. Would it not be much better for you to be unconnected with all this, to be your own master, to be, like the Rishis and Munis of old, who, in their solitary meditations, unhampered by secular considerations, without comfort and property, without wife and children, without ambition and position, were in reality, the lords of the world ?

पर्यानामर्जने दुःखमर्हति च रक्षणे ।

आये दुःखं व्यये दुःखं धिग् द्रव्यं दुःखवर्धनम् ॥

अपायबहुलं पापं ये परित्यज्य संश्रिताः ।

तपोवनं महासत्त्वास्ते धन्यास्ते तपस्विनः ॥

“ The acquisition of property, and if acquired, its preservation, both are connected with trouble. There is trouble in earning, and trouble in spending. Therefore, cursed be property, the increaser of unhappiness.”

“ Blessed are those ascetics, great souls are those ascetics, who have given up sin, the producer of so much suffering, and who have found a place of refuge in the grove of a hermitage.”

It is not without reason that people in India have been giving to such “great souls” titles like “Svami,” “Maharaj” and others, which in olden times, were applicable only to the truly renouncing ascetics, who were living examples of the fact that renunciation means power, and who indeed experienced that royal happiness of asceticism, where there is

न च राजभयं न च चोरभयम्

इदलोकसुखं परलोकहितम् ॥

नरदेवनतं वरकीर्तिकरम्
अमणत्वमिदं रमणीयतरम् ॥

“No fear of the king, no fear of robbers, happiness in this, and bliss in the next world, reverence shown by men and gods, and the acquisition of true fame: delightful is this ascetical life.”

Or, in other words

न चेन्द्रस्य सुखं किञ्चिन्न सुखं चक्रवर्तिनः ।
सुखमस्ति विरक्तस्य मुनेरेकान्तजोविनः ॥

“Nothing is the happiness of the king of the gods, nothing the happiness of the emperor of the world, compared to the happiness of the world-weary monk in his solitude.”

All such considerations lead to the second great postulate of Jainism : *Sanyama* or *Renunciation*, i.e., continuous self-control practised by giving up one's regards for physical happiness.

According to the Jaina conceptions, the individual is free to embrace whatever degree of renunciation it deems appropriate to its personal convictions and abilities. Just as Non-injury, *Sanyama* too can be resorted to by various kinds of *Pratyakhyanas*. And, Non-injury itself being not practicable without *Sanyama*, and *Sanyama*, on the other hand, needs resulting in Non-injury, the *Pratyakhyanas* concerning the former practically fall together with those concerning the latter great principle. Thus the climax of the *Pratyakhyanas* concerning Non-injury, viz., the five great vows of monks, non-harming, non-lying, non-stealing, sexual renunciation, and non-property, forms, at the same time, also the climax of the *Pratyakhyanas* concerning *Sanyama*. The object is all the same, it is only the stand-point that has changed. For to the duty of omitting objectionable actions as far as they are fit to harm others, is being added the further obligation of omitting them also as far as they are fit to disturb one's own equilibrium and calmness of mind, and to detract one from that religious

activity so essential for one's real welfare. Thus the principles of Sanyama especially stands in the foreground in such particulars as the absolute prohibition of heavy food, of aphrodisiacs, excessive sleep, sexual activity, intoxicating substances, etc., for monks, and in the obligation of laymen to give up some of these things partially and some totally. The explicit command of the Scriptures never to give way to any of the four fundamental passions, *viz.*, anger, pride, deceit, and covetousness, which last includes all kinds of attachment to lifeless as well as living things, and many other regulations, fall likewise under this heading, notwithstanding their being rooted in Ahimsa after all.

Another important expedient of securing one's personal metaphysical advantage in fullest accordance with the laws of ethics, is very closely akin to, and based on, renunciation: I mean *Tapa*, *i.e.*, *austerity*, or self-imposed suffering, undertaken for religious reasons. The purpose which the Jaina has in view when practising austerities, can be understood from the idea that all suffering means a consumption of bad Karma, and the voluntary undergoing of certain hardships has the further advantage of giving, at the same time, valuable assistance in the realisation of the two great principles Ahimsa and Sanyama. Thus :—

सत्तथी जइ पंसुगुंडिया विडुणिय धंसयइ सियं रयं ।
एवं दविष्णोवहाणवं कम्मं खवइ तवस्सी माहणे ॥

Dasavaikalika Sutra.

“As a bird, covered with dust, gets rid of the latter, by shaking itself, just so the monk, who practises austerities, consumes and shakes off his Karma.”

To get rid of Karma is, as we saw before, the first step to self-realization, and therewith to the last transcendental bliss. This is the reason why austerity plays such an important part in the life of the Jaina, the monk as well as the layman. Accord-

ing to the Jaina Scriptures, there are various ways of practising austerities, all of which are likewise solemnly started with the respective Pratyakhyanas, after accurately fixing their duration and other items. With particular reference to *Tapa*, there are Pratyakhyanas by which the quality, quantity, and time of one's meals are reduced, from the simple giving up of special kinds of food, of eating at night, etc., and from partial fasts, and fasts of a whole day or several days, up to fasts of more than a month's duration. There are further Pratyakhyanas by which one binds oneself to practise certain ascetical postures, to meditate for a fixed time, to devote a certain time to the regular study of the Sacred and other religious Scriptures, or to the service of co-religionists, etc. Several forms of austerity are at the same time recommended as strengthening and hardening one's bodily and mental powers, and as excellent furtherers of intellectual activity, as, *e.g.*, the Ambil Fast, a kind of bread-and-water diet which excludes all milk, fat, sugar, spices, etc., for a fixed time, and also certain Asanas, or ascetic postures, indeed prove to be. Of quite a different character is the austerity called Sallekhana, or Samlekhana, by which the individual solemnly resigns all food for the rest of his life, under formalities dealt with in the Avasyaka Sutra, the whole last chapter of which is devoted exclusively to the subject "Pratyakhyana." This form of austerity is indeed being resorted to by very religious people at the time when they positively feel death approaching, and every hope of living on has vanished.

Thus it is true that Jainism allows, under certain circumstances, the vow of starvation. But it would be wrong to infer therefrom that its ideal is the extinguishment of personal activity at all. Just the contrary is true. Jainism promulgates self-realization as the aim of individual life: a self-realization which, at the same time, forms the basis of the well-being of all that lives. The achievement of this self-realization presupposes, on the part of the individual, the highest exertion of all bodily and mental powers, constant wakefulness, and an iron will,

which precisely obeys the behests of intellect, bravely resisting all kinds of internal and external temptations. More practically speaking, it presupposes a reasonable kind of self-preservation in the narrowest limits possible. There is a parable, according to which six hungry travellers came to a mango-tree, and consulted as to how best to obtain its fruit. The first suggested to uproot the whole tree, as the promptest expedient, the second said that it would just do to cut the crown, the third wanted to cut some taller, the fourth some smaller branches, the fifth suggested that they should merely pluck as many fruits as they required, and the last said that the ripe fruit that the wind had blown down into the grass, would be amply sufficient to appease their hunger. The six men symbolize, in the above succession, the six Lesya or "colours" of souls, representing types of increasing purity. It is quite characteristic of the spirit of Jainism that the representative of the white colour, or of the type of highest purity, advises to eat the fruit fallen into the grass, but not, as absolute and one-sided negation of life would suggest, to sit down in fullest renunciation, and to die of hunger.

The postulate of Self-preservation within the reasonable limits of ethical decency is clearly and directly pronounced in the Jaina Scriptures, which recommend it, in critical cases, even at the cost of renunciation or Sanyama (Oghaniryukti, Stanzas, 47-48) :

सव्यत्य संजमं संजमाओ अप्पाणमेव रक्खिज्जा ।
 मुच्चइ अवायाओ पुणो विसोही न याऽविरइ ॥
 संजमइउं देहो धारिज्जइ सो कओ ओ तदभावे ।
 संजमफाइनिमित्तं देहपरिपालना इद्धा ॥

"Before all, one should guard the rules of renunciation, but even at the cost of renunciation, one should guard one's self. For one can get rid again of the sin of transgression, if one atones for it afterwards (by austerities), and it is, as a

matter of fact, not a case of Avirati (*i.e.*, the state of not being under any Pratyakhyana whatsoever, or the state of religious licentiousness)."

"The body is the instrument of renunciation. How could a man perform renunciation without it? Therefore, it is desirable to preserve the body for the sake of making one's Sanyama increase."

Thus, even the rules laid down for monks—for these two stanzas refer to monastic conduct—stand under the immediate influence of this principle. The monk, it is true, is supposed to fast and to renounce, to observe absolute chastity, to meditate, and to suffer all kinds of inconveniences and hardships, but he has, on the other hand, to follow special prescriptions as to how to accept, within narrow limits, pure food and other requisites offered, how to walk and how to sleep, how to sit and how to speak, how to serve fellow-ascetics, and how to receive their service, how to preach and how to dispute, how to work and how to move in the world as it is, with its saints and its criminals, its laymen and laywomen, its Hindus and Bauddhas, its scholars and peasants, and its kings and beggars.

In short, he is taught how to regulate his whole bodily and mental activity in order to be in constant and undisturbed harmony with all that lives around him, under all conditions given. He is shown the way how to secure the optimum of his own personal happiness in such a manner as to contribute even thereby to the welfare of the world; or how to help making the world more perfect by his own perfection.

Thus, the very secret of Jainism is contained in the three important words "*Ahimsa*," or Non-injury, "*Sanyama*" or Renunciation, and "*Tapa*," or Austerity; words which the famous first stanza of the Dasavaikalika Sutra so beautifully groups together as the essence of Dharma, *i.e.*, Religion:

धर्मो मंगलमुक्तिमहिंसा संजमो तवो ।

देवाऽपि तं नमसंति जस्य धर्मो स्या मयो ॥

“ Religion is the highest of all blessings : it comprises Ahimsa, Sanyama, and Tapa. Even the gods bow down to him whose mind is always centred in Religion.”

Then the Sutra continues with the following classical verses, which are, like the above one, amongst the words to be daily recited by monks :

जहा दुग्धस्य पुष्पेसु भमरो आवियद् रसं ।
 य य पुष्पं क्लामेद् सो अ पीवेद् अप्ययं ॥
 एमेण समणा मुत्ता जे लोए संति साहुणो ।
 विहंगमा व पुष्पेसु दाणभत्तेसणारया ॥
 वयं च वित्तिं लब्धामो न य कोइ उवहम्मद् ।
 अहागडेसु रीयंते पुष्पेसु भमरा जहा ॥
 महुगारसमा बुद्धा जे भवंति अणिसिद्धया ।
 नाणापिंडरया दंता तेष वृच्चंति साहुणो ॥

“ As the bee drinks honey from the blossoms of a tree and gets sated, without causing pain to the blossom, just so are those monks, who gave up all attachment and who are truly ‘ good ones ’ (original : ‘ Sadhu,’ i.e., also ‘ monks ’) in the world. As the bees with the blossoms, they are gratified with begging their alms,”

“ Their device is ‘ Let us find something to live on, without any creature being harmed.’ This is why they go in quest of what they find ready, as the bee does on the blossoms.”

“ Wise are those who act like the bees, and who are free from all bonds of dependence. Pleased they are with any food they obtain, and ever self-controlled. This is why they are called ‘ Sadhus ’ (i.e., ‘ the good ones ’ and ‘ monks ’).”

The ideal of what human life can be like, and ought to be like, in the light of all these conceptions, is illustrated by the figure of the Jina, or Arhat, the supposed initiator of a new period of reawakening Jainism after a period of decay. Many such Arhats are related to have appeared on earth, many are said to be living even now in distant regions, and many to be expected in future too. The Jina or Arhat is man at the

summit of perfection, man at the threshold of *Moksha*, ready to enter Siddhasila, the place of eternal bliss, from where there is no return into this world of imperfection.

His Karmas, with the exception of some neutral ones, are fallen off from him, and the innate qualities of his soul are expanded in fullest beauty and majesty. He is omniscient, all-perceiving, filled with infinite joy and infinite strength. He is free from all passion and attachment, free from desire—for desire is nothing but an expression of imperfection, and yet he is man, and has to keep his human body as long as the neutral rest of his Karmas force him to keep it. He is man and, as one part of the Jaina tradition, that of the Svetambar branch, so beautifully suggests, has to satisfy the requirements of his human body: to beg his food, to eat and to sleep, within the limits prescribed for a monk, since the rest of his Karmas require him to do so. And the rest of his Karmas also require him to live exclusively to the benefit of the world, *i.e.*, of those souls that are still in the bonds of dangerous Karmas. For as long as he lives in his human shape, he goes about showing to the whole of creation the right path, by preaching and teaching, and by the example of his own model life. And it is obvious that the activity and life of the perfect one does indeed turn out to be a blessing, for he cannot but attract crowds of followers and imitators.

This is what the Jaina worships as his highest religious ideal, his “god,” if one chooses to say so. He adorns his statue with pearls and diamonds, with roses and jasmine and costly champak flowers, he fans it, as one does a great king, with white chowries, he burns sweet frankincense before it, and builds beautiful temples over it, beautiful and costly as fairy palaces, and he takes it round the city in gorgeous processions, on golden cars, followed by crowds of singing women in gay-coloured, gold-glittering *sarees*: still he knows that his god dwells high beyond all this, and that all this *bhakti*, or pious service is nothing but an expression of his own admiration for

his chosen ideal, and a kind of expedient to bring it closer before his eyes and the eyes of the world, both of whom are pretty well in need of it.

Jinahood shares the quality of all ideals, to be, in spite of—or perhaps just on account of—its undiminished and undiminishable attractiveness, high above the bodily and mental standards of its admirers and imitators. And even Jainamonkhood, its reflection on the rough mirror of actual life, is high above the standard of average man, and will always remain restricted—owing to the diversity of human dispositions—to a few privileged individuals, wanderers, as it were, on the heights of humanity. The institution of monkhood and all the other institutions of Jainism presupposing the world as it really is and humanity as it really is, the Scriptures do not account for the question as to what would become of the Universe if all people would turn monks, and it remains undecided whether that venerable Muni was right, who replied to the idle questioner that in such a case the good Karmas of mankind would cause wish-trees to grow, and streams of Amrita to flow, and gods to descend from their celestial abodes and serve them.

But even if it is not possible for everybody perfectly to come up to that ideal, still, merely acknowledging it to be an ideal, and trying to cultivate as many of its virtues as one's constitution allows, even thus much is considered to be a step towards advancement.

This is what I think to be the secret of Jainism, and what is, at the same time, a mental attitude without which a real advancement of human culture is not possible. We are living in a generation which encourages, by all means imaginable, a boundless egotism on one side, and on the other, an unrestrained violence offered to living creatures, in the shape of slaughter and war and misery: and then we think that our egotism can be satiated by regardlessness towards others, and that the violence we suffer, can be abolished by

our doing violence to others. Has there ever been a greater and more fearful mistake ? Why not acknowledge now that we are wrong, and that the way we have taken must lead to a hopeless degeneration ? Why not comprehend at last that egotism cannot succeed unless it dissolves in altruism, and that a reasonable altruism must needs lead to perfect individual bliss ? This clear and simple axiom is the basis of that time-honoured doctrine, which forms the legacy of the last Arhat, and which, even if taken as a symbol, represents such a noble image of eternal truth.

Having been asked so often as to what I think to be the innermost secret of Jainism, and what its merit as a practical religion, I have tried to give a short answer to-day, which the educated reader might be able and willing to follow. At first sight, it might appear to be a one-sided answer, because it is based on the one problem of the mutual relations of individual and society : still, this problem is one of vital importance, and it is, as I said before, the only touch-stone by which the value of a religion can be objectively ascertained.

I think there can be no doubt that Jainism stands the test.

CHARLOTTE KRAUSE

HENRIK IBSEN

The poignant termination of "*A Doll's House*" was so out-of-the-way judged by the then prevailing notions of the dramatic critics that some theatre-managers sought to improve upon it by the simple expedient of expurgating the last scene *in toto*, the very scene that makes the play the enthralling and edifying masterpiece it has been universally acknowledged to be. The arch mandarins of dramatic criticism made out that "*A Doll's House*" was based on a false conception of conjugal relations. They argued that Nora ought not to have left her husband in such a precipitous manner: she ought to have clung to him through thick and thin. There wasn't the least necessity for it; it would have been far better for everyone concerned had she never left Helmer: so on and so forth they raised parrotting cry. Henrik Ibsen waded it all with grim sobriety: perhaps it has precisely the sort of criticism he had expected, indeed had ardently wished for. For now he could give his critics the crushing reply their philistinism so richly deserved. Ibsen knew that society should be shaken to its foundations as in an earthquake ere the pure gold of molten lava could come forth to purge the world of its false and detestable ideals. He must exasperate them if he would have his brethren think. And in such a mood did Henrik Ibsen sit to write his next play—'*Ghosts*.' Slowly he worked at it and it was at last published in 1881. Intellectually it is a sequel to '*A Doll's House*': it is reply to, condemnation of and a powerfully sinister warning roundly aimed at, that snug entity we are all of us agreed in calling 'society.' Never before or since have the theatres of the world put on boards such a poignant and tragic study of marriage and its attendant horrors, once it is deviated from its natural course by too much insistence on the cramping restrictions of futile ideals. There is nothing either obscene or ugly about it: what elements of

repellent nature one finds there are but the concoctions of ordinary human processes, derived by logic and a grip of the realities of science. And yet it was the one play of Ibsen's to earn for its immortal author an immense vocabulary of abuse. Not its least interesting pages are those where Bernard Shaw in his "Quintessence of Ibsenism" quotes passages from the late Mr. William Archer's article entitled 'Ghosts and Gibberings': at any rate they give the lay reader a pointed indication of the extent to which conservatism and prejudice could lead critics not strong enough on their moorings, To quote but a few of the lavishly bequeathed expressions. 'Ghosts' was called 'abominable,' 'disgusting,' 'loathsome,' 'fetid,' 'scandalous,' 'blasphemous,' 'abhorrent,' 'wicked,' alas, there really is no end to the catalogue. And why indeed was 'Ghosts' deemed so deserving of all that besmirching? The answer is to be gleaned partly from the challenging nature of the theme itself and partly from the unintrospective congestion of the average critic's faculties. The conventional eritic could understand a Greek tragedy: Aristotle has told them how to. He could find a shadow of poetic justice, as he calls it, in the most painfully vibrant of Shakespearean tragedies: the doctrine of 'tragic obsession' or of 'unconscious flaw' and all that sort of diplomatic phraseology smoothes the way for the critic and he is not only satisfied by the performance but he actually asserts from housetops that it has purged him of unworthy emotions and made the world a worthier place to live in. But not thus is Ibsen's 'Ghosts' fashioned. In the tragic horror that it smites you with, it is no whit inferior to 'Ædipus Tyrannus' or 'King Lear': perhaps the horror is more intrinsically horrible and deadly in the tragic denouement of Ibsen's play than in either of the other two. But the difference is what matters: it is the manner in which the *cause* leading to the tragic consummation is worked out or explained away that a fundamental divergence between the elder tragedians and Ibsen is discernible. 'Ghosts' deals with the crash neither of the hero swayed by 'Two Ideals' nor of the hero

who acts criminally with conscious intent nor of those others who fall down the precipice of ambition, arrogance or lust. Ibsen's hero—one could call Oswald so only in a technical sense—is simply and plainly the victim of heredity: his tragedy is in effect a sort of ironical illustration of the 'divine' principle of dispensation: in other words, Ibsen's play is a scientific and pungent commentary on the Biblical saying: "The sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children."

But then what is the kernel of this "putrid, morbid, unhealthy, unwholesome and disgusting story?" Helene is another Nora, but a Nora successfully projected on and fixed to the Kalighat of wifely devotion, even when the object of all her devotion is no worthier than a filthy beast. Mrs. Alving finds life with her husband intolerable and takes refuge in the house of Parson Munders, the idol of her ardent love. Unluckily he is an idealist by vocation and in practice: he persuades her that willy-nilly she must return home and desert her husband never. What the critics vociferated against in *'A Doll's House'* is here made good: Mrs. Alving pulls herself together with a supreme determination and dedicates her energies to the sole task of setting her husband's house in order. With a resignation born of an unflinching endurance she winks at his unnamable debaucheries. A son is born to her. But the only thing the father does is to make him smoke when scarce seven years old and then to give vent to a boisterous horse-laugh. Mrs. Alving is seriously afraid that Oswald would imbibe the qualities of his father if she did not separate them at once and as long as her husband lives. Accordingly he is sent abroad and educated by expert tutors. The Alving properties are entirely managed by the wife herself and her unexceptionable business capacity stands her in good stead. At last she detects to her irrepressible rage a liaison between her husband and her own attendant. After the first ebullition has calmed down, she takes all necessary precautions to screen the scandal. The woman is sent away but her husband's daughter by that woman is taken in the Alving household. Certainly

Regina has as much right to the protection of the Alving House as Oswald. And then the husband dies by sheer exhaustion of his strength. Now a new avenue of duty is opened up to Mrs. Alving. Is it not a wife's duty to honour her husbands' memory? Should not her whole life be ruled by the single purpose of making other folks too do likewise? Is she not in duty bound to make assurance doubly sure in the matter of Oswald's unswerving recognition of the high nobility of his father? Lastly, ought she not to erect an enduring monument for the departed soul to place Alving's memory on a permanent basis so that with the passage of time its distilled essence may not be diminished by one tiny jot of efficacy? Mr. Manders has no two opinions to offer on these points. "Proceed with the Orphanage, Mrs. Alving: that will be the fittest monument for your unfortunate husband," says the parson in effect. As for Oswald he has been nourishing all these years only the rosiest picture of his father. So consistently calculating has been the stream of lying letters from mother to son. However Oswald has some difficulty in reconciling this picture of his father with that other which was painted in lurid and disgusting colours by an eminent physician who had the impudence to tell him that he had inherited a grossly perverted disease from his father. Now at last he returns to the Alving house to witness the dedication ceremony of the Alving Orphanage. Mrs. Alving is visibly moved and hopes that the inauguration of the golden era of her life will very soon be an accomplished fact. But it is just now that disappointments fall upon her head with lightning rapidity and logical succession. Oswald is sick at heart: a sardonic smile curls over his boyish lips: on seeing the well-developed Regina his carnal appetites are aroused and he tries to kiss her and ravish her: Regina shrieks, "Oswald! Are you mad? Let me go!" Mr. Manders and Mrs. Alving are in the adjoining room. The sensible woman understands how matters are going: as in a flash this brings back to her memory the other occasion when

she had similarly been shocked by her husband's outrage on Regina's mother. She finds nothing surprising in this: with an overmastering wriggling of her soul she says in a dull and hoarse tone: "Ghosts. The couple in the conservatory—over again." And then she decides half subconsciously that Oswald shall marry Regina, half sister though she undoubtedly is, if that should be necessary to ensure the happiness of the thrice-beloved boy. Already she is willing to sacrifice some of those fond ideals she had till then passionately hugged close to her heart. But now her boy's happiness is more to her than the staggering array of a whole contingent of ideals. Parson Manders however is not of the same opinion. He warns her as fearfully as he could: "Do not spurn ideals, Mrs. Alving—they have a way of avenging themselves cruelly." Cruelly indeed come the chain of disasters: the new Orphanage is burnt down, uninsured as it is. She knows it is a judgment on the House of Sins and dismisses the matter with scarce an audible groan. And then opens Act III. It is throughout unrelieved by a solitary comic gesture. The tragic key is high-pitched and level to the very end. Like three ghosts Regina, Mrs. Alving and Oswald talk of arrangements for the future. Mrs. Alving acquaints the young pair of the truth about their parentage: Regina infers also that Oswald is not the muscular person, in the full vigour of health, she had taken him for. Life in this house of ghosts has no attractions for her. Moreover she has the rebel blood of her father in her veins: a life of sensuality beckons her from afar and, another victim of heredity, she abruptly leaves the Alving house, very probably to be soon enrolled as one of the Devil's choicest disciples. Her parting words are significant: "I really cannot stay here in the country and wear myself out looking after invalids.....If Oswald takes after his father, it is just as likely I take after my mother." There are now the two ghosts left in the dimly lighted hall: the early hours of the morning are imperceptibly brushing past this impossible pair of ghosts. Oswald clearly sees that he

can tarry no longer. He must take his mother into confidence, well as he knows how it would pain her. "Let us have a little chat, mother," he says, solemnly sitting down on the couch. The situation is ominous and beyond the ken of human comprehension. Slowly, with measured emphasis, the words emanate from the half-parted lips of Oswald: Mrs. Alving pricks her ears; they are faint in intensity, stabbing in intent. He tells her that it is no ordinary disease he is ailing from: no, it is a hereditary curse connected with the head; it is the imminent possibility of "a softening of the brain;" it is in other words a condition of abject helplessness which may overtake him at any moment and prolong till the last moments of life; it is the immediacy of a life-long mental paralysis. The unhappy mother cannot swallow this: she shrieks, she screams, she springs up to her feet in consternation. But Oswald has not come to the end of his recital: he goes on with the same studied though intensely painful emphasis: "Yes, it is so indescribably horrible, you know. If only it had been an ordinary mortal disease—I am not so much afraid of dying..... But this is so appallingly horrible. To become like a helpless child again—to have to be fed,... Oh, it's unspeakable!" Now that she knows all, would she be willing to give him a 'helping hand' if the calamity should soon overtake him? He shows her a box he always keeps about himself, (in his inner breast-pocket that is,) and asks her if she would not be truly motherly to him and give him a potion of morphia powder or say a few pills from the box so that Oswald may not live that second childishness and ghostly snivelling existence even for one unnecessary hour? Regina, so splendidly and so radiantly light-hearted, would have given him with a thousand thanks this last helping hand. Would his beloved mother refuse that great solace to a tortured mind which a mere step-sister would have been only too glad to grant? On the answer to this question depends his peace of mind. She screams loudly. "I" she exclaims in horror. "Who has a better right than you?"

he answers. "I! Your mother!" she blurts out. "Just for that reason," Oswald says curtly. "I, who gave you your life!" Mrs. Alving explains. "I never asked you for life. And what kind of a life was it that you gave me? I don't want it! You shall take it back!" She thinks after this that he is insane even then. She runs to fetch a doctor. Oswald sees through her mind and with a quick movement locks up the door from within. "Have you a mother's heart,——" he vociferates, still following her: "and can bear to see me suffering this unspeakable terror?" Mrs. Alving is vanquished. She would give him the potion, "if it should become necessary." And meanwhile they are to "live together as long as they can." She watches her son reclining in his arm-chair. There is a ghastly silence save for the words of the mother and these sound as hoary voices from the tomb. Little by little the rays of the morning dawn upon the world: she puts out the table lamp: "It is sunrise. The glaciers and peaks in the distance are seen bathed in the bright morning light." Suddenly Oswald says: "Mother, give me the sun." The knell is struck at last. Living death is written on the countenance of the chubby boy. The doctor had only spoken the truth. Mr. Manders too had spoken only the grim truth. She passes her trembling hands into Oswald's pockets and grasps the instrument of his liberation. No, she cannot, she will not poison her own son. No, No, No—Yes,—No, No. She is a regular ghost now. And Oswald mechanically murmurs in sepulchral gloom: "The sun, the sun." The reader flings away the book in unmanageable turmoil of his elementary emotions.

There is no such denouement in all literature. It is so unutterably tragic that it may well be pronounced to be the most tragic piece ever written. Nor is the tragedy of the play confined to the unbearably intermixt pain and pathos of mother and son: If that were all, one might dismiss the play with a casual shudder and shrug of one's shoulders. No alas, there is something else. The crucial tragedy in '*Ghosts*' while it interpenetrates and

envelops in a thick veil of impenetrable horror the two chief characters, transcends this limitation and surveys humanity itself with an ironic and sinister glance. The untameable and invincible monster 'Heredity' with his unescapable implications and perverse potentialities to cause and sustain human misery on a vast scale, gapes ravenously at toiling humanity : and the latter has perforce to swallow the unsavoury and killing truth that here is a reality that is a curse, a curse over which no force here or there has any controlling authority : its everlasting sway over us is also our everlasting misery. Ibsen's play, so much discussed and so much applauded, is the first work in world literature to have understood and gauged the enormous resources of this monster. This is high achievement enough.

The infamy and ridicule that were showered by unbalanced critics on this play have been already alluded to. It was therefore no wonder that Henrik Ibsen wanted to tell the rabble a bit of his own mind about their attitude. Also, the imperious gravity of '*Ghosts*' made it inevitable that he should attempt something in a somewhat lighter vein. The result was '*An Enemy of the People*,' published one year after the appearance of "*Ghosts*." This is the last of the four plays in which Ibsen went beyond the functions of the dramatist pure and simple and wielded the sword of the iconoclast preaching with pointed force the importance of the individual in his relation to society. In the later plays he is more concerned with the workings of the individual soul in its relations to one or two others and not to the whole of society. The later productions are theses on special items of the evolution of the individual. But the four that were published between 1877 and 1882 have more universal a significance and each is a sermon, artistic in cast and dramatic in medium, on four fundamental concepts. Truth and freedom are the Pillars of Society, this in the first play : a woman must develop her own individual personality even in her husband's home, this in '*A Doll's House*' : the sins of the fathers are visited upon us children, the more is the pity (or horror ?) on both

sides, this in '*Ghosts*'—these are the social-didactic pills that Ibsen wished to wash down our throat even as we gasped awe-struck at his denouements. In '*An Enemy of the People*' the idea that is typified in the character of Dr. Stockmann, is the paradoxical affirmation that 'The strongest man is he who stands most alone.' Ibsen spurned ideals in whatever garb they masqueraded themselves: he had ever a demoniacal energy to tear these mockeries with vengeful violence. To him 'duty,' 'piety,' 'truth' (of a sort) and 'society' were not alone in the category of ideals: he scented and exposed their mischievous presence even in such apparently well-meaning abstractions as 'Democracy,' 'the infallibility of the Majority,' 'the Press' and such others. '*An Enemy of the People*' is in effect a counterblast to the vain pretensions of 'Democracy,' the so-called 'Liberal Majority' and the modern Press.

The facts of the story are quite simple. The municipality and certain other vested interests in a coast town in Norway are much worried about the success of the Municipal Baths. The Medical Officer of the Baths, on the other hand, who happens also to be the brother of the Mayor, has come to the conclusion that water in the Baths is much contaminated by sewage water and that consequently what the Baths offer to invalid visitors is not health in any form or quality but only poison. He has carefully carried out his researches and has no doubts about the validity of his conclusion. What he recommends the Mayor to do is to suspend opening the Baths for a year or two and in the meanwhile to lay out specially constructed pipes. But the Mayor looks literally blue and so also all those who have interests at stake in the Baths concern. But the indomitable idealist would not be silenced. Reposing faith in the promises of a time-serving journalist and the too-cautious Chairman of the Householders Association, Dr. Stockmann proposes to tell the whole world about the actual rotten condition of the Municipal Baths. Within a few hours after giving their promises the journalist as well as the Chairman of the Householders

Association join the camp of the Mayor. The press would not print his report : the newspapers would have nothing whatsoever to do with the mad opinions and the madder enterprises of Dr. Stockmann : and license to hold a public meeting is denied him. Enraged beyond control, stirred to the lowest depths by indignation and spurred on by an uncontrollable and terrific energy to declare himself at any cost, he decides to address a meeting in the private enclosure of one Captain Horster. His wife, daughter and two sons keep him company. In the meeting by general consent of the audience a Chairman is elected who takes from the beginning an antagonistic attitude towards the opinions of Dr. Stockmann. The Mayor also addresses the meeting and appeals to those assembled not to be easily carried away by ill-timed rumours and false allegations. Then Dr. Stockmann rises to address the 'people.' He takes off the mask of hypocrisy inherent in every man and reveals to them one after another the various truths he has discovered during the past few hours. First : "all the sources of our *moral* life are poisoned and the whole fabric of our civic community is founded on the pestiferous soil of falsehood." There are outbursts and exclamations and interruptions. He speaks louder and denounces more squarely. Then falls from him the second bean : "The most dangerous enemy of truth and freedom amongst us is.....the damned compact Liberal Majority." By this time he is frantic, almost demented : then comes the third and final bean : "The Majority has *never* the right on its side.....At present the stupid people are in an absolutely overwhelming majority all the world over. (How reminiscent is this of Carlyle's famous dictum : 'The majority of mankind are fools' !) The minority is always in the right. He has said sufficiently irritating wisdom to infuriate the common people : they forthwith declare by an all but unanimous vote that Dr. Stockmann is "An Enemy of the People." The uproar is chaotic : the mob wishes to stone Dr. Stockmann and his family. They actually pelt his house with stones that would not even

harm a rabbit. The school authority send him word that he should withdraw his children immediately from school. His daughter, a school mistress, is asked to quit. The proprietor of the house serves him with a notice to vacate it immediately. This is what the Mayor tritely terms 'mutability' of public opinion. Dr. Stockmann however has no more illusions about himself or about the world. The loyal Captain places his house at the complete disposal of this martyr to truth. And Dr. Stockmann, beaming with undeniable joy, and gathering the small coterie of his family and friends around him says, rather confidentially as though what is coming out is of too profound import to be cheaply advertised,... "The strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone."

It is important that the moral of these 'beans' should not be misunderstood. In a letter to George Brandes, Ibsen clarified his position as follows: "I mean that minority which leads the van and pushes on to destinations which the majority has not yet reached. I mean: that man is right who has allied himself most intimately with the future." In another letter, also to Brandes, he gave the following justification for the failure of Dr. Stockmann: "the fighter in the intellectual vanguard can never sway a Majority with his opinions." Doubtless the realist is true in this as in his various other conclusions. It would of course be an unwarranted perversion of truth to maintain that Ibsen was an anarchist with an immeasurable hatred of all forms of government. He did realise that democracy and for that matter every other human institution had its own function to perform. But what he objected to in unambiguous language was the arrogation by these institutions of an infallibility for all their decisions against the individual and of an authority to coerce and crush those who dared to assert their own individual will. These institutions might hold sway over their component atoms (that is, the individuals) within certain specified and highly circumscribed limits. The words of Dr. Stockmann—"It is the majority of our community that denies

me freedom of speech and seeks to prevent my speaking the truth"—are in fact the indirect expression, nevertheless the authentic statement, of Ibsen's own point of view. '*An Enemy of the People*' is in more respects than one a thrillingly insinuating thesis in Political Science: and perhaps as such Ibsen wrote it. It is by far the most unanswerable and pungent of artistic onslaughts on modern pseudo-commercial-political activities. After "*An Enemy of the People*" Henrik Ibsen turned and rightly to "fresh woods and pastures new," in the shoreless realms of drama.

(*To be continued.*)

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

THE FUTURE OF OUR FOREIGN EXCHANGE BANKS

A Central Bank of Issue and its Control over Exchange.

Now that the long-operating gold-exchange standard system has practically removed wide exchange fluctuations altogether, it remains to see how the same desirable feature can be obtained under the Central Bank management of a gold standard. The sole purpose of the gold standard is to achieve stability of foreign exchange. Free gold export shipments and due contraction of credit would restore the exchange rate back to its old moorings. Similarly free gold imports and a liberal credit-policy would raise the domestic price-level and check exports with the result that imports would increase and gold would flow back so that the unduly favourable balance of payments would tend to correct itself.¹ This is the conception of the automatic gold standard which however is not the standard that has been adopted of late by the important countries. The new gold standard does not solely aim at creating devices for stabilising exchanges alone but it seeks to stabilise the value of gold and thus prevent long-term upward or downward movements in the value of gold or price-levels. An effort is thus being made to attain general stability of the world price-level, over short- as well as long-term periods. It is not necessary to discuss the further aspects of the new gold standard which is now being uniformly accepted by almost all other countries.

¹ See Taussig, *International Trade*, Part 3 (1927). An adverse trade balance is set right by altered exchange rates and this would lead to the building up of a favourable trade balance. This corrective would be efficacious if economic conditions do not change, viz., that the volume of domestic currency is not being inflated that budgets are being balanced, that speculation does not enter the exchange market, that invisible items do not alter the balance of payments and that no arbitrary restrictions are imposed on the movement of trade and of exchange rates.

these banks and Central Bank control might become a mere fantastic dream. Almost a deafening and tumultuous roar of criticism would be levelled against their uncharitable and uninspiring conduct before the Central Banking Committee. No one need be surprised at the particular animus that might be displayed by the critics but the ebullition of national feeling is such that many unjust accusations will be levelled and their little foibles would be magnified into serious mistakes.

The above formidable list of their shortcomings and defects does not mean that they are not of any use to this country. As models of sound finance the Indian banking institutions can of course learn something from them. The Indian depositors would also have to be grateful to them and every failure of an Indian Bank has indirectly added to their prestige and deposit-attracting capacity. Their skill, freedom from dishonest manipulation of bank funds for Director's pet schemes and the maintenance of liquidity of their resources are indeed objects which ought to be the subject of proper emulation on the part of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks. These have contributed much to raise the level of their steady profits which the Exchange Banks declare at present.

In view of the fact that the World Economic Conference⁵ has passed resolutions to the effect that "no discriminatory legislation" against foreigners should be passed and in view of the powerful influence the exchange bankers wield in the London financial circles it would be impossible to enact any punitive or provocative taxation measures against them. Similar well-drafted laws which can be applied to our domestic banks can be imposed on them. A slight return for the trading privileges can be secured. The systematic training of Indian apprentices on the art of banking can be secured out of these refractory exchange banks. But if any further penal measures are to be thought of, such as increased taxation or the withdrawing of the right to attract deposits or the right to open branches in

⁵ See the Report of the World Economic Conference, published by the League of Nations, Vol. II, p. 42.

the interior of the country they can easily evade them by registering themselves with Rupee capital as local banks. Such has been the case in Spain.⁶ As the Indian field is wide enough to permit the successful working of a number of banking institutions they would not lose this opportunity to defeat the real intentions of any penal legislation that can be enacted. But as I have stated elsewhere if these local banks are forced to maintain an up-to-date register of shareholders⁷ there would be no possibility to escape this legislation. For the purposes of this act it can be enacted that all banking companies whose shareholders' list has more than two-thirds of its members from outside the country should be considered as foreign banking companies.

Without a real change of heart it would be difficult to make them realise our requirements. Our appeal to them to act as indispensable adjuncts to a nation-wide banking system would be vain. The real remedy then is to proceed cautiously and though our policy should be based on the justifiable motive of destroying all vested interests, the retention of these banks as useful complements in our banking organisation is the only wise alternative that is left to us. In the beginning, we will have to supplement their services and it is only after a time that we can hope to counteract their influence. Our local exchange Banks must be helped by the Central Bank to realise this aspiration. As in Japan, we should retain them in the banking system as willing helpmates, useful brethren, and subsidiary instruments. They must become a cog in the banking wheel. Their present-day uncontrollable and unassimilable part in the banking system and their acting as the chief controllers of our economic progress must be remedied.

⁶ See the Chairman's Speech, Westminster Bank's Annual Meeting, 1923; see Sykes, *The Present Position of English Joint-Stock Banking*, p. 29.

⁷ The newly enacted Company Law of 1929 of the United Kingdom contains this provision. A penalty is also imposed if the index to the register of the shareholders is not kept up to date. See sections mentioned in Part IV of the New Companies Act of 1929.

The financing of our Foreign Trade with Domestic Resources.

It has already been pointed out how under certain circumstances the Imperial Bank's funds might be utilised by the Exchange banks to finance our export trade. The lack of co-ordination between internal and foreign trade financing breaks down under these circumstances. If the Central Bank or the Reserve Bank were to lend its exchange funds at low rates of interest after taking proper security from the domestic exchange banks the financing of foreign trade with home funds can be accomplished. Under certain circumstances such as abnormal exports these resources might be reduced or tightened. But a Syndicate of bankers can then be formed to ease the situation, if the Bank of England refuses to help the Central Bank by rediscounting its bill assets in London. A Syndicate of bankers specially formed for the purpose can be utilised in financing the export bills. It might so happen that the local exchange banks might become saddled with huge London credits arising out of the purchase of export bills, i.e., too many London credits than are necessary might be created. The Central Bank can however purchase these exchange funds by issuing an equal amount of notes at home, if such an abnormally one-sided export trade were to lead to the piling up of exchange funds abroad. This is how general trade prosperity fluctuations can be financed by the help of the Central Bank's resources.

In the case of general trade adversity fluctuations when India has to pay the foreign countries the Central Bank can mobilise the foreign investments held by the Indian people. These can be sold abroad while it pays the Indian owners of the same in rupees. It can float temporary loans abroad to have exchange funds for the purpose of meeting drafts on the same at the gold export point from this country. The undue slump of the exchange can be rectified by this method if especially the price movement tends to be relatively stable or constant. There would be no very great alterations from the purchasing power

parity unless the exchange dealers lose all confidence in the early revival of trade. As these tend to watch the draining away of the exchange funds kept abroad by the Central Bank their gloom tends to increase. These speculative fluctuations might complicate the situation and retard the process of recovery, but their bias would soon become corrected if trade follows the normal course and gives rise to the net balance of payments as in normal years.

The seasonal exchange fluctuations due to seasonal variations confine themselves to the range of a few points. The Central Bank can easily continue the pegging of exchange between the specie points by selling gold or foreign exchange at the gold export point and check the rise in exchange above the gold import point by mobilising gold or gold exchange in its vaults and introducing notes against the same at the gold import point. Mere gold movements would correct the situation. The Ricardian theory of outflow and inflow of gold would preserve the exchange level intact within the gold specie points. A programme of comparative stabilisation of internal prices by the Central Bank would tend to stabilise exchanges at the same time and the dual objective of relatively stable prices and tolerably stable exchanges can be secured without any great friction either to business or banking under an intelligent control and management of the new gold standard.

All this presupposes the existence of the Indian Exchange Banks and a Central Bank willing to help them so as to finance India's foreign trade at home with domestic resources. Since the dismal experience of the Tata Industrial Bank it is becoming practically impossible to create strong Indian Joint Stock Banks for conducting foreign exchange business alone. Proposals have been made that an Indian Exchange Bank would have to be started or the present Imperial Bank can be converted into an Indian Foreign Exchange Bank. Considering the impossibility of raising large capital for banking business at least on this side of India, it would be far better to create an Indian Overseas Bank which would have a part of its capital raised out of the

subscriptions of the individual capitalists and the remainder contributed by the present Indian Joint Stock Banks. It would easily be possible to raise a large amount of capital according to this method for conducting exchange business at a remunerative scale. If the Indian exporters command better prices for their export bills at the hands of the Indian Overseas Bank the business of financing export trade would easily be attracted by it. The Indian Overseas Bank should maintain always in its initial stages rates about one or two points more favourable than those of the foreign exchange banks in this country. If the exporters secure greater resources by selling their export bills to the Indian Overseas Bank than it would be the case when they sell them to the foreign exchange banks they would flock to the standard of the new bank. If the Central Bank were to help it with funds for this purpose at a low rate of interest more export bills can be financed by the Indian Overseas Bank. More rupees should be granted by the Indian Overseas Bank when purchasing the export bills at differential rates. Of course, rate-cutting would ensue and for quite a long period the foreign exchange banks would prove to be effective competitors. Similar should be the treatment shown towards the importers. They should be securing greater return in foreign currency by flocking to the standard of the Indian Overseas Bank than when they resort to the foreign exchange bank. It is only by this way that we can hope to create an institution meant for conducting foreign exchange business with domestic resources. This is the only way of defeating the present monopolistic character of the foreign exchange banks over the exchange situation. This does not mean that the rupee-sterling exchange would not rule the day in the near future. All foreign exchange rates would be resting on the rupee-sterling rate for, as in the case of most other countries, we pay our indebtedness in London. We hold foreign balances in London and any exchange rate would be depending on the rate of exchange on London and adjusted by a current rate of other country—**London Exchange.**

Its Advantages.

It remains to point out the main advantages of financing our trade entirely with the help of our domestic resources. An unnecessary tribute is being paid to the London Bankers who accept our bills and discount them in the London Money Market. Payment in sterling would be avoided and exchange risks need not be thought of. Though the Gold Exchange standard gives some amount of protection against fluctuations the resulting inconvenience to the Indian exporters in receiving a sterling bill and selling them to Indian Exchange Banks to receive rupees for them can be avoided. The Indian Importer likewise suffers in having to pay a sterling bill drawn against him. Dealings in future can eliminate all exchange risks.

The privacy of a discount market and the keeping of trade information would be achieved under this system.⁸ The newly arising national pride resents the financing of our trade solely by means of sterling bills.

Free opportunity for a safe and sound employment of short-term liquid resources would be found in the discount market. The unwholesome over-investment of funds by the present-day Indian Joint Stock Banks in gilt-edged securities can be checked. The immobilising of the bank funds arising out of excessive investment is a grave evil to the existing Indian Joint Stock Banks for it leads to an unwholesome concentration of funds in one direction which is bad finance. The discounting of internal and external bills drawn in the course of trading would diminish the opportunities in the above direction of over-investment in Government securities.

Nextly, the Central Reserve Bank would be powerless and ineffective to control credit if the discount market does not exist. Under the new banking conditions that would exist if a Central

⁸ It is on this ground that the United States of America began to exchange the development of bank acceptances and finance its foreign trade with the help of its own resources.

Reserve Bank were to be created, this active participation of the Central Banker would have a beneficial influence on the market. To guide and control the other banks and to regulate interest rates and money conditions the Central Bank must have liquid resources to efficiently discharge its public trust of checking undue credit expansion and easing credit when it is unwisely restricted. The smooth and gradual control over the discount and the money market is possible only if the Central Bank can have these bills marshalled in a steady succession of maturities. As a recent writer says⁹ bills discounted and bought in the open market offer an ideal current of maturities. Certificates of Government indebtedness are a poor second. Government bonds and treasury notes have no liquidity at all on the basis of early and successive maturities. Their value as instruments of credit control must depend entirely on their ready saleability, a quality which they fortunately have to a high degree. It might indeed be true that the Federal Reserve Banks conduct open market operations with the help of Government securities rather than banker's bills. As the open market operations are undoubtedly beneficial to a certain extent these would have to be pursued by any Central Bank and an organised money market would be essential for the success of its measures. It is admitted even by Mr. J. S. Lawrence that "these open market operations would be very helpful at the time of gold movements, quarter-day adjustments, the attraction and discouragement of international commercial financing and the removal of undesirable items from the bank balance sheets." The larger ideals of price control and business stabilisation may not be achieved by this "delicate touch" or lever of the Central Bank. Considering the manifold advantages that would arise by the creation of a discount market and the financing of our foreign trade with the help of domestic funds and realising that both Japan and America have organised similar attempts to remove their dependence on London, our

⁹ J. S. Lawrence, "The Stabilisation of Prices," p. 254.

objective should be in this direction. It is indeed true that in both these cases the attempts are not very successful as yet. But they point out unmistakably which way the banking progress lies. A sustained endeavour has to be made by the Indian bankers in this direction. Nothing is so important in the whole field of banking reconstruction as this.

One fundamental feature of this banking reconstruction should aim at diverting the surplus home or domestic funds for the financing of foreign trade and *vice-versa*, i.e., surplus foreign funds for financing home trade and industries. The more extensive use of bank acceptances¹⁰ and an adequate discount market would facilitate the financing of foreign trade. In financing imports rupee bills ought to be developed. Specialised discount houses ought to conduct this operation. It is foreign interest-bearing bills that predominate in the import trade. No foreign exchange bank furnishes us with a report on this situation and most of the bills are drawn in sterling and are kept till maturity in this country and are not rediscounted in this country.

Other Ancillary Measures.

Nextly, the initiation of a programme which involves thorough-going co-operation between the Central Bank of this country and the Bank of England would be essential. Otherwise the Anglo-Indian Exchange Banks will refuse to obey the penal rates of rediscounting imposed by the Central Bank and resort to the Bank of England or the London Money Market.

¹⁰ Bill acceptance and discount market can hardly be created so long as business is run on old ways of cash credit; so long as no business organisations exist for gauging credit and the credit standing of the firms; so long as specialising acceptance houses are not in existence as in London; and so long as the Indian Joint Stock Banks are very conservative and refuse to educate people in the use of bills. These can be remedied only by more education for bankers and businessmen concerning the advantages and disadvantages of bills of exchange and carefully enacted regulations regarding the use of such instruments. The Central Bank itself should buy and sell such bills of exchange in the open market just to popularise these bills as short-term investments.

An independent monetary policy on the part of the Central Bank would never be effective if the powerful foreign exchange banks with their rich shareholders, intelligent direction and financial support from London wish to run counter to the course of action proposed by the Central Bank of Issue of this country.

Finally, the Central Bank of the country should be intelligent enough to understand the drift of monetary conditions in London. If high money rates were to prevail in London the use of the exchange funds on the call market would enable the Central Bank to secure greater return than before and consequently induce it to lower the Indian rates. The Indian Exchange Banks would do it, if the Central Bank does not pursue this method. Thus it has to co-operate with the London money market and the Bank of England. Their mutual policies should not normally create disturbing influences in the different centres. The question of securing adequate funds can be solved easily by allowing the Central Bank of this country to secure access to the London Money Market and rediscount its bills at the Bank of England. It would also facilitate the stabilising of the money market in this country and with lower rates prevailing in this country Indian funds can even be removed to London. That this can be accomplished in due course of time need not be ¹¹ doubted.

Our Plan ahead.

Although the chief meritorious characteristic of present-day financing of foreign trade lies in our possessing specialising exchange banks which do not usually tie up their resources in long-term investments in industries or agriculture still the main improvement needed is the financing of foreign trade with domestic resources. It should be done by funds raised inside the country. The would-be Central Bank can accomplish much

¹¹ This was the idea of the late Sir Edward Holden when he advocated a Central Bank for India. See his speech at the Annual General Meeting of the London City and Midland Bank, the 24th January, 1913.

in this direction. Besides securing exchange stability within the specie points its endeavour should be in the direction of helping the Indian Overseas Bank which would have to be created with the co-operative action on the part of the public and the present Indian Joint Stock Banks. Acting as the central co-ordinator of banking funds it can take up an active part in controlling credit not only by lowering or raising discount rates but by buying and selling exchange bills at the time the exchange rates deviate from the normal points. Financial co-operation between all these agencies would easily enable us to finance our foreign trade. The use of bank acceptances and the development of a discount market have already been pointed out as the other necessary measures to popularise the rupee bills and they can be drawn in our import trade. The use of bills in place of cash credits in the matter of financing the merchant's requirements ought to take place. Regular specialising discount houses would ease the situation greatly. They can buy bills at banks and act as intermediaries between exchange dealers and bankers and between merchants and bankers. If the Indian Joint Stock Banks give up other entanglements and specialise in foreign exchange business they can easily succeed if they conduct sound exchange banking.

Conclusion.

A comparative price-steadying programme, a proper external borrowing policy on the part of the Government, individuals and quasi-public bodies, a carefully framed note-issuing privilege and the extension of loans by the Reserve Bank on commercial paper or bills or notes instead of Government bonds and shares thus restricting the scope for stock exchange speculation, are some of the most important measures which our Central Bank would have to bear in mind. These ancillary reforms are essential if the vital question of financing foreign trade with domestic funds can succeed. With the prosperity of her great

exporting industries such as cotton, jute, tea, hides and skins, increasing efficiency of labour, a mercantile marine of her own, which reduces the invisible payments under this heading and the prosperity of Indian people emigrating abroad which would tend to an increase of remittances into the country, the net balance of payments would always be in her favour and this fundamental factor would greatly facilitate the task which the Central Bank would have to take up in right earnest. Facilitating free gold movements in normal times and making provision for meeting extraordinary situations as slumps and general trade prosperity fluctuations, the exchange situation can always be controlled by the Central Bank. Under an enlightened and consciously controlled Central Bank, which carefully manages its foreign portfolio, the present-day Government arrangements for gold exchange funds would disappear. The successful management of the new gold standard by the Central Bank would tackle the situation and eliminate all exchange fluctuations which are very demoralising either to business or finance. The resumption of the new gold standard without exchange-pegging devices will limit the possibilities of exchange speculation at any time. Its liberal help to the Indian Overseas Bank or the Indian Exchange Banks alone can hope to do something in this direction of financing foreign trade with domestic funds. The present-day tendency of maintaining an *Imperium in imperio* would be checked and the Foreign Exchange Banks recognising the different or changed political situation might resort to the tactful method of offering a portion of their increased capital for subscription in this country so as to placate public opinion, but the stigma attached to the "foreign banks" would always remain and the local people would securely support and favour the local banks. Thus the attempt of the foreign exchange banks would become futile if an intelligent and persistent effort is made by the local banks to finance foreign trade. Entrenched strongly in the favour of the local people those local banks can with the minimum of legislative interference undermine the

position of the foreign and Anglo-Indian Exchange Banks. This is the only rational way of providing an effective solution for a potentially inconvenient banking monopoly. The formulation of such a well-conceived plan would be far more advisable than the enacting of futile and mischievous programmes to limit the services of the present-day foreign exchange banks of this country in the direction of financing our growing foreign trade. The cry that the present number of foreign exchange banks is already in excess of legitimate requirements will of course be raised but it ought not to be allowed to side-track our efforts in solving the main problem of this country. Political independence without financial independence is a misnomer and a will-o'-the-wisp. It is like grasping the shadow instead of the real substance.

(Concluded.)

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

TRYST OF THE SUN AND THE MOON

The Moon stood waiting with a thin cloud-veil drawn about her;
shyly and silently her head was drooping.

Her nerves tingled, her pulses vibrated with eager expectation,
for her world-honoured Lord was to be there in a moment
...and how would she welcome him ?

The Sun drew nigh, but all his grandeur and pomp were not
around him ; naively he came with arms outstretched,
just mantled with love, crowned with love, a votary of love.
He captured her delicate lily-hands.

Holding them to his forehead he whispered : " Sweet, little
Maiden, why did you illude me ? Did you not know that my
heart is aflame with love of you ? "

Gently, so tenderly he closed her quivering form so frail within
his throbbing arms ; he held her, O ! so delicately to his
mighty heart that palpitated with burning emotion.

" Queen-Moon ! You are mine ! " said he. She leaned on his
shoulder.

" My Beloved " said the Sun, " ancient yet never unaging, you
have always been mine. To seek you I have travelled for
weary ages, from my far-away realm. You must never
forsake me, never leave me more. And no one shall rob
these world-embracing arms of their treasure of you ! "

Her lips blossomed into a smile. Her eyes shone with joy.

She hid her face on his radiant breast ; he kissed her ; they were
united, merged into one.

No one has since set eyes on the shy Moon-bride.

What is seen is but the reflection of one.

THE POET'S WORLD

We have met this evening to intrude upon the poet's world, and explore as much as we may of this mysterious zone. I shall not begin by wearying your patience with a description of this strange creature called the Poet, the Seer, or the Singer by different peoples. Nor will I ask you to leave firm ground and soar into the ether of vagueness, and (as our Scientist friends would fain say!), the void of illusion. Rather, I would beg of you to set your feet firm on firm ground, if only to be able to let the mind trace the flight of the eagle or the descent of the meteorite. Set your feet firm on firm ground, so that it might be easier to feel its cold, hard surface, if only to be able to enjoy by contrast the warm and genial environment of poetry. Above all, let the mind be unchained. Let it bring out its luminous lamp of truth, so that when my own tiny torch flickers and is extinguished, you may help me out of the mazes of the Poet's World!

If I were to ask you to close your eyes for a moment and imagine a poet, some would picture the bent figure of Dante sitting in the solitude of his exile, some would picture the patriarchal figure of Tagore walking among the shadows of cocoanut-palms, while others might see Firdausi admiring the glory of Persian art, or Shelley lost in rapture gazing at a nightingale. There would be in your mental picture a man with dreaming eyes, unpractical mien, and erotic look. Out of ten, every nine would immediately think of a 'visionary' when asked to picture a poet. It is justifiable too. A poet says,

" We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams.

“ World-losers and world-forsakers,
 On whom the pale moon gleams ;
 Yet we are the movers and shakers
 Of the world for ever, it seems.”

True, therefore, as it is that the poet is a dreamer, it is none the less true that he lives in this world, as we know it, this planet of ours which is said to revolve round the sun, and he moves and shakes this world for ever. Thus it becomes necessary first to consider how much of this world (the outer world, shall we say ?) becomes the poet's world, or influences and affects it.

In the outer world, the poet comes in contact with two elements : the element of man and the element of nature, distinct to a degree, and yet inter-related. The world of men, narrowed by walls of caste, sect and creed, with the colossus of convention bestriding the stream of reason, is one element. In it the thousand phantoms of social, religious and political prejudice haunt him always. While he sits under the shade of a banyan tree, piping some passionate song, men and women brush past with hurrying steps. Not one, perhaps, stops to listen ; or one out of a hundred pauses, only to smile with curls of contempt, and move on towards the more important business of life. Others come in all the pomp and vanity of power, ask him what benefit he earns by singing and go their way. Some more come with offerings for the temple of wealth, frown at such economic waste of a life and pass by. Who is not reminded of Tennyson's lines ?

“ The traveller hears me now and then,
 And sometimes harshly will he speak :
 ‘ This fellow would make weakness weak,
 And melt the waxen hearts of men.’

* * *

A third is wroth : ‘ Is this an hour
 For private sorrow's barren song,
 When more and more the people throng
 The chairs and thrones of civil power ?

He feels the dejection of youth, and encourages,

“ We have not wings, we cannot soar,
But we have feet to scale and climb,
By slow degrees, by more and more
The cloudy summits of our time! ”

He feels the heaviness of heart and the sorrows of all men
and pleads,

“ Ye voices that arose
After the evenings close,
And whispered to my restless heart repose!
Go, breathe it in the ear
Of all who doubt and fear,
And say to them, ‘Be of good cheer!’ ”

It is because he feels his mission is to serve humanity, because he feels his invitation to the world as a singer demands his whole-hearted service, that the poet continues to dwell amidst aliens in the alien world of men. He gathers from it the mysterious organisms of experience; for, he knows ‘to detach the individual idea from its confinement of everyday facts and to give its soaring wings the freedom of the universal: this is the function of poetry.’ In a letter of John Taylor, Keats expresses his first poetical axiom thus:

“ I think poetry should surprise by a fine excess and not by singularity; it should strike the readers as a wording of his own highest thoughts and appears almost a remembrance.” Hence he cannot forsake the world of humanity.

Yet often we hear a Shelley invite,

“ Away, away from men and towns
To the wild woods and the downs,
To the silent wilderness
Where the heart need not repress
Its music, lest it should not find
An echo in another’s mind.”

There is something in Nature, and some hush of suspense,

some music of joy, some beauty of truth, something so solemn,
so kindred, so sublime that it draws the poet.

“ While the touch of Nature's art
Harmonizes heart to heart.”

Away from ‘ the weariness, the fever and the fret ’ of the world,
‘ where men sit and hear each other groan ’ ; it reminds the poet
that there is still the love-lyric of the nightingale, while ‘ haply
the Queen Moon is on her throne,’ and there is,

“ White hawthorn, and the pastoral eglantine ;
Fast fading violets covered up in leaves ;
And mid-May's eldest child,
The coming musk-rose, full of dewy wine,
The murmurous haunt of flies on summer eves.”

All this has a magic touch for the lute-strings of the poet's
imagination, and it produces the melody that vibrates in tune
with the music of unity in the depths of his being, in tune
with the music in the heart of the Infinite, when he can say
in Kabir's words,

“ The unstruck drum of Eternity sounds,
And oh ! I am full of joy ! ”

It is an environment of beauty so charming and so
ennobling that Indians, in particular, have always felt drawn
towards the forest-hermitage. Kalidasa sang countless immortal
lines in praise of it—eulogies that tempted kings to forsake
kingly luxury and share the cup of exquisite peace in the
company of Nature. There seems to be an affinity so subtle as
to baffle all scrutiny between the poet and Nature. He feels
he is in the presence of a kindred spirit and shouts forth in
the words of Coleridge,

“ Ye living flowers that skirt the eternal frost,
Ye wild goats sporting round the eagle's nest,
Ye eagles, playmates of the mountain storm,
Ye lightnings, the dread arrows of the clouds !

Ye signs and wonders of the element,
Utter forth God, and fill the hills with praise! "

Sa'di says, " He biddeth his chamberlain, the morning breeze, spread out the emerald carpet of the earth, and commandeth His nurses, the clouds, to foster in earth's cradle the tender herbage, and clothe the trees with a garment of green leaves; and at the approach of spring crowneth the young branches with a wreath of blossoms; and by His power the juice of the cane becometh exquisite honey, and the date-seed by His nurture a lofty tree." When Nature can bring such a message it is natural that the poet delights in solitude. It is not strange, then, that,

" The meanest floweret of the vale,
The simplest note that swells the gale,
The common sun, the air, the skies,
To him are opening paradise."

In this paradise of peace the poet forgets all his earthly care, gloom and sorrow. Even the night, often pictured as full of awe, seems created to lull the 'weary strife of frail humanity.' Shakespeare says,

" How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!
Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music
Creep in our ears: Soft stillness and the night
Become the touches of sweet harmony."

In the ecstasy and festival of Spring to see the bowers of Nature exuberant with flowers painted with a thousand hues; to see the rivers variegated with their meandering streams and sandy banks in the snow and frost of winter; or to hear the call of the heron and breathe in the perfume of earth and earth's flowers in the gloom and rain of autumn: it delights the heart of the poet,

" And the poet faithful and far-seeing
Sees, alike in stars and flowers, a part
Of the selfsame Universal Being
Which is throbbing in his brain and heart."

Not only is Nature a shelter for the refugee, a source of joy, and a realm of freedom, but the temple of the Eternal immanent in His Creation. Hence, when his follow-men fail to 'bring a heart that watches and receives,' the poet feels sad, and, in F. Tennyson's words, sings,

" If only once the Chariot of the Morn
Had scattered from its wheels the twilight dun,
But once the unimaginable Sun
Flashed god-like through perennial clouds forlorn,
And shown us Beauty for a moment born,
If only once blind eyes had seen the Spring
Waking amidst the triumphs of mid-noon,
But once had seen the lovely Summer boon
Pass by in state like a full-robed king,
The waters dance, the woodlands dance and sing.
If only once deaf ears had heard the joy
Of the wild birds, or morning breezes blowing,
Or silver fountains from their caverns flowing,
Or the deep-voiced rivers rolling by,
Then night eternal fallen from the sky :
Ah! sure the heart of man too strongly tried
By god-like presences so vast and fair,
Withering in dread, or sick in love's despair,
Had wept for ever, and to Heaven cried,
Or struck with lightnings of delight had died."

What a purifying element. If only those blinded with the dust of illusion, deafened with the din of commerce would come under this influence of Nature they would find redemption, says the poet.

But such feelings are aroused in the poet's heart only when it is perfectly in tune with the Infinite, or else a Byron vainly sighs—

" Oh! that the desert were my dwelling place,
With one fair Spirit for my minister,
That I might all forget the human race,
And, hating no one, love but only her! "

This idea of the binding and beautifying influence of love is seen in the Ramayana also. The love that existed between the hero and heroine, Rama and Sita, did not only bind them to each other but by uniting them to the universe of life beautified the whole environment. Hence it was, that when the heroine was carried away, the loss was felt so deeply, not by Rama alone, but by the forest itself. Shall we pardon Byron, then, for continuing,

“ Ye elements!—in whose ennobling stir
I feel myself exalted—can ye not
Accord me such a being? Do I err
In deeming such inhabit many a spot?
Though to converse with them can rarely be our lot.”

But even Byron grows sane,

“ There is a pleasure in the pathless woods,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is society where none intrudes,
By the deep Sea, and music in its roar!
I love not Man the less, but Nature more,
From these our interviews, in which I steal
From all I may be, or have been before,
To mingle with the Universe and feel
What I can ne’er express, yet cannot all conceal.”

For Byron it is a struggle to realize fully what this influence is and all it means to him. It is a struggle because he is too fond projecting his own mood on the face of Nature, and thus misses the true message. But it betrays that conflict in the poet’s mind: which is he to love more, Man or Nature? Byron, with all his frailty, inclines towards Nature. While in Cowper we find the poet inclining towards man.

“ O Solitude! Where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?
Better to dwell in the midst of alarms
Than reign in this horrible place.”

It may seem a vicious circle, for, we have come back to the point whence Shelley had invited us to ' the wild woods and downs.' Cowper pants forth—

“ Society, friendship and love,
Divinely bestowed upon man,
O, had I the wings of dove,
How soon would I taste you again ! ”

Shall we pass the verdict of inconsistency and sentence the poet to rigorous imprisonment into the prison-house of discipline? Banish him, if you will, ' to the seclusion of the forest shades, and the severe discipline of courting—of courting the fair blossom,' ' born to blush unseen, and waste its sweetness on the desert air,' of courting every stray cloud that skims the sky with grace too pleasing for words, of courting the skylark,

“ Teach me half the gladness
That thy brain must know,
Such harmonious madness
From my lips would flow,
The world would listen then, as I am listening now.”

This inconsistency, if so it must be called, is not a fickle wavering from one to another, but a concentration on one at a time of the duality, a response to that appeal which is more intense at the moment, though, sometimes, it may be that the element of mortals and the element of Nature may combine in one appeal. In Letters from John Chinaman, speaking as a Chinaman endowed with poetic feeling, Dickenson says, “ A rose in the moonlight garden, the shadows of trees on the turf, almond blossom, scent of pine, the wine-cup and the guitar; these and the pathos of life and death, the long embrace, the hand stretched out in vain, the moment that glides for ever away, with its freight of music and light, into the shadow and hush of the haunted past, all that we have, all that eludes us, a bird on the wing, a perfume escaped on the gale—to all these we are trained to respond, and the response is what we call

literature." Thus, even the Chinese feel, or think they feel, the magnetic attraction of the Beautiful in the outer world, and respond to it. This response of the spirit of man to the aesthetic urge in nature and the realm of feeling constitutes literature, according to John Chinaman : and he is not wrong. There is, as we have seen, some definite though invisible tie between the mind of a highly refined, cultured individual and the pulsing heart of Nature. Perhaps, this led Hazlitt to remark " Poetry is close imitation of Nature."

The poet, then, lives in the world, yet is not of the world ; as his element, where he feels most at home, is not this outer world but his inner world. The twain, however, are almost inseparable. Although the areas that supply raw material be situated thousands of miles away from the centres that produce finished articles, there is, all the same, a very intimate relation between the two. Similarly though the outer world which we have been traversing and in which the poet finds himself located, is far removed from the inner world which we shall consider, and in which the poet creates, there is all the same between the two a close relation too subtle for prose to describe. The poet beholds the glory of the earth, hears the strains of its endless music, breathes in the incense of its worship, tastes the bitter-sweet cup of its life, feels the joyous torture of its love and dances to the rhythm of its heart-beats. Tagore chants, " I have kissed this world with my eyes, and my limbs, I have wrapt it within my heart in numberless folds ; I have flooded its days and nights with thoughts till the world and my life have grown one,—and I love my life because I love the light of the sky so enwoven with me." Sensively the poet is one with the world ; yet spiritually he is apart. The poet's soul dwells not on this terrestrial globe but in some dim distant unknown.

Thus we pass from the world of sights and sounds to a world of deep silences and vast voids. But let us not suppose that this world, the inner world, is either a chaos, or a deserted

island. In the heart of the silence sounds the eternal Music, and in the centre of the void sits the eternal Beauty. Aptly does D. G. Rossetti sing,

" Under the arch of Life, where love and death,
Terror and mystery, guard her shrine, I saw
Beauty enthroned; and though her gaze struck awe,
I drew it in as simply as my breath."

The Beauty and the Music are undefinable, fluid shall we say like the air, everywhere to be felt, but nowhere to be located. George Russell, the Irish poet, commonly called A.E., says,

" A shadowy tumult stirs the dusky air ;
Sparkle the delicate dews, the distant snows;
The great deep thrills—for through it everywhere
The breath of Beauty blows."

The 'Breath of Beauty' is a life-giving breath. This atmosphere, therefore, is charged like the ether, perhaps with creative energy. It is of the poet in this environment that Shelley sings,

" He will watch from dawn to gloom
The lake-reflected Sun illumine
The yellow bees in the ivy bloom,
Nor heed nor see what things they be."

It is of the poet in this setting that Shakespeare says,

" The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heav'n to earth from earth to heav'n;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

We are now face to face with a world of subtle and mysterious organisms, the organisms of thought, and a dynamic energy, the energy of feeling. We are in the presence of a high-power Radio station, the poet's mind, which exchanges messages in a code language, unintelligible to us until we study this code of

imagination, with the intellectual, emotional, and spiritual centres, scattered throughout worlds visible and invisible. We are in the poet's world proper, his inner World, as we agreed to call it, where in Tagore's words, "The emotional idea, incarnated in rhythmic form, acquires the dynamic quality needed for those things which take part in the world's eternal pageantry." I would put before you the fact that the poet must have original ideas, lucid ideas pregnant with the pulsing life of emotion, without which they cannot take musical form. I would put before you the fact that however emotional a man may be without thoughts he cannot be a poet. There must be sense-impressions. These sense-impressions must awaken emotional ideas. These emotional ideas must cause sensory reaction. This reaction finds fitting expression in song. Milton says poetry is

" Thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers."

Ideas that are truly sublime are born in music. "It is only when the heart of the poet," Carlyle says, "is rapt in the true passion of melody and the very tones of him, according to Coleridge's remark, become musical by the greatness, depth, and music of his thoughts, that we can give him the right to rhyme and sing; that we call him a Poet, and listen to him as the heroic of speakers,—whose speech is song." To Carlyle it seemed absurd that a man should fit into metre ideas that were not naturally musical. But it is easier to detect discordant ideas than to discover faulty metre, because conceptions not truly great have a hollow ring, and no technical knowledge is needed to catch this hollow ring. The poet, then, must be a thinker. The German 'Vates,' applied to poets, means both 'singer' and 'prophet.' While the Greek word for poets means 'Seer.' If a poet is to be a singer of his visions and prophecies he must needs have ideas. In the mental part of this inner world thinking, seeing and singing go on.

conjointly and simultaneously. Without this it would be impossible to satisfy Saint-Beuve's expectations. "A true classic," says he, "as I should like to hear it defined, is an author-poet who has enriched the human mind, and caused it to advance a step; who has discovered some new and not equivocal truth, or revealed some eternal passion in the human heart where all seemed known and discovered; who has expressed his thought, observation or inventions, in no matter what form, only provided it be broad and great, refined and sensible, sane and beautiful, in itself; who has spoken to all in his own peculiar style, new without neologism, new and old, easily contemporary with all time." Saint-Beuve's expectations are decidedly high. But he is not alone. Horace and La Bruyère have voiced similar expectations. The poet does satisfy them all, since, according to Bacon, poetry has something divine in it, because it raises the mind and hurries it into sublimity, by conforming the shows of things to the desire of the soul, instead of subjecting the soul to external things, as reason and history do, it follows, as a natural corollary that poetry must enrich literature and ennoble man.

The poet placidly says,

"On a poet's lips I slept,
Dreaming like a love-adept,
In the sound his breathing kept;
Nor seeks nor finds he mortal blisses,
But feeds on the aerial kisses
Of shapes that haunt thought's wildernesses."

We find that unlike the philosopher and the logician, the poet is not forlorn even in the wilderness of thought. The shapes that haunt the poet in this inner world are the images of his ideas, they are the shapes of Beauty, Goodness and Joy; and it is on their aerial kisses that he feeds. Beauty, which is not mere prettiness or a mocking fantasy, but the expression of the one Reality; goodness, that is not mere kindness or

passive (vain) piety ; joy which is not mere pleasure or selfish happiness, but the sacrament of communion with Truth, these companion the poet in this inner world. Is it a wonder that he is a 'dreamer'? Holding converse with such enchanting shapes and forms must keep him abstracted, must keep him in a dreamland of his own. By far the greater portion of his inner world is a fairy-land. It is this 'fairy-land' that we have entered and a voice from the distance seems to say, "Put the shoes from off thy feet, for the ground whereon thou standest is holy!" Holy, indeed, to the poet is this Eden where but one Adam and one Eve exist, this place of pilgrimage whither pilgrim fancies repair, this his land of dreams. But what are his dreams?

A. E. tells us,

"When the breath of twilight blows to flame the misty skies.
And its vaprous sapphire, violet glow, and silver gleam,
With their magic flood me through the gateway of the eyes,
I am one with the twilight's dream."

He dreams of the twilight and everything that such gorgeous twilight suggests to him. The slavery of a nation teases another to imagine ideal Liberty, and Byron whispers,

"Eternal Spirit of the chainless mind!
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty! thou art,
For there thy habitation is the heart—
The heart which love of thee alone can bind;
And when thy sons to fetters are consign'd—
To fetters, and the damp vault's dayless gloom,
Their country conquers with their martyrdom,
And Freedom's fame finds wings on every wind."

Or the misery of men makes the poet shed a tear which expands into a dream and Christina Rossetti says,

"Heaven over-arches earth and sea,
Earth-sadness and sea-bitterness.
Heaven over-arches you and me:

A little while and we shall be—
 Please God—where there is no more sea
 Nor barren wilderness."

Wordsworth finds shelter in Nature's dream,

" For oft when on my couch I lie
 In vacant or in pensive mood,
 They flash upon that inward eye,
 Which is the bliss of Solitude;
 And then my heart with pleasure fills;
 And dances with the daffodils."

Tagore sings his dream of love :

" I dreamt that she sat by my head tenderly ruffling my hair with her fingers, playing the melody of her touch. I looked at her face and struggled with my tears, till the agony of unspoken words burst my sleep like a bubble.

I sat up and saw the glow of the milky way above my window, like a world of silence on fire, and I wondered if at this moment she had a dream that rhymed with mine? "

It is not only a vision of his beloved but of Eternal Love in the form of woman, the symbol of creative power. This idea of the particular leading to the universal is brought out admirably by Rossetti :

" When do I see thee most beloved one?
 When in thy light the spirits of mine eyes
 Before thy face, their altar, solemnize
 The worship of that love through thee made unknown? "

Tagore's dream unfolded in his " Lover's Gift and Crossing." Dante had a dream, perhaps a day-dream : it became the " Divine Comedy." Homer's dream turned into the " Illiad." Valmiki's dream was translated into the " Ramayana." Tennyson dreamed a dream of grief : it found embodiment in the " In Memoriam."

" Poets," says Shelley, " are not only subject to these experiences as spirits of the most refined organization, but they

can colour, all they combine, with the evanescent hues of the ethereal world ; a word, a trait in the reproduction of a scene or a passion, will touch the enchanted chord, and re-animate in those who have ever experienced these emotions the sleeping, the cold, the buried past." The poets' dreams are not idle, purposeless things if they can 're-animate in those who have ever experienced such emotions the sleeping, the cold, the buried past.' The poet dies and is forgotten or remembered perhaps by a few. But his dreams abide. His dreams never die. Thus Francis Thompson sings :

" Love! love! your flower of withered dream
 In leaved rhyme lies safe I deem
 Sheltered and shut in a nook of rhyme
 From the reaper man and his reaper time.
 Love! I fall into the claws of time,
 But lasts within a leaved rhyme
 All that the world of me esteems—
 My withered dreams, my withered dreams!"

Yet how shall we analyse these dreams? On what canvas are they painted, with what colours, from what model, to what purpose, and by whom? Is it the artist who sits in the studio of the poet's subliminal consciousness, is it the seer who watches from behind the pupil of the poet's eyes? Is the canvas the poet's imagination? Are the colours the deep dyes of emotions? Is the model taken from the round of daily life and experience? It may be. Who dare decide? One thing is true that it is in these dreams he finds the most abstruse abstractions take tangible form and elucidate their own mysteries. It is in these dreams that thoughts crowd to his mind, not disconnectedly, not in fragments, but blended together to form a readable picture. Analogies and similes suggest ideas. Ideas shape images. Both figures of speech and ideas have personal experience as the common source. In "Defence of Poetry" Shelley writes—

"What were virtue, love, patriotism, friendship—what were the scenery of this beautiful universe which we inhabit,

what were our aspirations beyond it, if poetry did not ascend to bring light and fire from those eternal regions where the owlwinged faculty of calculation can never reach?" He goes on to say,

"Poetry thus makes immortal all that is best and most beautiful in the world; it arrests the vanishing apparitions which haunt the inter-lunations of life, and veiling them in language or in form, sends them forth among mankind." Thus when the poet philosophizes he is not in a metaphysical, ethical, logical or psychological mood, but still essentially in an artistic frame of mind, and hence, clothes the skeleton of the abstract generalization with the flesh and blood of emotion, and, then, robes it in the graceful garments of poetic fancy. Never does he send the bare skeleton to horrify an already superstitious world (as philosophers do!) His aesthetic taste chooses the words. His culture influences his ideals. Behind the whole complex and strange phenomenon of the poet's creation the mighty force men call experience is ever at work. Take this force from him and you paralyse the poet. No wonder Goethe said, "My poems are my confessions." The poet is not an intellectual mechanism—thank heavens! there are many such in the world; illfitted, ill-worked, ill-kept, turning-out results shockingly illformed to say the least. The poet is a living sentient soul. His feelings are intense. His experiences are minutely recorded. His sentiments are lofty. His imagination is agile. He is sensitive. Would you call him a sentimentalist, with a smile of scorn? Nay, rather call him an idealist. Sentiments for him are ideals. These ideals must be sanctioned by his presiding deity—Beauty. He thinks in terms of beauty as the mathematician thinks in term of figures—poor ungainly figures. For the poet civility becomes beauty of behaviour; truth is beauty of ideal; love nothing but beauty of emotions; and joy the expression of beauty: while beauty is the artist's conception of the Divine Being. The poet is no sentimentalist, happiest like a Romeo when playing the troubadour at some

Juliet's window. For Francis Thompson the poet is "enchanted child born into a world unchild-like, spoiled darling of nature, playmate of her elemental daughters ; 'pard-like spirit beautiful and swift' laired amidst the burning fastness of his own fervid mind ; bold foot along the verges of precipitous dream, light leaper from crag to crag of inaccessible fancies ; towering genius, whose soul rose like a ladder between heaven and earth with the angels of song ascending and descending it."

Will it seem contradictory if I say that this, "towering genius," this 'spoiled darling of nature' is a very loyal subject of the sovereign, the universal Emperor, men call Love? Tennyson says, "love is and was my king and Lord."

Shelley says,

" I loved, I love and when I love no more,
Let joys and grief perish and leave despair
To ring the knell of youth."

Thrilled with adoration for the Noble, the Beautiful, and the True he must lay the tribute of his admiration at the feet of that embodiment of the noble, the beautiful, and the true, which seems the highest ; he must seek the influence of this embodiment. This embodiment is the touchstone for his ideals. To her, it is, he must bring his truest idealisms for the testing. It must be accepted that woman has been, down the ages, an inspiration to man, guiding his restless and rebellious energy into an immeasurable variety of creations in literature, art, and music, of inventions and discoveries in science, of expositions and interpretations in religion. Even an unpoetical sociologist like Benjamin Kidd admits so much. The point at issue is that when this fact is so true for average men, how much truer is it in the case of a man endowed by heaven with a sensitive and highly strung nature. The poet is ever on the endless quest for this Touchstone for his ideals, this Inspirer of all his creative work, willing to make an offering of a poet's devotion at that Altar Beautiful and he asks,

" I can give not what men call love,
 But will thou accept not
 The worship the heart lifts above
 And the Heavens reject not,
 The desire of the moth for the star,
 Of the night for the morrow,
 The devotion to something afar
 From the sphere of our sorrow? "

These simple lines illustrate the delicacy of feeling and the sublimity of the poet's conception of Love. It is rarely understood. If those biographies that have come down to us be reliable, as there is every reason to believe they are, we cannot help feeling it strange that the poet's question should be so infrequently heard, and seldom answered. We know how Tulsidas was repaid for his devotion. We know how Byron was treated by his first love. We know, when other things were favourable, how time proved treacherous and Dante lost his Beatrice. But does this experience, unfortunate as it is, lead to despair? Christina Rossetti says,

" Somewhere or other there must surely be
 The face not seen, the voice not heard,
 The heart that not yet never yet — ah me!
 Made answer to my word! "

Such brave optimism must be the sentiment of a heroic soul. Small wonder then, that Carlyle considered the poet the Heroic of Speakers. We hear W. B. Yeats say,

" When you are old and grey and full of sleep,
 And nodding by the fire, take down this book,
 And slowly read, and dream of the soft look
 Your eyes had once, and of their shadows deep;
 How many lover your moments of glad grace,
 And loved your beauty with love false or true;
 But one man loved the pilgrim soul in you,
 And loved the sorrows of your changing face."

What pathos! What bitterness! and yet what love! Generosity,

constancy, sincerity, ardour offered for the joy of sacrifice. It is enough, indeed, for the poet to have loved ; that, in itself, raises his mind on the soaring wings of ecstasy. Even after the tragedy ' When all the wheels of being slow,' in the darkest mood of dejection, he still murmurs in the words of Laurence Binyon,

" O world, be nobler for her sake :
 If she but knew thee what thou art,
 What wrongs are borne, what deeds are done
 In thee, beneath thy daily sun,
 Knowest thou not her tender heart
 For pain and very shame would break?
 O world, be nobler for her sake !"

This selflessness in the poet, which commands our respect and wins our admiration, is the natural result of his ample culture and of his exalted sentiments.

Thus it is, that the disappointment in one world becomes an impelling force towards another and a sublimer world : and with that innate confidence in Love which can say, 'trust Love even if it brings sorrow,' the poet still wanders on his restless, endless, pathless pilgrimage to the Land of Love. We had agreed that the poet is a living sentient soul. He proves his soul-life. He glimpses in his own human devotion something of the reality of Eternal Love, whose smile illumines the Universe, and whose pulsing heart strikes the music of the spheres. He finds solace. He tastes the cup of inspiration afresh. He bursts forth into rapturous song :

" Rock the swing of love to-day !
 Pillow the body and soul between the arms of the Beloved,
 In the ecstasy of love's joy :
 Bring the tearful streams of the rainy clouds to your eyes,
 And cover your heart with the shadow of darkness :
 Bring your face nearer to his ear, and speak of the deepest
 longings of your heart,"

Kabir says : " Listen, bring the Vision of the Beloved in your heart." What was perhaps, rejected if not held cheap, by some unfeeling human creatures is accepted and responded to by the Divine : and the Poet's panting devotion made a target for the ridicule by some, and a source of merriment by others, finds the everlasting Arms, and is glad.

This, then, is a very brief survey of the poet's Inner World, full of conflicting paradoxes and contradictory experiences. But the day soon comes when in the words of Traherne, a seventeenth century mystic poet of England, the poet says,

" News from a foreign country came
As if my treasure and my wealth lay there ;
'Twas wont to call my soul into mine ear ;
Which hither went to meet
The approaching sweet
And on the threshold stood
To entertain the unknown good.

But little did the infant dream
That all the treasures of the world were by :
And that himself was so the cream
And crown of all which round about did lie.
Yet thus it was the Gem
The Diadem
The ring enclosing all
That stood upon this earthly ball,
The Heavenly eye,
Much wider than the sky,
Wherein they all included were,
The glorious Soul that was the king
Made to possess them, did appear
A small and little thing."

Thus all unawares the poet becomes a mystic, and poetry is kindled with the perplexing though sublime flame of mysticism. He has found his soul. This discovery is very real to him.

Let us turn our attention, now, to the real and unreal

according to the poet's estimate of things. In the balance of his judgment what is weighed and found real and what unreal? If a titter seems to go round that a 'dreamer' must dwell in a land of dreams which are necessarily evanescent and hence unreal, it would be most surely plausible; for, unreality is so real and reality so unreal, that the unreal, which in truth is reality, does find its way into the poet's consciousness. It is an encouraging feature too, that the world has not yet lost its soul to the extent that no readers of a poet are left. There are still those who would ask,

" Come read to me some poem,
Some simple and heartfelt lay,
That shall soothe this restless feeling
And banish the thoughts of day! "

The poet could not 'banish the thoughts of day' unless he could conjure up a vision of something more real than the fickle day, full of defeat and failure for some, and triumph and prosperity for others; nor could he 'soothe this restless feeling' unless he could leave thoughts of the 'peace that passeth all understanding.' Peace, therefore, is real and not strife; life is real and not death. Not what is ugly but what is beautiful in thought, word, and deed, not hatred but love, not darkness but light are real. Are the ideals of honour, nobility, and truth unreal? Are the feelings of pleasure and pain, joy and sorrow, doubt and fear unreal? Are the experiences of victory and defeat, kindness and cruelty, luxury and poverty unreal? If these ideals, feelings, and experiences are unreal, life and all that sustains it, all that surrounds it, all that allures it further on its rugged track, all, all are unreal. But we know that this is untrue. These ideals, feelings, and experiences are real, after a fashion. They are real in as much as they produce an effect which lasts in itself, or lives through a series of reactions, and throughout this process of action and reaction which after all is life itself, these ideals, these feelings, and these experiences exist.

But when these ideals, feelings, and experiences combine to produce a picture, a dream, a reverie, a vision, call it by what name you will, is this picture, or dream, or reverie, or vision unreal? In the realm of Nature and man, in the sphere of art, music, or poetry, in the domain of science or philosophy, all manifestations of the one Reality, *all* ultimate truths are *real*. It is from the realm of Nature or man, from the sphere of art, music and poetry, from the domain of science or philosophy that the poet gets his materials. When the material is not unreal can the thing produced be unreal?—

“ From these create he can
Forms more real than living man,
Nurslings of immortality.”

The poet's creations are real, then, and so are his dreams, for, his

“ Songs gushed from his heart
As rains from the clouds of summer,
Or tears from the eyelids start.”

What can be more real than this? “ If poetry is a dream,” says Hazlitt, “ the business of life is much the same. If it is fiction, made up of what we wish things to be, and fancy that they are, because we wish them so, there is no other nor better reality.....Plato banishes the poets from his Commonwealth, lest their descriptions of the natural man should spoil his mathematical man, who was to be without passions and affections, who was neither to laugh nor weep, to feel sorrow, nor anger, to be cast down nor elated by anything. This was a chimera, however, which never existed but in the brain of the inventor; and Homer's poetical world has outlived Plato's philosophical Republic.” With such eloquence Hazlitt argues the reality, nay, the immortality of the poet's creations. It cannot be said that it is a poet defending himself. Far from being a poet himself, Hazlitt was one of the severest critics of his time. When all this is granted it still

remains to see what those elements are that constitute this reality. It has been observed that the natural as well as the social environment of man supplies the poet with material. What is it that shapes these desultory fragments into a well-defined form of poetical art ? It is the poet's genius. It is the vitality of mind that can infuse the spark of life into words and make them burn, and into thoughts to make them glow; it is that power of emotion that can charge the thoughts and words with an energy able to keep coherent what otherwise would be in a state of chaos and confusion : this is the poet's genius. Thus it is possible for the keen critic to say, " Impassioned poetry is an emanation of the moral and intellectual part of our nature, as well as the sensitive—of the desire to know, the will to act, and the power to feel ; and ought to appeal to these different parts of our constitution to be perfect." Nothing, none of the fine arts has such a range of influence, such a thrill of appeal, such a reality of power as poetry—poetry, be it understood, worth the name.

The impatient question is : then is there nothing unreal ? There is a great deal that is unreal : there is a great deal of tinsel. There are, to begin with, songs that are unreal, mere jingles of meaningless words to hide a stolen idea ! Words, as such, are unreal

" For words like nature half reveal
And half conceal the soul within."

But, whereas, Nature reveals the other half to him who ' watches and receives,' words illude. It is the Idea that is real. Whatever conceals the Eternal Idea is unreal. Whatever is transient by nature not by accident, whatever like a grand star mimicry of blazing fire-works comes to ashes and is not, is unreal. Those circumstances which have always conspired to keep man hedged in a narrow arena to cripple his aspirations, to stunt his activities, to imprison his hope, are unreal. Society,

with its painted masks of custom and convention, meant to hide the souls of the actors of the drama of civilized life; society with its heartless laws framed in some barbaric age when History was yet unborn, society that shuts the door of common hospitality and love in a most disconcertingly eccentric manner against some noble though unfortunate mortal, enthroning an undeserving creature who has inherited, only inherited, pure or noble blood, though never proved it; society in so far as it falls short of its highest definition 'a joint family,' and dissipates its energy in a vain struggle with truth, in so far as it becomes inimical to progress, and in so far as it hinders the unfolding of every individual life to its fullest, society in so far as it is not true to the loftiest conceptions of life and conduct—is hopeless tinsel, unreal and delusive. Thus Tagore prays,

“Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free,
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by
 narrow domestic walls,
Where words come out from the depth of truth,
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection,
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
 the dreary desert sand of dead habit,
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
 thought and action:
Into the heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.”

And the poet's country is the world: the whole wide world is for him one social unit.

Religion that pays court to hypocrisy and plays a double game, misleading one into error and getting another persecuted, is irreligious, and, as such unreal. Religion when it has lost its soul and remains a corpse with its ornaments of words, unable to inspire man with true motives, or guide him to an ethical consciousness, is dead and hence unreal. Of the followers of such a religion a poet says:—

“Therefore the names of Demon, Ghost and Heaven
 Remain the records of their vain endeavour,

Frail spells,—whose uttered charm might not avail to sever
Doubt, chance and mutability."

A religion that cannot raise the faithful to a high standard of honest, liberal, and conscientious thinking, willing, and acting but terrifies them into subservience by superstitious incarnations or bewitches them with sensuous ceremonials, is a powerless religion, and in so far as it is feeble, it is unreal. A religion so blind-folded by bigotry or prejudice, that it claims the sole custody of truth and the entire possession of God, which will not pause to see its own deficiencies, or in a self-complacent mood denounces everything else as false, is blind, and being blind is not perfectly true. Thus of truth a poet says,

" Thy light alone,—like mist o'er mountain driven,
Or music like the light wind sent
Thro' strings of some still instrument,
Or moonlight on a midnight stream
Gives grace and truth to life's unquiet dream."

The poet believes that whatever hides the message of Beauty, Love and Truth from him is false. All immediate needs weighed against ultimate values are unreal, for they distract the mind from facts by allurements of fiction. He believes in ultimate good: evil, therefore, is unreal. The darkest cloud of unreality, however, cannot all conceal the rays of truth that peep out and form, as it were, a fringe, the silver lining of that cloud. This philosophy of ultimate values is a philosophy of the soul more than a speculation of the intellect. Pure logic has failed to glimpse the truth. It is intuition, the eye of the soul that has seen what reason has failed to understand; it is intuition, the ear of the soul that has heard what the intellect has failed to fathom. This, it is, that gives the poet an indomitable will and saves him from submission to the cruel forces of evil and error. With Browning the poet cries,

“ Rejoice, we are allied
To that which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod
Nearer we hold of God

Who gives, than of his tribes that take, I must believe! ”

It is a faith in the reality, in the reality of the individual Soul, in the reality of kinship between the two, and in the reality of the immense potentialities of the mind of man.

Without such implicit faith in the high destiny of man, and without such implicit trust in the reality the poet could not reconcile himself with his lot. Byron asks,

“ Have I not—
Hear me, my mother Earth! behold it Heaven!
Have I not had to wrestle with my lot?
Have I not suffered things to be forgiven?
Have I not had my brain sear'd, my heart riven,
Hopes sapped, name blighted, Life's life died away? ”

and Byron explains,

“ And only not to desperation driven
Because not altogether of such clay
As rots into the souls of those whom I survey.”

Suffer me to repeat that truth and error, good and evil, pleasure and pain are ever at conflict in the experience of rational beings. The poor die for want of means, the rich die for want of means to spend. The irony of fate mocks man. Everything material is as it ought not to be. The idealist expects justice to prevail. He finds wrongs unredressed grinding men to dust. He expects joy to be man's birthright. But the birthright has been exchanged for a mess of pottage. He expects to meet Generosity even on the street but finds the pickpocket sons of Greed busy at work everywhere. He expects the very air men breathe to be tinged with the fragrance of spontaneous kindness and finds callousness stink in his nostrils. Thus comes

the clash. Thus comes the rude awakening to facts as they are on this globe. And the mind of the poet which 'floats and dances on the waves of life amidst the voices of wind and water,' soberly pauses to fathom the cause of such a state of affairs. The results of this inquiry are embodied in the master-pieces of dramatic art. The drama is the only vehicle for the poet to convey his interpretations of the paradoxes of life.

The pride of a Dushyanta that doomed to sorrow the faithful heart of Sakuntala; the goodness and gentleness of a Vasant-sena assaulted by the cupidity of a barbarian; or the high and altruistic nobility of a Brutus failing miserably before the mean and selfish cunning of an Antony; the passionate jealousy of an Othello gaining mastery over his finer sentiments; the undeserved afflictions of a Lear that sent him mad; the tragedy of a conscientious Hamlet; or the restless search of a Faust after ideal happiness; the injustice that Sigismund must bear because he is destined to overthrow tyranny: these the poet fashions into dramas, breathing into them the fire of eternal passion, eternal pain. The tragic element clearly lies in the cause of the mischief. It is found in the *hamartia*, the error or frailty, in at least one of the characters of the play, some human deficiency which brings about its own punishment in the ruin of the man. "The purpose of tragedy," says Aristotle, "is the purifying through pity and fear of the emotions." The moral process, the *katharsis*, the corrections and refinement of the emotions, is the end sought by tragedy. Tragedy is realistic. The realism is meant to impress ideals. Let me quote Hazlitt's remarks on this topic. "One mode," says he, "in which the dramatic expression of passion excites our sympathy without raising our disgust is, that in proportion as it sharpens the edge of calamity and disappointment, it strengthens the desire for Good. It enhances our consciousness of the blessings, by making us sensible of the magnitude of the loss. The storm of passion lays bare and shews us the rich depths of the human soul: the whole of our existence, the sumtotal of our passions and pursuits, of that

which we desire and that which we dread, is brought before us by contrast; the action and reaction are equal, the keenness of immediate suffering only gives us a more intense aspiration after, and a more intense participation with, the antagonist world of good; makes us think deeper of the cup of human life; tugs at the heart-strings; loosens the pressure about them; and calls the springs of thought and feeling into play with tenfold force. "The poet does so because he has plumbed the secret and knows that life itself is such a tragedy meant by the Great Dramatist to serve a similar end. The poet imitates the Great Dramatist. This is why tragic poetry appeals more to the finer sense in man. Tragedy is more poetic. Comedy has the air of artificial pleasure, betrays a strained effort to round off the tale smoothly and hence appears untrue to life. Tragedy, far from making men cynical, draws out from the deep recesses of the human heart an echo to the poet's unwavering trust in an All-wise Providence.

This confidence in the ultimate good that buoys up the poet during moments of storm and stress, remains with him to the end. Even in melancholy poets like Byron and Masfield it is not altogether absent. We had agreed that the poet is a living sentient soul, and it is precisely because of this that he can pierce through the mists and vapours of our earthly damps, and keep his gaze fixed on the distant 'scene,' beyond the vale of years. Come what may come, in the midst of inexplicable tragedies, unintelligible riddles, the soul of the poet cries with resolute daring.

"I will deck thee with trophies, garlands of my defeat.

It was never in my power to escape unconquered.

I surely know my pride will go to the wall, my life will burst its bonds in exceeding pain, and my empty heart will sob out in music like a hollow reed: and the stone will melt in tears.

I surely know the hundred petals of a lotus will not remain closed for ever and the secret recess of its honey will be bared.

From the blue sky an eye shall gaze upon me and summon me in silence. Nothing will be left for me, nothing whatever, and utter death shall I receive at thy feet."

The death that is received at the feet of deathless Love is not the end of life, but its fulfilment, its consummation. It is, therefore, a consolation for the poet, when other things are past, to dream of death, the summons from Love's gracious eye, to a newer, truer, happier state of being, in the vast Eternity of Love.

CYRIL MODAK

Reviews

Andhra University Series—No. 1. The Beginnings of Local Taxation in the Madras Presidency.—A study in Indian Financial Policy, 1863-71. By M. Venkatarangaiya, 1928.

This is an investigation carried on into the finances of the local Boards and Municipalities in the Madras Presidency from the original sources and the material collected during ten months' research work is placed before the reader in this volume. The materials refer to early history of local finance and the author frankly admits that it is mere "spade work" and suggests that a more detailed critical study of the Institutions of local government, should be made; for the wide training that is so essential to enable us to enjoy responsible government, in the near future can only be gathered in this local administration field and any success or failure in this direction is absolutely dependent on the financial resources at the back of the local bodies.

Leaving aside the dim beginnings of local taxation in the days of John Company (1 to 7) the author rightly points out that a conscious beginning in the development of local finance can be noticed in the years 1863-1871. The ever-growing expenditure on the part of the Government of India forced it to devise measures to increase taxation but financial equilibrium could not be secured by additional taxation for reasons stated on p. 14. "Uncertain revenue, increasing expenditure, spendthrift provincial governments, and an over-centralised financial system made the financial position of the Government of India a ludicrous one. With the Scylla of lessened resources on one side and the Charybdis of clamouring Provincial Governments for increased grants on the other the Central government, had to pursue a cautious course and it hit upon the stratagem of "Local taxation" as a thing different from Imperial Taxation. Relief was obtained by throwing certain charges on the shoulders of the Provincial governments, which were hitherto met by it. Cesses for education and Road-making were developed. Municipalities had to bear the cost of urban police. As Imperial expenditure went on increasing more and more relief was obtained by delegating the charges to the Provincial Governments, and this financial process known by the hackneyed term of "Decentralisation" commenced in right earnest from 1870. Reference is made to Mayo's scheme of 1870, as a further illustration of the principal tendency of securing relief to imperial finances by additional local taxation. In 1871 the Provincial

Government had to shift these charges in the urban areas to the Municipalities and local taxation became a settled process by 1871.

The two other factors responsible for the development of local taxation are next referred to. To remedy the defects of Imperial Taxation of those days which practically meant unequal taxation and to secure greater revenue local taxation was hit upon. It was also owing to the honest endeavour to secure real improvements in local areas and train people for self-government that measures of local taxation were devised during these days. Thus far the brochure deals with historical details of the subject-matter whose outlines have been given out by other writers already. The author's main work consists in setting the proper statistical details referring to the Madras Presidency in close juxtaposition with the bare outlines mentioned by the older writers. The critical part of the study commences on page 59 and covers roughly 50 pages.

The apparent conflict between the different motives that led to the development of local taxation is the subject-matter of pages 59 to 80. So long as the dominant motive was relief to Imperial Government finances the true principles that ought to guide the division of duties between the Central and the Local governments were not logically carried out. Charges that ought to have been borne by the Imperial Government were delegated to the local bodies to be defrayed out of their meagre resources. The use of local taxes for non-local purposes and the control of the Imperial Government over the local services created much discontent among the minds of the people. The endeavour to evade police charges by declaring even mere rural areas urban ones and the extension of the Municipalities Act to them is quoted as a specific instance of the evils arising out of the conflict of principles which led to the development of local taxation.

The use of local taxation for higher educational purposes and medical relief and the building of high roads meant for Imperial use was also another specific grievance in the early days of local finance. On account of this conflict local finance could never be developed on popular lines and the true scientific principles of sound local finance could hardly have been evolved in those days of experiment and trying to learn by the method of trial and error.

The next definite piece of criticism of the author is that no real self-government was after all existing in the local bodies of those days. The constitution of the municipal bodies is examined just to illustrate that responsible Government did not exist in the local areas. The predominance of the official and nominated non-official element in the Municipal bodies and even the fixing of their expenditure level by the Governor

(till 1871) and the late introduction of the election element (1878) in few of the Municipalities, even though the people knew how to work self-governing institutions on an elective basis, are given out by the author as practical proofs of the non-existence of real self-government in these early days. The hesitation with which the elements of real self-government were introduced even when full control over the rates lay in the hands of the Government forms one of the last points of criticism. The depriving of the villages of the last vestiges of self-government by the Village-Cess Act of 1864 by making village officials the servants of the Imperial Government was another proof of the absence of any real self-government in those times either in urban or rural areas. The only silver lining to the cloud was the levying of the education rate by representative local committees for running "rate schools" in the Godaveri District but as the option of continuing or giving up the rate was given to the people at the end of every five years the experiment proved a failure, for the rates were considered a burden and the schools were closed by the people.

The utility of the monograph would indeed have been heightened if attention had been drawn to the rapid changes that have taken place in the administration of the local governments. With the development of cities and rapidly congested areas, the development of motor transport altering the use made of the roads and the insufficient local resources an impasse in the present system of local Government is bound to arise. Having studied the original beginnings and the development of the local finances it would have been more interesting if the author ventured to suggest the proper course of action for the Government to adopt in altering the present inadequate system of local finance. The applicability or otherwise of Baldwin's scheme of "block grants" to local administrative units and the "derating scheme" would have been stimulating and without any suggestions for the immediate future any study of the past is bound to be boring when specially new facts of material importance are not discovered. How and in what way should the restrictive measure of control over the local government be exercised by the Provincial Governments? Is it not wise to set up a tribunal to solve all questions of "surcharges" of improper expenditure as the Government auditor is bound to term them? Is it wise after all to supersede altogether elected local bodies and are there no other ways of coercing refractory local bodies? What additional financial resources can be forthcoming to meet increasing expenditure that would be needed to undertake public utility services. How and in what way can the elected local bodies be made miniature Parliaments or a progressive system of Parliamentary Devolution be

established within this country ? Such and other important questions require immediate solution and we appeal to the best brains of our country to solve these living, immediate and vital issues instead of frittering away our energies in reading into the past.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Economics of Rural Bengal.—by K. B. Saha, M.A.,-Lecturer in Economics, Dacca University. With a foreword by Sir Jehangir Coyajee, Chuckervarty Chatterjee and Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1930.

Mr. Saha succeeds in presenting a vivid picture of the conditions of rural life in Bengal and attention is drawn to some of the important economic problems which have to be solved in order to increase the economic progress of the rural masses.

A debt of gratitude is owing to Prof. Saha for having given us an exhaustive idea of some of the different land tenures of Bengal. The author frankly admits that "the land system in the province is not inconsistent with efficient cultivation." But he makes no efforts to discover the causes leading to the non-progressive nature of the agricultural industry of Bengal. Compulsory consolidation on the model of the 1928 Act of the Central Provinces is rightly recommended and the abolition of the transfer fee in the matter of the exchange of land is also a wise measure.

In dealing with the grave unemployment menace Prof. Saha is pretty nearly at his wit's ends. To cope with the present situation he would like "the Bengalee merchants to make a bold stand against the dangerous and steady invasion of the outsiders in the trade and commerce of the province," p. 291. It is a pity that the learned author suggests a very inadequate solution based on racial discrimination. Work is not limited and it is erroneous to consider that every job held by a foreigner is one less for the son of the soil. Work grows with population and unless the children of the soil learn to be more obedient, skilful and attached to their work they cannot hope to check competition on the part of middle-class men from other provinces.

Throughout the different chapters the arrangement is scholarly and much information is doled out in workman-like manner. His well-considered deductions arrived at in some of the chapters after a systematic inquiry add to our common knowledge.

As a helpful study of rural economic life of Bengal this book will be useful and entertaining. It does not try to exhaust all that might be

said on each and every topic but traces the different problems and examines them with the help of a critical analysis. He certainly points the way for closer study and more intelligent criticism by the future citizens of Bengal.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Elements of Economics, by S. B. Sengupta, Principal, Khalsa College, Lyallpur. Published by Ram Lal Suri, Lahore, Rs. 4.

Specially written to cover the syllabus of the Punjab University Intermediate Examination, the book imparts the elementary notions on the subject in a clear and concise manner. It does not however cover the entire field. Book VII which deals with the main physical features, which tend to mould the character of the people ought to have been arranged at the very outset. We recommend this book as a useful manual to the Indian beginners who wish to study economics for their Intermediate Examination.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Whither India ? By Dhirendranath Sen, M.A. Rupee One, pp. 62.

A short and stimulating monograph on some of the important constitutional aspects of the Nehru Report. Written from the extreme national standpoint, the author advocates discriminations against foreign exploiters, the granting of immediate responsible government and the abolition of bicameral legislature in his first chapter. Chapters two and three and four deal with the oft-repeated and much misunderstood expression "Dominion Status" and its inter-relations. Chapter 5 deals with the position of the Indian States. Chapter 6 discusses the fundamental rights which ought to form the basis of India's Swaraj Government. In the last chapter he advocates federation of the Canadian model where the Federal Government would be the residuary legatee of all the unmentioned powers. It would have been more edifying if the author had mentioned some convincing reasons why he disapproves so strongly Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer's arguments for a unitary type of Central Government.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Memorandum on Production and Trade, published by the Information Section of the League of Nations. Geneva, 21st July, 1930.

This Memorandum contains the latest available data on the world economic situation. Very interesting lessons can be drawn from a careful interpretation of the world production index for foodstuffs and raw materials. The review of world industrial activity and recent changes in relative prices of raw materials and manufactured products would furnish useful data for intelligent action on the part of the different states bent on solving internal problems with reference to trade and commercial activity.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Memorandum on International Trade and Balance of Payments—1926 to 1928, Vol. I, Review of World Trade, published by the League of Nations, Information Section.

The increase in the quantum of trade which should not be mistaken for the level of prices during these years is first referred to. Nextly the share of the important countries is analysed. Thirdly the universality of the economic progress achieved is commented upon. Lastly attention is drawn to the relative and absolute increase of trade in manufactured articles arising out of rationalisation of industries in the old countries and the extended use of machinery in the new industries of other countries.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Principles and Methods, Financial Reconstruction Work, published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, Geneva.

The League's financial reconstruction work in the case of nine countries is referred to in this brochure. A critical analysis of the principles involved in the matter of reconstruction is placed before the reader. The constitution of the three League organs, the Council, the Financial Committee and the Secretariat, which are concerned with the financial work is detailed in the first few pages. Secondly, the principles guiding the policy of reconstruction are elaborated in pages 17 to 36. Thirdly, the relationship arising out of this financial interference or execution of the scheme is referred to in pages 37 to 68.

This report finds its chief value in this: That it sets forth briefly and lucidly the scope and practical workings of the financial Secretariat, etc.,

of the League of Nations. It sets forth those details which will facilitate a better understanding of the adaptations of financial organisation and the technique worked out by the financial experts of the League of Nations. An accurate knowledge of these details will be of special value in this country as the commonly accepted benefits arising out of the efforts of the League of Nations have been so openly and frequently questioned.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Chaitanya to Vivekananda. G. A. Natesah & Co., Madras, Re. 1-8.

This is a popular history of religion in Bengal, or rather the religious men of Bengal, from the 16th to the 19th centuries—a period of 400 years, more or less. One wonders why the Brahmo Samaj men were left out; evidently the author is of opinion that they do not deserve a mention. The account of Swami Vivekananda as given in the book confirms this idea; but it is not fair to say that “the shining lights of Brahmoism had no spiritual experiences,” for it is not true of stalwarts like Ram-mohan, Devendranath and Keshabchandra, whose figures loom large on the horizon of the times. Again, the inclusion of Sankar Dev of Assam may be justified only if the story of Jagannath Das of Orissa is similarly placed. If the learned author thinks that in these Bengali types is to be found (as no doubt it is) “a supreme and burning love for fellow-men,” the feature is amply and admirably present also in the lives of the Brahmo leaders already mentioned.

It is to be regretted that the *dicta* of Mr. E. J. Thompson have been apparently accepted; for Mr. Thompson has amply demonstrated a constitutional incapacity to understand the language, or the spirit, of Bengali poetry. He has broken down totally even before Rabindranath; it can be hardly expected of him to do justice to Ramprasad. The lyrics of Rabindranath are easier of comprehension to the western mind than the *malsi* songs of Ramprasad and so Mr. Thompson’s charge against “the fantastic imagery.” Another statement in the book calls for notice. One cannot say that Ramprasad was born “long after the heyday of Shakticism in Bengal.” Shakticism has ever found a congenial soil in the country. There is a glaring mistake in the name of the book written by Ramprasad and later by Bharatchandra; it is not *Vidya-Sundari* but *Vidya-Sundar*. Some confusion still exists in the transliteration of Eastern sounds, e.g., in the names of *Ramprasad* and his father, *Ramarama*, and in *Shri* as well as *Shree*.

These are, however, minor imperfections; one cannot help being struck by the good features of the book. All the topics are admirably handled, but the chapter on Sankar Dev, which incidentally touches on Assam Vaishnavism and dwells on the important position of Namaghars, calls for more than a passing notice. The general reader will find the book both informative and soulful, and there can be no hesitation in saying that it forms a valuable addition to the publications of the already well-known and enterprising firm of Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Ourselfes

REPORT OF THE INDIAN BOARD OF THE GERMAN ACADEMY FOR THE YEAR 1929-30

I. *History of the Foundation.*

The initiative for starting an Indian Institute for furthering cultural relations and mutual understanding between Germany and India came from Dr. Taraknath Das. He tried in the years 1925 and 1926 to create among German teachers and politicians an interest in this plan and programme; his efforts did not at first succeed in eliciting much response. In 1927 Prof. Dr. Haushofer, Senator of the German Academy, took up the idea of Dr. Das and exerted himself, along with other members of the German Academy, in this matter: they all agreed about the foundation of an Indian Board, and thus the Indian Board of the German Academy came into being.

II. *Creation of Stipends.*

With the help of the German Academy and the German Academic Foreign Bureau, four stipends were at first created in the year 1929-30 for giving selected Indian students the opportunity of giving a finishing touch to their education abroad at the close of their studies at home. The stipends were advertised in the Indian newspapers and periodicals, as a result of which more than 120 students from 15 different Universities applied for these stipends which consisted in exemption from college fees and free board and residence. The following stipend-holders were selected :—

1. Dr. Girindranath Mukherjee (Medicine), formerly of the Calcutta University: Studying under the direction of Prof. Döderlin, Munich.

2. Dr. Kalipada Basu (Chemistry) of Dacca University : Studying under the direction of Prof. Wieland, Munich.

3. Mr. Trigunacharan Sen (Machine construction) of National College of Engineering, Calcutta : Studying under the guidance of Dr. Thoma at the Technical High School, Munich.

4. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh (Philology) of Calcutta University : Studying under the direction of Profs. Oertel and Sommer, Munich.

As the stipend-holders proved themselves worthy of the stipends in every respect and as they intended to supplicate for the degree of Doctorate, the stipends were allowed to be continued for the year 1930-31, at reduced rates. This was only possible through the generosity of the Academic Foreign Bureau of Munich which placed six free-studentships at the disposal of the German Academy for the current year.

Through the efforts of the Indian Board of the German Academy and with the help of the Ministry of Education of Württemberg, three stipends were created for the Indian students in Württemberg, one for Medicine at the Tübingen University, one for machine-construction in Stuttgart and one for agriculture in Hohenheim. Dr. K. C. Chaudhury, M.B. (Calcutta University), who had already worked in Vienna, has already begun his studies in Tübingen in order to specialize in children's diseases. The other stipend-holders are expected to join very soon.

Special thanks are due to Minister Bauer and Consul Straus who took great trouble to create these stipends. Similar assistance has been rendered also by Professor Haur, Professor Krauss, and Professors Haushoper, Sarkar and Dr. Nobel of Berlin.

With the help of Prof. Obst in Hanover four post-graduate stipends have been created in Hanover for the year 1930-31.

The Zeiss works in Jena have most generously created a stipend of the value of M 2400 for the year 1930-31. The man chosen is Mr. Majumdar of the Allahabad University. He has, probably, joined in the beginning of December.

Through the efforts of Prof. Holl of the Technical High School in Karlsruhe, the Education Ministry of Baden has succeeded in establishing 3 stipends at the Universities of Heidelberg and Freiberg, as well as at the Technical High School in Karlsruhe. For Karlsruhe the stipend for 1931 is reserved; it will soon be advertised.

III. *Professor Exchange.*

At the annual meeting of the Indian Board of the German Academy, which was held last November, it was resolved, on the motion of Prof. Haushofer, to take steps to invite Prof. Sarkar, of the University of Calcutta and the National College of Engineering and Technology, to Munich to deliver lectures on Indian economic conditions. Through the energetic efforts of Prof. Dorus of the Technical High School, as well as of the Ministry of Education of Bavaria and other places, Prof. Sarkar has obtained a lectureship for one year commencing from March 1930 for the purpose of delivering lectures at the Technical High School in Munich and other cities.

IV. *Training of Indian Students in Industries.*

Inquiries relating to the question whether Indian Technical students can work as apprentices in German industries are increasing every week. We have succeeded in admitting Mr. Dutta whose work has been satisfactory. Co-operation with the Industrial Union of Bavaria has been secured in order to ensure a continuous regular training, which, from the point of view of industries, is of great value. Great care has been exercised in the selection in order to prevent industrial espionage.

V. *Advice and Help to Indian Visitors.*

The visit of Indian guests last year set things astir. The well-known Indian physician, Dr. Ukil, delivered a lecture on "The immunity of Indians from Tuberculosis" to the medical

members of the Munich Academy. Dr. Rabindranath was received with great ceremony and his play "The Post Office" was staged in the students' hostel.

VI. *Work in India.*

(a) We are in co-operation with the most important culture-centres in India. We are in correspondence with several leading personalities in Indian Universities with a view to ensuring that the German language, history and literature are taught by experts. We have to report some success in this matter—at the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Benares and Allahabad German is already taught.

(b) We have succeeded in the establishment of some Indo-German societies in India. We hope to win the support of Indian scholars and Indian residents in Germany.

(c) We tried to invite German professors to deliver lectures as visitors in India or to visit India and also to create lectureships for them. The Indian Universities would surely welcome the idea of German professors occasionally delivering lectures. Thus, for example, the Indian Universities welcomed very much the visit of Prof. Sommerfeld of Munich and Prof. Glasenapp of Königsberg. Recently the Allahabad University has invited Dr. Alsdorf, Privatdozent at the Berlin University, to teach German and French; so also the University of Dacca has invited Dr. Fick of Frankfurt University to deliver lectures on Islamic culture-history.

(d) The friends of Indo-German cultural co-operation will be specially interested to learn that during the year 1932 Professor Jaygopal Banerjee, of the Calcutta University, will deliver lectures on Goethe on the occasion of the centenary of his death.

(e) An important Indian Journal (the "Calcutta Review") will publish a series of five big articles on German culture and industrial life which will be written in co-operation with the leading industrial and cultural organizations of

Germany. Later, these articles will be published in the form of a brochure and distributed to all important Indian institutes, societies and organizations.

VII. *Indian Press.*

Dr. Taraknath Das has written several articles on Indo-German cultural co-operation for the "Calcutta Review," "Modern Review" and "Liberty." Prof. Sarkar has also written similar articles in the Journals of the Bengal and Indian Chambers of Commerce. Circular letters have been sent to the Indian press and the Indian Board of German Academy acknowledges with thanks the willing co-operation of several Indian newspapers and periodicals. The article of Dr. Das on Indo-German cultural co-operation has been translated into German and published in the "Transactions of the German Academy."

VIII. *Reply to enquiries from India.*

In the year 1929-30, the Indian Board of the German Academy received about 500 enquiries from India which were all fully answered. The remarkable increase in the number of Indian students in Munich (at present there are 19 Indian students, as compared with 5 in 1928) is to be directly attributed to the work of the Indian Board.

This activity, that is to say, the will of the Indian Board, should not be confined to Munich; it is only through the co-operation of all the important centres in Germany that a lasting and effective connection between India and Germany can be established. The work must, if it is to be successful, be *entirely non-political*; the Indian Board declines to be mixed up with the present conflict between India and England, because it is as much anxious to establish cordial cultural relations with England as with India. It is, however, convinced that Germany has a good deal to contribute to the development of

India, and considering the great efforts of French, American, and recently, Italian circles in this direction, it must mobilise all its industrial and cultural resources in order to carry out its task of helping the cultural progress of mankind in the Far East.

Next year the work that has been begun will have to be extended. This requires a strange structure for the business side of its task. The Indian Board will therefore try to create a permanent Indian labour centre which is to be looked upon as a preliminary step in the establishment of an Indian Institute. It is necessary to establish an Indian library and furnish necessary materials for the proper handling of all inquiries and information. With comparatively modest means much can here be done. The Indian Board hopes that this fact would not be ignored by those who are interested in the case of Indo-German cultural relations.¹

DR. FRANZ THINFELDA,
Hony. Secy., Die Deutsche Akademie,
München, Bavaria.

¹ The Editor acknowledges with thanks receipt of this valuable brief account from the Hony. Secy. of the German Academy of Munich (Bavaria) and the help rendered by Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy, Benares Hindu University.

PROF. W. BLASCHKE APPOINTED A READER OF OUR UNIVERSITY.

The Syndicate has recommended to the Senate Prof. W. Blaschke of the University of Hamburg to be appointed a Reader of this University to deliver a course of lectures on "The Origin and Development of Affine Geometry" on an honorarium of Rs. 2,000.

A NEW D.Sc.

Mr. Hrishikesh Sarkar has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Science, on the thesis "On Some Hydrodynamical Problems and Associated Legendre Functions and Spherical Harmonics."

* * *

A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Kalikaranjan Kanungo has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis :—

- (1) Sher Shah.
- (2) History of the Jats, Volume I.
- (3) Dara Shukoh.

* * *

DEBENDRANATH-HEMLATA GOLD MEDAL FOR 1930.

Applications are hereby invited from candidates for competition for the Debendranath-Hemlata Gold Medal for the year 1930.

The competition for the medal is limited to M.A., M.Sc., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.D., D.L., M.E., M.O. and M.S. of not more than three years' standing, and the standard of physical fitness shall be determined by a health examination of the competitors by the Students' Welfare Department of the Calcutta University as also by application of such tests as may be decided upon by the Committee appointed for the purpose by the Syndicate.

Applications from the entrants for the competition must reach the office of the undersigned by the 15th February, 1931.

SENATE HOUSE.

N. SEN,
Controller of Examinations.

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THE NAGARJUNA PRIZE FOR 1929.

The Nagarjuna Prize for 1929 has been awarded to Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhury on his thesis "On Activated Charcoal."

* * *

RESULT OF THE FIRST M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 75 of whom 37 passed, 36 failed, 1 was expelled and 1 was absent. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

* * *

RESULT OF THE THIRD M.B. EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for examination was 95 of whom 56 passed, 37 failed, none was expelled and 2 were absent. Of the successful candidates none obtained Honours.

* * *

COMMISSIONS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

1. Information regarding the first appointment to commissions in the Indian Army of Indian cadets who have successfully completed a course at one of the cadet colleges in England is contained in the "Regulations respecting the admission of Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell."

2. Pamphlets containing the question paper and results of the examinations held in India for the admission of candidates to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell,

can be obtained on payment, from the Manager, Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, or from any of the following book-sellers in India :—

Messrs. Thacker Spink and Company, Calcutta and Simla.

„ Thacker and Company, Limited, Bombay.

„ Higginbothams, Limited, Madras, and Bangalore.

The price of the pamphlet is about Rs. 3-8-0 per copy.

3. The pay and allowances of regimental officers of the Indian Army are detailed in Appendix B to Army Instruction (India) No. 1-S. of 1925, and rise from Rs. 480 *per mensem*, the present pay of a 2nd-Lieutenant. These rates are, however, liable to revision.

Officers on leave in India (other than “privilege leave” when full pay and allowances are drawn) receive rates of pay which approximate to $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the pay and allowances they draw while at duty.

NOTE.—The rates of pay and pension referred to in this and other paragraphs were fixed for British officers serving continuously in the Indian Army away from their own country, and are considerably higher than the rates drawn by officers of the British Service serving in the United Kingdom. They may be regarded as including, like the pay of other All-India Services, an “overseas” element. It is improbable that this element could continue, indefinitely, to be granted to Indian officers serving in their own land.

4. Promotion and appointments are regulated as follows :

(i) *General provisions governing promotion.*—The promotion of regimental officers, who are borne on the rolls of their unit, is contingent upon their passing the prescribed professional examinations. Before promotion to Captain and Major, a regimental officer must be reported on as showing promise of being fit to command a squadron in the case of cavalry, or a company in the case of infantry, and to be second-in-command respectively. Save in very exceptional circumstances, a Major will

not be promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel or Commandant unless medically fit for active service, and unless he has been passed fit by the "selection board" to command a battalion or regiment and has earned a satisfactory report at the Senior Officer's School.

(ii) *Service required for promotion.*—A time-scale of promotion is in force. Officers are eligible, if qualified and recommended, for promotion to the rank of—

Lieutenant—after $2\frac{1}{4}$ years' service.

Captain—after 9 years' service.

Major—after 18 years' service.

Lieutenant-Colonel—after 26 years' service.

Promotion above the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel is made by selection only.

(iii) *Appointment of Adjutants.*—A King's Commissioned Officer of an Indian cavalry or infantry unit who has passed the language and retention examinations and qualified at a Small Arms School is eligible for the appointment of Adjutant, which carries additional pay [see Appendix B to Army Instruction (India) No. 1-S. of 1925] selection for these appointments is ordinarily made from officers who have approximately, six years' service. Appointments are tenable for 4 years but are vacated on promotion to permanent command of a squadron or company, or on taking up extra-regimental employment.

(iv) *Appointment of Quartermasters.*—King's Commissioned Officers of Indian cavalry and infantry units who have passed the language and retention examinations are eligible for the appointment of Quartermaster, the tenure of which is ordinarily four years. These appointments also carry additional pay [see Appendix B to Army Instruction (India) No. 1-S. of 1925].

(v) *Other appointments outside regimental units, which are open to King's Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army.*—Officers are eligible for appointment to departments under the Army Department of the Government of India (such as the

Cantonments Department, the Indian Army Ordnance Corps, the Indian Army Service Corps, the Military Farms Department, and the Remount Department). Also to the Military Advisory Staff of Indian State Forces, the Political Department, and the Survey of India, in accordance with the rules applicable to each.

5. The pensions of Indian Army officers are governed by the Pension Regulations for the Army in India. The rates are liable to revision.

The pension consists of :—

- (a) A service element based on the officer's total qualifying service in the Army.
- (b) A rank element for the Army rank in which the officer retires.
- (c) An Indian element for service in the Indian Army.

Officers retiring below the rank of Major, *i.e.*, with less than 18 years' service are ineligible for pension.

6. Disability pensions are also admissible under certain circumstances to King's Commissioned Officers. The amount of these pensions varies according to length of service and to whether or not the disability was attributable to military service. (See paragraphs 32-41 of the Pension Regulations for the Army in India.)

7. Widows' and families' pensions and compassionate allowances varying in amount according to the officers' rank, are also admissible under certain circumstances. (See paragraphs 93-97 of the Pension Regulations for the Army in India and Articles 659 *et seq.* of the Royal Warrant for the Pay, Appointment, Promotion, and Non-Effective Pay of the Army, 1926.)

(The Regulations and Army Instruction quoted in this pamphlet can be obtained, on payment, from the Manager, Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta.)

REPORT OF THE STUDENTS' WELFARE COMMITTEE.¹

FOR THE YEAR 1929.

Section I.

The findings of the Students' Welfare Committee have drawn the attention of the public to the physical impairment of the adolescent. No one who has studied these records during the last decade can fail to anticipate that there must be a resulting serious impairment of health at later stages of life. The findings of the Committee may be summarised by saying that medical examination shows that, out of every 10 students examined, only 3 are perfectly fit and healthy for their age; 6 are on a definitely infirm plane of health and strength either from some disability or some failure of development, and the remaining one is quite incapable of undergoing more than a very moderate degree of physical exertion and can almost be described as a physical wreck. If we ask what are the causes which make this large body of students unfit, the answer is brief; that over a third suffer from poor physique and mal-nutrition, and the other principal forms of defects are heart disease, defective vision, dental decay and pyorrhoea. I would draw the attention of the guardians and the public to this rather alarming record, which concerns not a selected group of students, but the general body of college students who represent the rising manhood of the country.

The Students' Welfare Scheme, as formed in 1920, had as its objective a comprehensive survey of all college students. Their findings have raised the whole question of treatment, medical and educational, in the clinics and in the colleges, and this in turn has given rise to questions of preventive methods

¹ Those who feel interested for the complete Report together with the Appendices may apply to the Secretary, Students' Welfare Committee, University of Calcutta.

of Hygiene and Physical Education. During the year the Senate appointed a special committee to consider the future policy and scheme of work of the Students' Welfare Committee, and at a joint meeting of the present Students' Welfare Committee and the one appointed by the Senate the following Scheme was recommended for adoption :—

“ The Students' Welfare Committee began its work in 1920. During the last nine years its Medical Officers have examined about 15,000 College students,¹ and full details of the results obtained and conclusions arrived at, have been published in its successive Annual Reports.

The experience gained during the last few years reveals the necessity of changing the scope, method, and nature of the work assigned to the Committee.

Scope.—It has been felt that the health examination of students will be of far greater value if it is undertaken at the school stage. Though it is eminently desirable that this examination should be conducted on an extensive scale and remedial measures should be adopted where any defects are found, the University cannot be expected with its limited resources to take up the work in the near future. We consider, however, a beginning should be made in this direction, and recommend that the Students' Welfare Committee should arrange that the students of at least two High Schools should be examined each year in order to find out at what stage the various defects pointed out in the reports of the Committee begin to assert themselves.

Up to the present medical examinations conducted by the Students' Welfare Committee have been confined to students reading in Calcutta Colleges. It is highly desirable that this should be extended to students reading in Colleges outside Calcutta.

The examination may be undertaken directly by the Students' Welfare Committee, the inspection being conducted by its

¹ The number of students, examined up to 31st December, 1929, is 18,853.

doctors in batches in case of Colleges near Calcutta, or with the help of the local medical officers who are serving under Government or local bodies.

But we consider that the best plan is that the University should request each College to engage the services of a medical officer, one of his duties being to undertake such examination.

Method.—(1) Medical inspection whether in Calcutta or in the Mofussil should be restricted to First-year students.

(2) It should be made compulsory; for this purpose necessary changes may have to be made in the Regulations.

(3) It is desirable that it should be finished within the first six months of the opening of the session.

Health Examination Section.—The Secretary, in consultation with the Heads of the different Colleges, will draw up a scheme of work for the year.

The Heads of the Colleges will give necessary facilities to the Committee to conduct the examination, and will make such arrangements as will ensure a regular supply of students per hour per day.

The practice of issuing defect cards to students or their guardians will be continued as at present.

After the completion of the health examination in the College, the Secretary will, as soon as possible, prepare a report on the state of health of the students of the College, and will forward it, together with his recommendations and suggestions, to the Principal, the Medical Officer and the Physical Instructor of the College concerned, as also to the Director of Physical Instruction, Calcutta University, who will take such steps as he may deem necessary. The Secretary will also prepare an annual report dealing with the various activities of the Committee during the year.

After-care work.—The After-care Officer attached to the University shall continue to issue defect cards to students or their guardians as at present. He shall further visit every College at least once in a session after the examination, and

report to the Secretary the steps taken by the students or the authorities or the guardians to rectify the defects pointed out during the previous examinations. Lastly, the After-care Officer shall keep students suffering from serious defects or diseases, such as heart and respiratory diseases, under observation for at least 6 months, and report to the Secretary on their progress from time to time.

The Committee should try to facilitate the dental and optical treatment of students in co-operation with existing medical institutions and by such other means as may be in their power, and attempts should be made to get needy students properly treated.

Nature of work.—The Students' Welfare Committee should not confine its activities merely to the health examination of students and after-care work. In the Reports of 1927-28 the Committee pointed out that some of the causes of the deplorable state of health among the students are :—

- (a) Negligence and ignorance of elementary laws of health ;
- (b) unbalanced diet ;
- (c) want of systematic physical training.

It has also recommended that—

(1) Regular courses of lectures should be arranged for students of all Colleges ; leaflets explaining the laws of health should be circulated, and posters should be provided for Hostels and Messes ;

(2) there should be intensive propaganda on the necessity for changing the diet and advice upon its improvement ;

(3) a comparative study should be made of different systems of physical training with a view to selecting the one most suitable for Bengali students ;

(4) the University should erect a gymnasium near the College area and appoint a Director of Physical Education to hold classes.

A whole-time Director will have to be ultimately appointed, but an experiment may be made with a part-time man at the outset.

A scheme for the establishment and working of a gymnasium with a Director of Physical Education at the head is given below :—

Site.—The gymnasium is to be situated either within the University compound or somewhere very near the University. It is in contemplation to demolish the present press building and to make heavy structural alterations in the Darbhanga Buildings, as a result of which sufficient space may be available for the construction of a gymnasium opening out into the compound of the Asutosh Building. If, however, this space be not available for the purpose, a gymnasium may be erected on the rectangular portion of land on the east of Halliday Park with the permission of the Calcutta Corporation.

Membership.—Students of the Post-Graduate classes, the Law College and the Under-graduate classes maintained by the University, *i.e.*, students under the direct control of the University, as well as students of affiliated Colleges will have the right to be enrolled as members of the gymnasium. A certain proportion of the athletic fees realised from Post-Graduate students will be paid to the Gymnasium Fund.

Students of affiliated Colleges will be admitted to the membership of the gymnasium on payment of a small fee either by students or their Colleges, and on production of a certificate from the authorities of the institutions concerned, that it has not been found possible to make adequate arrangements for their physical training in their respective Colleges.

The provision of a Central Gymnasium should not be regarded as diminishing in any way the responsibility of Colleges for athletic arrangements.

Provided that there is accommodation, ex-students of the University may be admitted to the gymnasium on payment of a suitable fee.

Special arrangements will be made in the Gymnasium for the following two classes of members :—

(1) Students who may be found to be defective on medical examination, and who may be recommended to take a course of physical instruction as a remedial measure.

(2) Persons who may seek admission into the Gymnasium with a view to qualifying themselves for the post of a Physical Instructor in affiliated Colleges or recognised schools. It is understood Government propose to establish a Training Institute for this purpose. If that is realised, the University need not make itself responsible for giving training to Instructors.

Management.—Rules for the management of the Gymnasium will be prescribed by the Students' Welfare Committee.

The Executive head of the Gymnasium will be a Director of Physical Instruction, appointed by the Syndicate on a salary of not less than Rs. 500 per month. The person selected by the Syndicate for the post may, if necessary, be sent to Europe or America for a course of training at the expense of the University. There should be one or two Assistant Directors of Physical Instruction to assist the Director in the discharge of his duties.

The Director of Physical Instruction.—The Director of Physical Instruction will be an *ex-officio* member of the Students' Welfare Committee and of the proposed Calcutta University Athletic Club, which is being formed to organise Inter-collegiate sports and games in Calcutta. His task will be to organise a wide variety of forms of physical activity in order to attract all students, and to supervise such activities as far as practicable. He will inspect the arrangements made in educational institutions for imparting physical instruction, and submit reports thereon for consideration by the authorities of the Colleges and the University. These reports will be taken into special consideration at the time of recommending allotment of grants to private Colleges.

The Physical Director will be expected to organise a series of lectures on laws of health for the benefit of students and to carry on such propaganda regarding health matters in the lives of students as may be recommended by the Students' Welfare Committee.

The Director will personally conduct a class for training qualified graduates as instructors in institutions affiliated to or recognised by the University, if such a class is not established by Government.

Play-ground.—It is hoped that in the near future it will be possible with the help of the Chancellor to secure a play-ground for the exclusive use of the University. It may be noted that the Islamia College has been provided with a new sports field and is likely to give up the ground on the Maidan. The Syndicate should enquire of the authorities concerned and apply for this ground, if available. The Director will be in charge of the play-ground which will be placed at the disposal of the members of the gymnasium. It will also be used for Inter-collegiate and Inter-University athletic contests.

Sections of the Institute.—If it is found practicable to build a gymnasium within the University Compound, and if it is decided to utilise the funds of the Sir Asutosh Memorial for this purpose, the Sir Asutosh Memorial Institute may consist of the following sections :—

- (1) A gymnasium in the University compound.
- (2) A training class for Lathi, Sword, Jiu-jitsu, etc.
Space—The Asutosh Building Compound—its roof.
- (3) Games Section—A play-ground in the Maidan—Cricket, Hockey, Football, etc.
- (4) Swimming—College Square Tank.
- (5) Indian Games, Basket Ball, etc.—Halliday Park and a rectangular piece of land to its east.

If the principles underlying the scheme are adopted, details may be worked out and submitted to the authorities for

approval. Details of the actual cost incurred by the University on account of the work undertaken by the Students' Welfare Committee are given in Appendix G, and an estimate of cost of working the scheme contained in this report is set out in Appendix H.

It is hoped that it will be possible to obtain a grant for a considerable portion of the capital expenditure required in connection with this scheme out of the Sir Asutosh Memorial Fund."

During the year ending 31st December, 1929, the Medical Board attached to the Committee visited the following colleges :—

Hooghly College.

Narasingha Dutt College (Howrah).

Scottish Churches College (Calcutta).

Burdwan Raj College.

Vidyasagar College (Calcutta).

St. Paul's ,, ,,

Presidency ,, ,,

Ripon ,, ,,

Bangabasi ,, ,,

and examined roughly 2,000 students. This brings the total of students examined to 18,853. Along with the other activities of the University, the work of the Committee suffered considerably owing to the unrest prevailing among the student population, and the health examination of the students had to be suspended during the months of July and part of August.

The system of sending separate reports to individual colleges on the health examination of their students was continued. These contained lists of defective students with the defects and diseases stated against their names and roll numbers, and were sent to the colleges concerned within a short time after the health examination, together with the recommendations of the Department. 584 defect cards were issued from the office informing the students of the defects found, and

arrangements were made in 15 cases to supply spectacles at concession rates. The Sun Optical Co. kindly supplied during the year 6 pairs of glasses free of charge. A. C. Mitra, Esq., L.M.S., acted as After-care Officer, followed up the defects of students, saw their guardians and the heads of the institutions, and kept himself informed of the steps taken for treatment.

At the invitation of the Secretary, Calcutta Congress Exhibition, specially illustrative Charts and Posters were prepared and exhibited in the Public Health Section, and the After-care Officer was deputed to explain the significance of the charts and give necessary information. Subsequently the charts were also exhibited at various other public occasions, *e.g.*, the District Teachers' Conference, Burdwan, and the Health Association meetings held by the Calcutta Corporation.

During the year Mr. M. N. Banerji, M.Sc., B.L., was in charge of the office, and Mr. Haripada Maiti, M.A., acted as the Supervisor of the Rowing Club.

Section II.

Findings of Medical Inspection.

The proportion of students found to be suffering from definite defects varies little from year to year. The proportion found to need treatment and observation are as follows :—

Name of Disease.			Percentage.
Mal-nutrition	...	...	40%
Skin disease	...	...	25.5%
Enlarged Tonsils and Adenoids			18.5%
Heart disease	...	...	4.1%
Enlarged Spleen	...	...	2%
Enlarged Liver	...	...	1.1%
Dental defects—			
(a) Caries	...	...	8.2%
(b) Pyorrhoea	...	...	3.6%
Visual defects	...	...	32.9

A study of the above table will make clear the direction along which arrangements should be made to improve the health of the student community. The most common defect discovered at routine inspection is mal-nutrition. Defects of vision, the principal sense used in education, comes a close second accounting for about 33 per cent. of the students. Next come skin-diseases and diseases of the Nose and Throat (Enlarged Tonsils and Adenoids—18.5%) followed by Dental defects, Heart disease and enlarged Liver and Spleen. These constitute the principal "student" diseases.

Under the present arrangement all these are referred to private medical practitioners in attendance at the students' homes. But it seems to me that some of these can best be dealt with most expeditiously and satisfactorily at a central Clinic established by the University.

Such a clinic should be one of the most important units in the Students' Welfare Scheme. Its function would be advisory and executive: advisory in the sense of being a clearing house for referring cases to various agencies, *viz.*, Private practitioners, Hospitals, etc.; executive in the sense of providing treatment for minor conditions, which, if neglected, may lead to serious results, and for making arrangements for the correction of visual defects. The most successful method of dealing with visual defects would be for the medical staff attached to the department to work in co-operation with a specialist to whom cases presenting special difficulties could be referred.

The ultimate success of any scheme for the treatment of visual defects is dependent on (i) arrangement for the provision of spectacles and (ii) on an efficient system of following up. Arrangements should, if possible, be made with respectable firms to obtain glasses at contract price, and in necessitous cases, the cost should partly or wholly be remitted on the recommendation of the Principal after enquiry into the circumstances.

Effect of Environment on Physique.

In our last report we made a comparative study of the health of the students attending the Calcutta Colleges and Colleges near Calcutta and came to the conclusion that "the physical development of students within easy reach of Calcutta is of the same standard as that of the average Calcutta student." We also began a study on the effect of exercise on the general growth and health of College students. We have continued this study through the year and the results are shown in the following tables :

Table of Measurements of Physical Traits of Exercisers and Non-exercisers.

Criterion.	Exercisers.	Non-Exercisers.
Height ...	165.7 cm.	166.5 cm.
Weight ...	52.4 kg.	51.7 kg.
Ponderal Index ...	2.26	2.24
Chest Expansion ...	5.08 cm.	4.96 cm.
Grip Right ...	40.5 kg.	39.43 kg.
Grip Left ...	37.1 kg.	35.9 kg.

Incidence of Disease in Regular Exercisers and the Non-exercisers.

Disease.	Exercisers.	Non-Exercisers.
Heart ...	2.6%	2.8%
Lungs ...	.5%	.6%
Bad throat .	10.1%	13.8%
Digestive troubles ...	27.6%	33.9%
Mal-nutrition ...	25.7%	34.5%

Analysing the table we find that the regular Exercisers show a definite superiority over the rest in all the items chosen as our criteria, and suffer less than the Non-exercisers.

Health according to Economic Status

This year we have made a special investigation of the influence of economic condition on the health and development of students. At the very outset one is confronted with the difficulty of determining the economic condition of the student's family. Occupation is usually taken as the criterion of the economic status of a family. But one is likely to be misled from this criterion alone if one does not definitely know the approximate income behind the occupation given. To guard against this source of error we made a comparison of two groups of students, the incomes of whose family are roughly known to us. In the absence of better descriptive terms these two groups have been named by us "the Well-conditioned group" and "the Ill-conditioned group" Under the former group the following occupations have been mostly represented :

- (1) Attorneys,
- (2) Barristers,
- (3) Vakils,
- (4) Merchants,
- (5) Gazetted Government Officers,
- (6) Zeminders,
- (7) Medical Practitioners,

and in the second group are included professions like :

- (1) Clerks,
- (2) School Teachers,
- (3) Naibs, etc.

The detailed tables of the two groups are shown in the Appendix E. Here we merely summarise the main differences between the two groups as regards health and development.

Development.

Criteria.	Well-conditioned Group.	Ill-conditioned Group.
Height ...	166.8 cm.	164.8 cm.
Weight ...	53.6 kg.	49.8 kg.
Ponderal Index ...	2.26	2.24
Chest Inspiration ...	84.3 cm.	83.4 cm.
Chest Expansion ...	5.70 cm.	5.80 cm.
Grip, Right ...	38.4 kg.	38 kg.
Grip, Left ...	35.5 kg.	35.1 kg.

Incidence of Defects and Diseases.

Criteria.	Well-conditioned.	Ill-conditioned.
Mal-nutrition ...	29%	35%
Obesity ...	10%	4%
Defective vision ..	39%	27%
Caries ...	9%	2%
Diseases of circulatory system ...	4%	5%
Bad throat ...	23%	13%

From the above summary of our results it is obvious that the students from the Well-conditioned families are better developed. The number of students suffering from mal-nutrition is also lower in them. But it is not to be supposed that all the advantages are necessarily on the side of the students from the better-conditioned families. They suffer more from defective vision, bad throat, caries and obesity.

Functional Test of the Heart.

One of the commonest questions asked by the student after the examination is—‘Am I fit for active exercise?’ To answer this question with any degree of confidence, a test for judging

the functional capacity of the *heart* had to be devised. Owing to the different grades of facilities available in the different Colleges a standardised test had to be devised. Of the different tests advocated for testing the functional capacity of the *heart*, the *staircase test* seemed to be the one likely to give the best results and the easiest to be adopted. The difficulty in the way of its adoption being the disturbance which would be caused to the general routine work of the College by students continually running up and down a flight of stairs. To meet this a modification of the test as usually applied had to be devised, and of the several alternatives suggested, the following was adopted :—

The student was asked to get up and down an ordinary office chair, a foot and a half in height, 20 times as quickly as possible, the maximum time allowed being one minute.

A medical officer was specially deputed to carry out this test which was applied to all students excepting those who in his opinion were not in a fit condition to stand the test. The following instructions for the application of the test were issued :—

“1. Examine the heart before exercise, note character of sound, rate, rhythm and murmurs, if any, determine if the student is capable of standing the exercise, in cases of badly damaged *heart* leave out the test.

2. Put the student through exercise.

3. Examine heart immediately after exercise and note rate, change in rhythm or character in sounds.

4. Ask the student to lie down and examine the heart after one minute, note the condition of the heart, and, if it has not returned to conditions as in item one, state the fact, and

5. Examine the student 3 minutes after exercise and note conditions.”

Instructions issued tentatively to judge the effect of the exercise were as follows :—

A student is not fit for active exercise if (i) rate is increased

over 40 beats a minute after exercise; (ii) if rate does not return to the condition before exercise in a minute.

During the year under consideration about 1,200 students were put through this test. The number of students judged by the examiner to be unfit to undergo the test was two.

The results obtained are shown in the accompanying tables.

Table showing increase in the Rate of Heart-beat immediately after Exercise.

Rate of Increase.	No. of Students.
Less than 20 per minute	26
21-25 	87
26-30 	180
31-35 	270
36-40 	504
41-45 	36
46-50 	49
Above 50 	62

Average—36.

The average increase will be found to be 36. In 88 p. c. of the students the increase in the rate did not exceed 40 per minute.

The largest group of 504 students showed an increase of 36-40 beats in a minute, while a very small group of 26 students showed an increase of less than 20 per minute. 147 students, *i.e.*, about 12 p. c. of the students examined showed an increase of over 40 beats a minute.

Table showing the State of Heart 1 minute after Exercise.

No. of Students.			Rate of Increase.	Percentage.
240	...	...	0	20%
120	...	...	2	10%
492	...	...	4	41%
116	...	...	6	9%
161	...	...	8	13%
85	...	...	Above 8	7%

Average—3·9, *i.e.*, 4.

From an inspection of the above table it will be seen that in only about 20 p. c. of the cases the heart returned to normal within a minute. In 612 students, *i.e.*, 51 p. c. of cases the rate returned to within 4 beats of the rate before exercise. In about 7 p. c. of the students the rate showed an increase of over 8 beats a minute after exercise. Most of the students therefore failed to satisfy the second condition formulated for judging the effect of the test, and the standard will have to be modified in the light of the above findings.

Age does not seem to have any marked effect on the applicability of the test; the average rate of increase immediately after exercise for ages between 15 and 22 is 36, and the difference in rate 1 minute after exercise in all the age groups is 4, as will be seen from the following table :—

Age.	No. of students.	Increase after exercise.	Difference in rate 1 minute after exercise.
15	92	36	4
16	182	36	5
17	272	35	4
18	274	36	4
19	212	36	4
20	133	35	4
21	58	36	3
22	30	36	4

In the following tables we have shown the results of the application of the test to students taking exercise regularly, and it will be seen that exercise does not affect the test in any way. The average in their case is the same as for the general group, namely, an average increase of 36 after exercise and a return to within 4 beats after a minute.

Exerciser's Heart-beat Rate immediately after Exercise.

No. of Students.				Rate of increase.
2	...	...	...	1-20
6	...	...	...	21-25
27	...	...	...	26-30
43	...	...	...	31-35
96	...	...	...	36-40
8	...	...	...	41-45
7	...	...	...	46-50
11	...	...	...	51 and above.
Total 200.				Average—36.

Exerciser's Heart-beat Rate 1 minute after Exercise.

No. of Students.				Rate of increase.
Nil	...	...	...	0
30	...	...	...	2
110	...	...	...	4
24	...	...	...	6
23	...	...	...	8
13	...	...	...	above 8
Total	200.			Average—4.

Conclusions.

In the light of the above findings we may conclude that (i) the modified test can be used in place of standard *staircase test*. (ii) A person is not fit for active exercise if the rate of heart beat is increased by over 40 beats a minute after the exercise advocated above, and (iii) if it does not return to within 4 beats of the state before exercise within a minute.

Section III.

Nutrition.

Nutrition is every thing during the developing period, but it must be remembered that nutrition is not an alternative term for food which is but one of the causes of mal-nutrition. Nutrition consists in the total well-being and right functioning of the whole body. Mal-nutrition is the opposite, and if the body be ill-nourished and below par, the mind and spirit of the student are by that much injured or impaired and its total capacity reduced.

We now come to the question of what constitutes a good standard of general nutrition and it is a question of great difficulty of determination. The medical examiners have to weigh facts they have collected at the medical examination, fix a standard in their own mind, and compare every case with it to settle in what class a particular student should be placed.

But as this standard is not fixed there is bound to be striking dissimilarity in the data from year to year according to the standard adopted by each individual examiner. The figures obtained by this method are as follows:—

Fatty	...	...	...	8.4%
Stout and Muscular	...	...	...	5.8%
Medium	...	...	...	63%
Thin	...	...	...	22%

We have this year tried to estimate whether a standard can be fixed or not, and have tested the values of the following formulæ in the estimation of *nutrition* :—

1. Ponderal Index.
2. Oppenheimer's Index.

Ponderal Index.

Ponderal Index is an index used in the estimation of nutrition and represents the percentage value of the cube root of *weight* in kilos and the *stature* in cm.

$$(PI = \frac{\sqrt[3]{\text{wt. in kilos}}}{\text{ht. in cm.}} \times 100)$$

In other words it gives the weight of a cm. of height in grammes. In calculating Ponderal Index we have used the Metric instead of the English system for reasons which are obvious. The calculation is undoubtedly complicated, but it gives a due adjustment for abnormal weights and varies but slightly round a fixed mean during the ages under consideration, *i. e.*, between the ages 17 and 21.

Factors affecting Ponderal Index.

The factors which may affect Ponderal Index are *Age, Race and Caste, Economic condition, Exercise and Diet*. In the following paragraphs I shall attempt to determine how much the above factors affect the Ponderal Index.

Age.

The averages of the different age groups as obtained by us from an analysis of 18,960 students are as follows :—

Age.	Ponderal Index.	Age.	Ponderal Index.
15 ...	2.19	20 ...	2.24
16 ...	2.21	21 ...	2.24
17 ...	2.21	22 ...	2.24
18 ...	2.22	23 ...	2.25
19 ...	2.22	24 ..	2.26

It will be seen from the above figures that from the 15th year the Ponderal Index increases and continues to rise into mature life. But the variations during the ages under our consideration fall within the epoch adopted for our classifications, and hence do not materially affect our conclusions.

Race and Caste.

Under this head we propose to study the variations of Ponderal Index as met in the various races. Most of the figures given have been taken or calculated from figures for height and weight given in Rudolf Martin's "Lehrbuch der Anthropologie," 1928. The figures are as follows :—

A. European Races.

			Ponderal Index
1. Norwegians	...	...	2.34
2. Polish Jews	...	...	2.36
3. Belgians	...	...	2.37
4. Germans	...	...	2.37
5. Dutch	...	...	2.37
6. English	...	...	2.38
7. Swiss	...	...	2.39
8. South Russian Jews	...	...	2.39

B. Asiatic Races.

1. Bengalee Mahomedan students	2.20	} From our own data.
2. „ Lower caste „	2.21	
3. „ Vaidya „ ...	2.22	
4. „ Kayastha „ ...	2.23	
5. „ Brahmin „ ...	2.23	
6. Mysore students	2.25	} From figures sup- plied by the Mysore University.
7. Lower caste Hindus	2.25	

			Ponderal Index
8. Javanese	...	...	2.25
9. Higher caste Hindus	...	...	2.26
10. South Chinese	...	...	2.29
11. Melanesians	...	...	2.29
12. Annamese	...	...	2.33
13. Koreans	...	...	2.35
14. Japanese	...	...	2.37
15. North Chinese	...	...	2.38

C. Other Continents.

1. Bushmen	...	...	2.37
2. Maori	...	...	2.37
3. Red Indians	...	...	2.43

An analysis of the above figures will show that the Indians as a whole have a lower Ponderal Index than any of the races enumerated above. In this respect they are approached by the Javanese, Melanesians and South Chinese, and to some extent by the Annamese, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Asia seem to form a group by themselves independently of racial or ethnic factors. Therefore we are led to suppose that the Ponderal Index is independent of racial influence, and the differences which we notice are probably due to climatic conditions or to differences in diet. The South Asiatic races which we have grouped together are mainly rice-eaters, and it may well be, that the preponderance of rice in their diet may have some thing to do with the difference pointed above.

Economic Condition.

We have worked out in detail (see Appendix E) the differences in Physical standard among students from families of good economic condition, and indifferent economic condition. The Ponderal Index for the groups are respectively 2.26 for the well-conditioned students, and 2.24 for the indifferent-conditioned students. The above remarks are equally true for the groups of exercisers and non-exercisers, the figures for the

groups being—exercisers 2.26 and non-exercisers 2.24. Therefore it would appear that economic condition and exercise also affect Ponderal Index. The differences, though small, appear to be significant. Lastly, for want of proper materials, we have not been able this year to undertake the study of the effect of diet on Ponderal Index.

The figures for Ponderal Index, calculated from measurements of 18,690 students, are as follows :—

Frequency Distribution of Ponderal Index.

Epoch.	No.	Percentage.	Classification.
Below 2.0675	624	3.83	Greatly under-weight.
2.0675—2.1325	2111	11.29	Marked mal-nutrition.
2.1325—2.1975	4868	26.04	Mal-nutrition, including border-line cases.
2.1975—2.2625	5570	28.73	Average Nutrition.
2.2625—2.3275	2862	15.31	Fair Nutrition.
2.3275—2.3925	1480	7.91	Good Nutrition.
2.3925—2.4575	726	3.88	Stout.
Above 2.4575	649	3.46	Greatly over-weight.

The calculated average of the Ponderal Index is 2.23 with a standard deviation of .098. The probable error is .065 and we have adopted this as the epoch in our classification to enable us to roughly correlate the data obtained by physical inspection by the medical examiners, and the figures obtained by calculation. The results are shown side by side in the attached table :—

Classification by Inspection.	Percentages by Inspection.	Percentages by Ponderal Index.
Thin	22%	40.66%
Medium	63%	43.08%
Muscular	5.8%	7.91%
Stout	8.4%	7.3%

It will be seen that whereas the figures for groups 'Muscular' and 'Stout' agree closely in both cases, there is a considerable discrepancy in the figures for the two groups *Moderate* and *Thin*. This is due to the difficulty in drawing a distinct line of demarcation between the average and the poorly nutritioned students. A very large group of students, *i. e.*, 4,868 (26·04%) falls under the head 'Border-line cases' or cases which are below the average but not sufficiently ill-developed to be frank cases of mal-nutrition.

Oppenheimer's Index.

Another formula which has often been used in estimating functional inefficiency or nutritional disturbance is the Oppenheimer's formula, which makes the Index of nutrition equal to girth of arms divided by the chest girth. The Index should be equal to 30 at least if there is to be no mal-nutrition according to European standard. This figure, arrived at from examination of European students, is too high to be applicable to Indian students. We have analysed the figures for 200 college students between the age groups 17 and 20, and the frequencies are as follows :—

Frequency Distribution of Oppenheimer's Index.

Index.	No.	Percentage.
24	2	1
25	9	4.5
26	32	16
27	43	21.5
28	30	15
29	37	18.5
30	28	14
31	13	6.5
32	5	2.5
Above 32	1	0.5

This gives an average 28.1 with a standard deviation of 1.732. If we adopt the European standard, only 23.5% of the students would satisfy the test. But if we adopt the average obtained by us, *i. e.*, 28, about 43% of the students would fail to satisfy this test. This approximates the figure of 40.66 per. cent. obtained from a consideration of the Ponderal Index. Therefore to judge the nutrition of Bengalee students, the figure obtained by us, *i. e.*, 28, should be adopted. It would appear that both the indices are equally reliable standards for the indication of mal-nutrition. They are fairly correlated to each other, the Index of correlation being .5. But Oppenheimer's Index does not give us an idea of the different states of nutrition, which can be obtained by the use of the Ponderal Index, and therefore, where time and labour permit, it will be advisable to use Ponderal Index which has moreover the advantage of being a scientific index widely used by different workers in different countries. The difficulties in calculation can easily be overcome by the use of tables.

Conclusions.

From a consideration of the above we may conclude that :—

1. The Ponderal Index is the criterion of choice for judging mal-nutrition.
2. That about 40% of the college students suffer from mal-nutrition.
3. The Bengalee student is lighter, absolutely and proportionately than the Europeans; but approaches in character closely the south Asiatic peoples.

Section IV.

Physical Education.

Some progress has been made in introducing Physical training in our colleges. But I am afraid that some of the college authorities have not fully realised the importance of the subject,

and it is to be feared that physical training is not exercising its full influence for good in the lives of the young students.

The main requirements for the proper development of a system of Physical Education are :—

- (i) A uniform and comprehensive system of physical training.
- (ii) A sufficient number of fully trained teachers.
- (iii) Allocation of sufficient time to physical training.
- (iv) Improved facilities and equipments for games and play, both indoor and outdoor, and for formal gymnastics.

We mentioned in our last report that the University had appointed a committee to recommend a system of Physical training which might be adopted by the University. The expert Committee has submitted its report which will be found in Appendix F. To encourage the colleges to fit up suitable gymnasias and build play-grounds, the University has continued to give financial aid to colleges who have applied for the same. Further, a Committee appointed by the Senate to consider the future policy and scheme of work of the Students' Welfare Committee, has recommended (a) building of a central gymnasium, (b) the appointment of a whole-time Director of Physical Instruction with two assistants to organise physical training of college and University students.

Calcutta University Rowing Club.

The Students' Welfare Committee has been running the *Calcutta University Rowing Club* as a part of its activities for the last 11 years. Owing to development of its work in other directions, the Committee felt it advisable to recommend to the University to transfer the working of the club to a body in which colleges and the University may be properly represented. The University has accepted this recommendation.

During the year 1929 there were 9 Jolly boats, 2 Tub-fours and 2 Clinkers under the direct management of the Committee.

Three Jolly boats were placed at the disposal of private colleges. The number of members on the 31st December, 1929 was 40, and 3 boats went out daily on the average. Mr. Manoj-kumar Bose acted as the Assistant Supervisor during the year.

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GERMANY'S FOREIGN TRADE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO BRITISH INDIA.

In spite of the various present-day difficulties and hindrances in the field of Germany's foreign trade after the Great War mainly due to the Versailles Treaty, the German nation has succeeded by dint of almost superhuman efforts to win for itself a position in foreign trade which is not only equal to that of the pre-war days, but has even surpassed it in certain respects. On the one hand, this period of suffering and oppression called forth in the nation an iron will to fight the evil, and on the other, through good fortune all her resources and latent possibilities were happily combined to build up the new Germany's economic life and her oversea commerce. The result of these efforts will be best understood by a consideration of the development of Germany's foreign trade during the last few years; and we are giving here for that purpose figures for the years 1925-1929. The development of trade in purely commercial products, including

the remittances for reparation, was as follows during these years :—

<i>Import.</i>			<i>Export.</i>		
1925	RM	12,362,055,000	RM	9,290,427,000	
1926	RM	10,001,443,000	RM	10,414,459,000	
1927	RM	14,228,061,000	RM	10,801,053,000	
1928	RM	14,051,258,000	RM	12,029,589,000	
1929	RM	13,436,002,000	RM	13,482,661,000	

A short analysis of these figures will show that during the years 1925-1928 Germany's foreign trade was extremely passive and therefore the imported commodities could not be paid for by the proceeds of the export products. Now, as German capital investments in foreign countries and similar other enterprises, which, as in pre-war days, could have helped Germany to balance her passive foreign trade, were not in existence in sufficient quantities, this excess in import could be levelled only with the help of credit in foreign countries which German industry has received. Still, the rise of German export from 9·3 milliard Marks to 13·5 milliard Marks within the short period indicated above, remains a great achievement of German industry—an achievement which required the highest amount of foresight and capacity for organization in all the parties concerned. It is all the more remarkable because, as is well-known, tariff walls have been raised to prohibition heights in many countries of the world with the result that the market open to German export products was becoming narrower and narrower although their quantity was growing all the time. This position is quite preposterous for Germany in her present circumstances—perhaps even tragic—for ultimately Germany can pay the reparations only if her export trade gradually gains in volume, and yet it is being hindered and oppressed in every way by the high tariff wall and the administrative protectionism of the creditor nations !

As regards Germany's trade relations with British India we have to note, first of all, that they have been determined and influenced by various circumstances for a long time. Those relations were of course rudely disturbed by the dreadful World War; but soon after the conclusion of the war the normal conditions were restored to such an extent that now Germany's share in India's foreign trade has again reached its pre-war magnitudes. This fact is all the more encouraging to the German nation because the Germans have been allowed to travel in India and settle down there only since the year 1925. At present the magnitude of Germany's trade with India is equal to that of Japan and the United States of America, and these two countries have varyingly held the second position in the magnitude of trade with India, Great Britain having always possessed the largest share in it.

The course of Germany's trade relations with India during the years 1925-1929 may be followed from the following table in million Marks :—

<i>Import.</i>		<i>.Export.</i>
1925	RM 640·4	RM 196
1926	437	244
1927	526	235
1928	708	223
1929	624	221

These figures give a clear idea of the great magnitude of trade between the two countries; and they also prove what may come as a surprise to many, *viz.*, *what a profitable market Germany is for Indian products. According to these figures the value of German commodities imported into India is but one-third of that of India's export to Germany !*

This also shows that the possibilities of Germany's export trade with India have not yet been fully utilised. How far

the growing Indian boycott movement directed particularly against English products and also against all European cotton goods, has affected the trade relations between Germany and India remains still to be determined. But in view of the great importance of Germany as a profitable market for Indian products, it is to be hoped that the Indian buyers, in recognition of this fact, as well as of the universally admitted high quality of German goods, will remain true to their German purveyors; and rather than wind up their relations with German firms they will all the more cultivate them. Such a course will be not at all detrimental to their general tendency of the Indian people towards increasing industrialisation and self-production; rather the requirement of the Indian people will be increased in this way. Moreover, the difference between Germany and India in the conditions of production is still so great that even on the basis of a natural division of labour Germany may well be given more chance to push her products into India without thereby in any way jeopardising the real interests of India.

German import from British-India mainly consists of jute, cotton, cow-hides, earth-nuts, shellac, oil-cakes, cottonseed, powder, raw lead, cocoanuts, coffee, linseed, copper-ore, India-rubber, cocoanut-fibres, sacks, refuse of rice, rice-chaff, pepper, rape-seed, beet, copra and timber.

Iron-wares represent the chief item in Germany's export into India; then follow bars and plates of brass, silk, machines and machinery parts, iron pipes, aniline and other dyestuffs, woolens and similar other clothes, cotton goods, dress and toilette articles, lenses, paper, sugar, paper-paste, paste-board, slates, porcelain-wares, grease, beer, timber, potato-starch and potato-flour, chemical salts and acids, woven-goods, nets, laces and embroideries, glass hangings, imitation pearls, toys, electrical products and locomotives and wagons.

The above exposition will clearly show how perfectly the structure of German foreign trade—one of the most important factors in the economic life of Germany—answers to the demands

of the economic system of the world, divided now as it is into various different corporations on the principle of division of labour, and it will also be clear that Indo-German trade relations are based exactly on this principle. The truth of this principle is now being amply vindicated by the present crisis in the economic system of the world—a crisis, for which the buying power of most countries has been considerably reduced and which has completely changed the normal course of world-economy. This crisis, combined on the one hand with the heavy burden of reparations which Germany will never be able to bear for a long time, and on the other, with the present political situation in India, has thrown a veil of sorrow also on the economic relations of Germany with India. The German Government is doing everything to lead this world, threatened by the present economic crisis and full of conflicting political aspirations, towards that goal of peace and harmony which will be a blessing to all the nations on earth. But this brings along with it the necessary assumption that the responsible personages and Government circles in other countries too should rise to the situation and recognise that the modern nations of the world are so closely connected with one another through mutual economic interdependence that more than ever mutual sympathy and mutual aid is now absolutely necessary and that the present world crisis can be got over only when every nation on earth gets the right of political and economic self-determination.

HARTMANN.

MR. SINCLAIR LEWIS.

The 1930 Nobel Prize for literature has gone to an American writer, Mr. Sinclair Lewis, and this is the first time that such an award has been made to an American man of letters. Mr. Sinclair Lewis is interesting not merely as a novelist, but chiefly perhaps as a social critic. He is the product as well as the critic of the society which he has depicted. I call him the "product" of it, purposely, to mean that more than any of his contemporaries in the world of American literature, he has gone through it, and has willy-nilly been affected by it, so profoundly as to be able to reproduce faithfully American society, to point out its faults, and to illustrate the effect of this society on himself and his art. All of Mr. Lewis' novels—*Main Street*, *Babbitt*, *The Job*, *Our Mr. Wrenn*, *Martin Arrowsmith*, *Dodsworth*, *Elmer Gantry*—not only picture and satirize American life, but their main interest lies in the parallel they suggest with the author's own life, showing how the American environment has influenced his creative consciousness. Of this theme each one of his novels may be regarded as an illustration. In one word, his thesis is American vulgarity; whether as *Babbitt* or *Arrowsmith* or *Elmer Gantry*, he is a personification of this vulgarity. Therefore, to describe *Martin Arrowsmith* only as an attack on the medical profession or *Main Street* only as a picture of ugliness, stupidity, standardization, automobilism, hustle, size, and efficiency, would be inadequate. The entire work of Mr. Lewis is an attack on the coarse Babbittry of the American nation. His fiction is the record of any seeker of truth—chemist, economist, historian, philosopher, theologian, and it does not differ essentially from the story of the artist, of whatever species. It is the story of the troubles and obstacles encountered by those Americans who, in Aristotle's terms, prefer the theoretic to the active life, or, in equivalent terms, the creative to the acquisitive, the artistic to the practical life.

Mr. Lewis' novels, therefore, deal, in my opinion, with the most important theme of all offered by American life, the conflict between two types of people—the type that cares only for getting on, for making good, and the type that wishes to pursue beauty and knowledge for their own sake, to investigate, and to enjoy. So far, the “practical” men have had things pretty much their own way in America, and the results they have achieved are recorded in *Main Street* and *Babbitt*. One familiar with Mr. Sinclair Lewis knows his society of Gopher Prairie and of Zenith—a society in which science, art, and religion are prostituted, in which poetry becomes heartening doggerel, orchestras are valued only as municipal advertisements—a society which stunts, thwarts, and starves those who do not conform to its recognised pattern. Of this society, then, Mr. Lewis makes his satiric fiction, and a national gallery of frauds and fakes, mountebanks and quacks, bosses and boosters. This fiction will certainly be valuable to the future historian of the United States for its close observation and faithful portraiture. Being a vertical rather than a horizontal view, it cuts across all strata of American life. As a spectacle, America of this age is quite unparalleled—the most potentially powerful and the richest nation in the world for the moment, and withal the Big Show, grotesque, noisy, vulgar, and incommensurable with any thing the world has seen for a long time. Ask Mr. Sinclair Lewis; he will tell you what it is—this fantastic extravaganza, and will do even more; he will explain his personal conflict with it, and all his futilities in consequence. That is his fiction. It gains enormously by its focus being centered not on the doctrinaires and exponents of social state in America, but on an antagonist, and to some extent, a victim of it. He is, therefore, the most successful critic of modern American society, because he is himself the best proof that his charges are just.

Mr. Gerald Gould observes that the two distinguishing features of modern American fiction are “the dissolution of matter” and “the dissoluteness of manner.” In a certain

sense, this is true, because both assume the forms of experiments—attempts at adventure, raw and crude, but certainly sincere. As an American writer, Mr. Lewis exhibits these traits, perhaps not as glaringly as others, which suggest in him a certain poverty of invention and imagination which in turn may be traceable to Mr. Lewis' environment. He shows that the aesthetic and sensuous experience is not possible for an artist to have in America; so the only thing left for him to do is to repel it, to be on his guard against it. That is precisely why Mr. Lewis takes a defensive attitude towards his environment. An artist in a "practical" society, a society like that portrayed in *Main Street*, or *Elmer Gantry*, is almost certain to return scorn for scorn, ridicule for ridicule, unless he can let go and freely yield himself to it. This can be profusely illustrated from his writings. For example, there is that uncanny knack for observation of his which enables him to mimic exactly to the life; this observation is as watchful as that of a wild animal on the look-out for its prey. There is also his keen eye for inconsistencies and weaknesses in his prey—how he pounces on them! Years of malicious scrutiny must have been spent by him to acquire this power. He writes as if always conscious of an hostile audience. Naturally, he has to make greater use of irony as a defensive weapon than any other modern writer. He takes needless pains to make it clear that he is more sophisticated than his characters, as if there was danger of our identifying him with them. The result is that nothing is more striking in his characters than their morbid self-consciousness. They do not dare to be natural; they are extremely self-analytical, insecure, and self-distrustful. They are constantly posing and pretending, even before lift-boys and porters. They have no inner standards of their own, because they are not integral personalities themselves. In fact, they have not developed any personality at all.

The art of Mr. Sinclair Lewis is defined by two mental attitudes—first, that he is sentimental and, secondly, he is a

philistine, and curiously enough, he is equally disdainful of both; that is to say, he has tried to escape from his environment and he has tried, with more success, to conform to it. The moment he has been severe with a member of Babbittry he at once turns to emphasise the virtues of the common people and the absurdities of the "high-brows." His sentimentalism is, however, simple and conventional. In *Arrowsmith*, he sympathises with Carol in her dislike of Gopher Prairie and in her longing for "a reed hut built on fantastic piles above the mud of a jungle river." He invents for Babbitt a dream of a fairy child playmate, "more romantic than scarlet Pagodas by a silver sea." To show the beauty that underlies humdrum life, he tries to prove in *Our Mr. Wrenn* that a clerk's life in a Harlem flat is more romantic than life in Venice, and in *The Job*, that a stenographer is more romantic than Clytemnestra. This sort of sentimentality is not an escape from reality, but the old-fashioned romance which consists in bringing out the essential quality of ordinary, common-place life. He points out the essential goodness of small towns and their inhabitants, and of boosters. He is "homey," chatty, and garrulous, and is strongly opposed to people whom he suspects of thinking that they are "superior." His whole tendency is to strengthen and entrench the folk of Main Street and Zenith in their self-complacency and sordidness. In short, he is a philistine. He does not, however, escape contamination; he speaks their language, and turns their type of wit and humour on themselves. All his satire is *tu quoque*. His style is founded on the uses of salesmanship, publicity and advertising. He avails himself of all the tricks of a racy newspaper reporter. His people do not speak; they "warble," "gurgle," or "carol"; they do not run; they "gallop"; their dancing is "the refined titillations of communal embracing."

The world of Mr. Sinclair Lewis' fiction is neither ordered nor haphazard; it is just a composite mess of physical facts and material wants, which has to be handled in the human

competition to satisfy its instincts and vanity—a sort of world-machine which functions impersonally, and the duty of man is to keep it oiled or get out of its way. Rawdon Crawley would have been shocked to find himself in such a world, but Becky Sharp would have triumphed in it and no questions asked. Mr. Lewis' Babbitt or Arrowsmith lives as little by the spirit and as much by the code as Kipling's gentlemen, but there is a difference in the code. Mr. Lewis' American Babbitt has no sense of superiority to be established in it and be satisfied with it. His world is not also a moral one; it does not even concern itself with sexual morality. A wife is a wife so long as she is a good wife, and no more. He knows only one moral law, which is an honest, determined self-assertion, succeed or fail. The pragmatism of Mr. Sinclair Lewis touches the lowest forms of expediency. But the European Babbitt is embedded in his past, and can never get away from it.

P. GUHA-THAKURTA.

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE GANGES PLAIN

I

Egypt has been called 'the gift of the Nile.' No area of the world, however, has been so completely moulded in its history, economic and social life by a river as the valley of the Ganges. The direction of this mighty river has governed the course of ancient migration, and conquest, as well as the modern distribution of population and prosperity. The whole of the Ganges valley may be pictured as a series of large belts of country laid out flat like a section of soil strata, exhibiting the upper and more fertile silt deposit towards the east. Almost everything enters the region at the north-west boundary and runs through it south-eastwards. Natural regions, rivers and the distribution of population follow the same pattern.

There are three reasons why the Ganges plain has been one of the earliest seats of civilization and to-day presents some of the world's highest records of aggregation which can be supported by agriculture. First, throughout the centuries the Ganges has not departed materially from its main channel and is thus strikingly different from the great rivers of China, whose wayward course has militated against a dense and permanent aggregation. Secondly, the Ganges has formed in the Himalayas, covered with perennial snow, an unfailing reservoir making it possible for nearly half the total cultivated area of the less dry portions of the valley to be irrigated by means of canals. Within less than 200 miles from the glacial ice-cave of its birth, known as the Gomukhi, the stream has been harnessed at Hardwar where almost the whole volume of waters has been diverted

towards the wheat, sugar and cotton fields of the upper Doab. Thirdly, the Ganges valley is not only one of the most fertile plains of the world but it is also within the influence of the south-west monsoon rains. Both the rich alluvium as well as abundant rain-fall in summer explain the phenomenal agricultural productivity, and high density. Moreover, wherever rain-fall is deficient or precarious the small depth of the water-table has led to an easy and cheap system of irrigation by means of percolation wells, millions of which are at work throughout the alluvial plain. Thus while the Upper Ganges and Central portions of the plain which suffer from deficiency or irregular distribution of the monsoons show us the world's most elaborate system of canal irrigation, the eastern portion of the valley exhibits the world's most marvellous system of alluvial well-irrigation.

Towards the delta the more certain and abundant rain-fall of the Bay current ensures agricultural prosperity and instead of canal and well-irrigation we have the natural system of flush irrigation. Here agriculture and population respond not merely to the sequence of floods of the Ganges called here the Padma, but also of those of two other mighty river systems, *viz.*, the Brahmaputra and the Meghna which pour their mighty volumes of silt-bearing waters into confluence with the Ganges. The waters here widen out into endless vistas and the lands are in a process of perpetual building and unbuilding by a wide and interlaced network of canals and streams, while an endless procession of cocoanut-clad villages and itinerant hamlets containing a swarming population fringes the marshes or the river-banks which are higher than the surrounding country and are always accessible by water. Fishes are abundant here throughout the year and the paddy lands extend right up to the doors of the peasants' huts. Man here is essentially a child of the waters. His crops and farming practices are closely adjusted to the timely inundations of red water, and indeed if the rivers do not rise in flood, and submerge the country he will be a

fish out of water. He has discovered a variety of paddy which shoots higher and higher as the flood-water rises and submerges the entire landscape. When sand-banks are uncovered he sows seeds by supporting himself on a raft of bamboo or grows some quick-growing vegetables still maintaining his connection with the parent village by trips on boats and leaving the settlement as the wayward river drowns his fields and leaf-made huts. In the interior he ploughs his fields with buffaloes on standing water, reaps his harvest often in breast-deep water and goes for shopping along the innumerable creeks that intersect the country on earthen tubs or plantain rafts. His traffic and transport are determined by tides and winds, and he himself lives a more or less amphibious life. The villages here are huddled together on sites which have been artificially raised above flood-level or built upon mounds of earth, isolated islets amidst '*bils*' or marshes which are partially dry and covered with rice in the cold weather, but which during the rains form an almost unbroken fresh-water sea bordered by the river-banks rising only a few feet above the flooded country. These are thus very different from the hamlets of Western Bengal and Bihar scattered through the rice and jute fields or congregating along the banks of the rivers or in their neighbourhood where there are ridges of comparatively high land and of considerable extent. The contrast with the compact settlements of the Upper Ganges plain, situated in the midst of bare treeless plains, and packed with population that has lived for generations on the same congested site is even greater.¹ Not merely agricultural geography but race and history have also played a part in determining types of village settlement. Even in the same Province, we find the settlement of villages and distribution of fields differing according to agricultural tribes and castes. In the United Provinces, for instance, towards the west we have large

¹ See O'Malley, *Census Report of Bengal, 1911.*

and compact village sites and large holdings as contrasted with scattered homesteads and small holdings in the Sub-Himalayan East region. Not merely the contrasts of wheat and rice cultivation, but the differences of race, as for instance, between the Jats and the Gujars, on the one hand, and the Kurmis and the Bhars, on the other, have entered into the determination of the type of village settlement. It appears that the Thakurs, Brahmins, Kayasths, and other high castes seem to have a preference for living in contiguity throughout the Ganges Valley while the Dravidian communities the thorough-breds of the soil, whether the Kunbis, Kurmis or Muraos of the Upper Plain or the Bauris, Pods and Chandals of the delta would live in scattered clumps of houses on the brink of marshes or swamps, still fighting with the forests and the waters to which they are driven by excessive invasions of new settlers. The dwelling house also exhibits marked contrasts in different parts of the plain. In the delta, the huts are built on raised plinths and constructed of bamboo or reed framework heavily plastered with mud and thatched with straw, while these are enclosed by a wall of bamboos or areca-nuts or mandar trees serving as protection against inundation. In Western Bengal the thatch is thicker or sometimes the roof is made of tile or corrugated iron, and there are far greater use of wood and finer artistic decoration than in the delta on account of greater security against inundation. In the Upper Ganges plain, the houses are mud-walled huts plastered with straw and cowdung so as to impart solidity. The roofs are made of mud and are flat, having none of the curvature of the thatched huts of Bengal which is especially adapted for withstanding its heavy rainfall. The contrast between straw-thatched cottages and huts with walls and roofs made of mud has its roots in the difference between the luxuriant forest-growth of the of the rain-inundated delta and the dry steppe and prairie in the upper Ganges region, while the scattered hamlets of Bengal and the compact and congested rural settlements in the upper and middle plains mark the

difference between a relatively new and uninhabited landscape and the mature and ancient valley, thronged with population for centuries.

Beyond where the active delta building rivers meet the sea we have an intricate maze of sea-creeks, lagoons, islands and dense forests. Man here has to fight with fevers and brackish waters, with crocodiles and tigers ; he establishes his settlement along the banks of the smaller streams to escape from the danger of sudden inundation. At the commencement he lives on ' *tongs* ' or temporary sheds with thatch made of leaf, which are generally two-storied and built on platforms so that he may be safe from the attack of the tiger which growls beneath. The tide of reclamation usually follows the course of the creeks which open themselves into the large rivers, while the *khals* which communicate with them and which run far into the midst of the clearances are dammed to prevent the ingress of the salt water from the sea. A system of intermittent cultivation, aided by the hunter, the wood-cutter and, above all, the priest who presides over their safety, through his alleged supernatural influence over the beasts of the forest, is the general rule, and both the harrow and the plough are for the first few years inadmissible. But this is gradually replaced by a more intensive system of farming if fevers, *ñal* reeds and storm waves have not taxed too much the reclaimer's energy. For each hamlet that gradually emerges with its fields of waving paddy and its groves of plantains, bamboos and areca-nuts, we find ten other hamlets that have been swept away like the shifting *chars* of the rivers. Perhaps the same hamlet would be twice washed away and twice re-settled within the short period of two decades. Yet the river constructs as it destroys and it is just in the delta where its powers both for building or destroying are colossal, far outreaching man's feeble efforts to attach himself to the soil.

II

From its source to the delta, the great historic river in its onward march has exhibited interesting contrasts of social and economic types. On the mountains where the torrents can hardly be utilized for purposes of irrigation, we sometimes, find here and there in mountain fastnesses small and unstable hunting and forest tribes living on herbs, fruits and wild game. As the river comes down from the hills shepherds and flocks appear on the scene and thrive as pastures become abundant. Yet the community is still nomadic for when the winter snow covers up the entire vegetation there is wholesale migration from cold to warmer levels in search not merely of pasturage but also for some kind of intermittent cultivation. In the higher reaches of the river agriculture and pastoral life thus alternate in response to the cycle of the seasons and of vegetative growth. As we come further down the river at the junction of the valleys we have periodical fairs, markets or pilgrimages in which forest products or woollen goods are bought and sold and religious rites ceremonially observed. Further down the Ganges becomes a broad shining river flowing in easy channels through a flat landscape and on its banks stable village communities are found and at the confluences, or where the river is easily forded, big cities have grown. The upper portions of the valley are more mature than the lower. Here the soils being old naturally have to depend upon the artificial supply of manures to maintain their fertility as compared with the new alluvial soils towards the delta which are periodically replenished by silt deposits. Both the increase of the pressure of population as well as the necessity of irrigation have in the upper portions of the valley kept alive a crop of co-operative habits and practices in connection with agriculture. Given artificial manuring and irrigation the standard of farming is much higher and the cropping more variegated in the upper and middle portions of the plain than in the lower, while the social

cohesiveness also is much greater. Compact village communities with their strips of land scattered in different soil blocks of the village are to be found in the north-west than in the east, and in the gradual welding together of diverse tribes and stocks, function or the stage of economic development rather than race or culture serve as the basis of social gradation. Further, in the true and active delta where the reclamation of forests is comparatively recent we find not the autonomous type of village organization as in the north-west but the feudal system of land-holding, characterised by subdivision of superior proprietary rights in land, which has contributed not a little towards the lowering of the economic status of the peasantry. Like village tenures and rights in land and water, crops and density of population all vary in the different parts of the river system. Such variation is connected with the close adjustment to soil and water supply that the enormous multiplication of population has brought about. The Ganges valley is, indeed, divisible into several natural entities where agriculture responds like plant communities to such ecologic factors as rainfall or nature of the alluvium. No better instance of such adaptation can be adduced than the fact that there are altogether several thousand varieties of rice in the plain adjusted to conditions of soil, climate and the level of flood water. Many of these varieties show such striking adaptation, district by district, that interchanged one may not grow at all on the fields where another has thrived for centuries. Similarly the farming practices differ strikingly from region to region even with reference to the same crops. Along with differences in cropping, and agricultural practices we have associated differences of population growth.

In the different agricultural regions into which the Ganges plain divides itself water (precipitation, irrigation or flood) operates as the limiting agent in agriculture and the growth of human numbers. Land (old or new alluvium) through its effects on fertility and drainage governs the nature and rotation

of crops and the density and health of population. Not only climate, location and crops, but extra-terrestrial phenomena such as sun-spots and weather cycles have an intimate bearing upon the vicissitudes of man. Man and the wider environment evolve together through marked influences. Land, water, tree and man are by no means separate and independent factors for by reciprocal influence they form a natural equilibrium, parts of which can be understood only in terms of the other. Such an understanding of regional inter-relations is a decided advance in the study of social causation, while at the same time it will promote that alliance of man with the entire range of ecologic forces in which lies his real security and progress. How far does man, considered in his expression of population density, live harmoniously (symbiotically) with the ecologic forces of the region? How far has he multiplied in numbers beyond the resources of the region that he occupies thus setting narrowing limits for himself when nature is capricious? How far, again, his ignorance or reckless disregard of the proper balance and rhythm in nature brought about the poverty and ruin of future generations? These questions in human ecology have an enormous practical importance for millions of people living in the steppe and prairie areas of the upper plain, in the malaria-stricken, deserted hamlets of the moribund delta or in the flood-swept settlements of the active delta of the Ganges. Famine and flood show equally well man's crime against Nature and Nature's stern rebuke. Where formerly were arid wastes man by his skilful engineering and patient effort introduced smiling fields. Where, again, there were bountiful orchards and fertile fields, man by his unskilful interference with the natural drainage brings about agricultural deterioration and epidemics of fevers. Everywhere man has thrived in numbers. The encroachment of the mountains by the tilled land spells ruthless destruction of the forest covering which has cumulative bad effects tending to decrease the humidity of air, the equality of temperature and the fertility of the region. As the mountain slopes are laid bare, the erosive forces

are further let loose which by destroying the soil cap on which forests flourished, makes forest growth impossible for some generations. The mountain torrents formerly harnessed for irrigation now become devastating floods while the accumulated stores of mineral salts in the mountain soil are let loose upon the plains below thus adding further to strips of barren waste. Man has also gone to the brink of swamps and reclaimed marshes for the plough. This coupled with the continuous exhaustion of subsoil water reservoirs by means of thousands of alluvial wells lower the water-level. As the water-level goes down pastures are depleted, and certain crops are no longer grown, while there is a great strain on bullock power especially in summer when fodder is scarce. As population and cultivation expand, both human and cattle population encroaches upon the junglebelt on the banks of the rivers. With the destruction of vegetation on the river bank, the forces of soil erosion under the heavy monsoon rainfall have free play, and we have an enormous loss of fertile soil that is carried into the rivers and extensive formation of desert-like and inhospitable ravines. In the lower reaches of the river, the increase of population leads to the construction of embankments, roads and railways which facilitate the silting up of river-beds and the change of water-course, leaving the legacy of decline of fertility, water-logging and fever. In the areas where the rivers still exercise their delta-building functions, making and unmaking the landscape, man builds his settlement on the banks of the mighty rivers but neglects to train the river and protect its banks. Thus the rivers go out of hand and ravage the country. Man in order to control Nature must to a large extent follow her, for Nature has her own wisdom. If he seriously disturbs the balance and rhythm in which Nature delights, vengeance often follows quickly and man has no escape. Co-operation in the conservation of the land, in the use of water, in forest management, in the training and management of rivers and, finally, in the reciprocal relations of the village and the

city ought to be the keynote of the future. Through the ages man has robbed the earth and committed crime against water, trees and animals, letting loose destructive forces which have impoverished and ultimately engulfed his civilisation even in most favoured regions. Man's future advance lies, indeed, in a bio-economic co-operation, based on the scientific comprehension of the complex Web of Life that comprises both the Living and the Non-living realms and this is deeper than and goes beyond co-operation merely within the human community.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

PRAISE AND LOVE

If hunger I for praise of men,
 A sinner I 'gainst Love.
 Is mine what calls forth praise in me
 Or gift from grace above?
 Do I offend not 'gainst men's souls
 Deceiving all to take
 As mine what is but left in trust
 By Love for lover's sake?
 Am I not then a traitor black,
 A breaker vile of trust
 O, how can I then hope for peace.
 By truth and Love accurst?
 And pass 'mongst men this worthless fraud
 —Ah! woe to me and them!
 I pray the evils hid in me
 On me may shameless sit!
 To purify then by Love's grace,
 On them may lov'd ones spit!
 O Love, thou art True magic spell,
 How Evil else with Good can dwell?
 Transformed is Evil by thy grace,
 With Goodness lies in close embrace.
 Life's cares, O Love, thou kiss away
 And let me live in peace alway!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

AMARAVATI SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

Buddhist Remains in Vengi

The recent sensational discoveries at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Gummadiḍurru, have focussed the attention of archaeologists to the existence of a flourishing centre of a school of art in southern Kalinga, with its centre at Amarāvati. "The former are specially welcome additions to the extant monuments of early Buddhism," writes Sir John Marshall, "in that they belong to the Amarāvati school of sculpture which, from an artistic point of view, is the most attractive of all the early Indian schools, but which has hitherto been represented almost exclusively by the well-known reliefs of Amarāvati." ¹

This great school of sculpture flourished in Vengi, from the second century B.C. to the early third century A.D., chiefly during the ascendancy of the Āndhras and partly under the Ikṣākus, who supplanted them. Thus the Amarāvati school evidently covers the perplexing gap between early Indian art and the art of the Guptas. But apart from the intrinsic merit of the works and the important local bearing, the international significance of the school has been established, beyond doubt, by the indelible impress of Amarāvati, not only in early Ceylonese art, but also in the recently discovered sculptures in Siam, Champa, Camboge and Indonesia.

The eastern Āndhras, who were a great sea-faring people, carried on regular trade along the entire coast of India and with Persia and Arabia on the one hand and Further India and Indonesia on the other. Hence the traces of foreign influence recognised in the works of art fashioned by their artists are

¹ Times of India, Illustrated Weekly for March, 1928.

easily explained.¹ The two different streams of foreign influences, viz., the Hellenistic and the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa, which permeated the Amarāvātī school of sculpture, the former introduced by sea, and the latter penetrating overland from Mathurā, are significantly manifested in two very curious panels lately excavated at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. "One represents a bearded warrior, apparently a Scythian, wearing a helmet, a long-sleeved tunic and trousers, and holding a spear.....The other figure is very classical in appearance. It shows a bearded male person nude down to the waist and holding a drinking horn (Greek rhyton) in his left hand." ²

The remarkable remains excavated by Mr. Hamid Kuraishi in 1926-27, comprising three apsidal temples, two monasteries and three stūpas, in the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, on the banks of the Kistna river, in Guntur district of Madras Presidency, are claimed by Mr. Longhurst "to be the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in the South of India." Besides the splendid pieces of sculpture, the other remnants of great Archaeological interest, are the "ayaka" pillars, bearing Brāmhī inscriptions of the Ikṣāku princesses, which inform us among other things, that the Mahāchetiya was founded by lady Chāntisiri. Another Upāsikā name Bodhisiri founded an apsidal temple near the Great Stūpa, dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks. "Another point of interest in the mention of Siripav (*v*) ta corresponding to Sanskrit Sripavata. Now there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India. If this convent is the same as 'the vihāra on the Siripavata to the east of Vijayapuri' of our inscription, it would follow that the association of the great divine of the

¹ The extent of foreign influence in the Amarāvātī reliefs has been discussed in my paper on "The Development of Buddhist Art in South India," Part II, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, September, 1927, pp. 498-501.

² Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year, 1927, Kern Institute, Leyden, pp. 13-14, Pl. VI a and b.

Mahāyāna with the locality has been preserved upto the present day in the name Nāgārjunikoṇḍa." ¹

Another splendid array of basreliefs was also unearthed by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1927, decorating the base of a stūpa, 30ft. by 30ft. on the Ramreddipalli Hill at Gummadi-durru in Kistna district. The remains also include two small stūpas, monastic buildings and other subsidiary buildings. "That the stūpa was in use for several centuries is shown by a collection of 127 clay seals inscribed with Buddhist creed, in Nāgari characters of the mediaeval period." An Āndhra scholar surmises that the Buddhist monuments and institutions of Vengi, were destroyed in the days of the revival of Bramhminical *advaitic* and *visista-dvaitic* cults during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era. ²

The stylistic distinction between the marbles of Amarāvati ³ and the recently discovered reliefs from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Gummadi-durru, is not very great. "They looked very much, but not exactly like Amarāvati reliefs," says Dr. Coomaraswamy. The "Māra-dharṣana" slab from Ramanagaram, now in Musee Guimet, Paris, ⁴ which was regarded by Rea "as having come from the Buddhist stūpa at Ghantasala," however may probably belong to Amarāvati itself. The inference may

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

² Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, Vol. III, Pts. 2, 3 and 4, p. 88.

From the mediaeval inscriptions of Ketaraja II, the Kota Chief of Amarāvati, now in the temple of Amareśvara, we learn on the authority of Dr. Hultsch "that though Keta II and his predecessors were worshippers of Amareśvara Svāmin, he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription that at the time of Keta II the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telegu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindu rulers of Amarāvati.....In the present inscription the high chaitya of Lord Buddha is referred to and that is a clear proof that that Chaitya was still in existence and in good condition even as late as the 12th century A.D."—*Epigraphica India*, Vol. VI, p. 148 ff.

³ For the treatment and technique of Amarāvati reliefs see my article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June., 1927, pp. 264-272.

⁴ Coomaraswamy—*Buddhist Reliefs from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvati*: Rupam, Nos. 38-39, April-July, 1929, Fig. 3.

be strengthened by a study of the form and treatment of the sitting figure on the left corner with similar figures at the ends of the Dharmachakra pillars, flanking the chaitya-slab from Amarāvati. The figures of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa reliefs, are less connected with each other than the Amarāvati examples.¹ The comparative lack of admirable sense of overlapping and the bewildering variety of movements, often lead to an impression of horizontal stiffness; which is further emphasised by the exaggerated attenuation of rickety limbs, reminiscent of the Jaggayyapeta formula. The modelling, too, is more flat and precise, leading to a sharp contrast of lighted surface and dark background, of the positive and negative relations, strongly savouring of the peculiar Śaka-Kuṣāṇa convention. The influence of the Mathurā School, as embodied in the Yakṣī figures, is also apparently betrayed in the extremely flabby and heavy "sleeping women," in another relief, in the Musée Guimet, characterised by soft, round and sensitive modelling and elastic curves which make the physical beauty attractive in all its delicate sensuality, but without the slender and graceful elegance of Amarāvati. At Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, again, the running figures of late Āndhra period, are substituted by frantic males, dancing in ecstatic frenzy, affording a fitting climax to the sense of rushing movement characteristic of the Amarāvati representations. The feverish mannerism of the sharply outlined figures of the Gummadidurru slabs, composed of elongated, tapering and angular limbs, is full of that linear abstraction of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, first noticed.

Influence of Amarāvati Art.

We have already hinted at the active maritime habits of the ancient people of Kalinga, which spurred them often into risky adventures in distant lands across the seas and in quest of

¹ Eastern Art, January, 1929, Pl, XXIX, Fig. I.

commercial and colonial enterprise. They were the first to colonise the sea-board of Burma, which according to some, came to be known as Kalinga Ratta. "It is from this region" opines Krisṇaswamy Iyengar, "that one set of colonists went over to Sumatra and Java, according to Javanese tradition. The region from which their traditional founder Aji Saka came in the 1st century A.D., seems indicated in the direction of Kalinga...the constant references to Kalinga and arrivals therefrom in the history of Ceylon seems to lend historical colour to this far-off emigration to the eastern islands.¹ Vijayasimha, the conqueror of Ceylon, is said to have married a princess of Kalinga, the daughter of Simhabāhu. The intimate relations between Āndhradesa and the southern island, is further enshrined in the legend that the great teacher Buddhaghosa, who was originally a North Indian Brahmin, was converted into Buddhism while passing through the Āndhra country and thence he carried Buddhism to Ceylon.

It is well known, that, even now the Indian emigrants in Malay peninsula and the adjoining islands, are known there as klings—an evident corruption of the word Kalinga. If we remember these interesting facts, the indisputable evidence of the influence of Amarāvati in the plastic arts of Ceylon, Siam, Champa, Camboge and Java, is easily accounted for. The magnificent Buddha statues, particularly of early Ceylonese art, are strongly reminiscent of the Amarāvati prototypes, in plastic conception, treatment and form. While the beautiful bronze Buddha, recovered from Dong Dung in Champa, has strong affinities with the Kalinga examples. The recent striking discovery of a small image of Buddha, at Pong Tuk in Siam, has led M. Coedes to offer the following pregnant remarks in connection with the sculptures of Amarāvati school. "They are important for the history of the Buddhist art not only in India itself, but also outside India. The delta of the Krisna river,

¹ An. Bibl. of Ind. Archaeology, 1927, Pl. V

that is the region situated east of Amarāvati and bordering the sea, was one of the starting points for the Indian colonists and adventures who sought their fortune in the east. And it is no wonder that the oldest images found in Ceylon,² in Champa (on the coast of Annam),³ and in Netherlands Indies⁴ shows the style of Amarāvati."

"The fine statuette excavated in the banana plantation at Pong-Tuk" he goes on "presents all the principal characteristics of the Amarāvati school; you will recognise at once the graceful arrangement of the monastic robe with its wave like folds—so different from the straight and transparent robes of the Gupta period, under which the busts and limbs of the Buddha appear like a nude object; you will also notice the peculiar shape of the face and its sharp, I might also say Greek nose."⁵ That the peculiar dancing *apsarases* and the cylindrical head-dress with lateral projection of Amarāvati, found their way into classic Khmer art, has been lately pointed out by Coomaraswamy.⁶ These few instances suffice to show that the school of Amarāvati in Southern India played the same leading rôle in supplying Ceylon, Indo-China and Indonesia with forms and formulas, what the rival northern school at Mathurā did with regard to Afghanistan, Central Asia and China.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

² Indian Arts and Letters, Second Issue for 1927: The Great Periods of Indian Art Illustrated (Grousset), Fig. 3.

³ Rao—The Ramareddipalli Buddhist Sculpture, Quart. Journ. of the Andhra Hist. Society, July, 1928, Pl. V.

⁴ Iyengar—Kalingadessa, Quart. Journ. of Andhra Hist. Society, July, 1927, p. 8.

⁵ Smith—History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Figs. 178-80.

⁶ Bull. Comm. Arch. Indo-China, 1912, Pl. IX.

⁷ W. Cohn—Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens, p. 39.

⁸ Indian Arts and Letters, Vol. II. No. I, 1928, p. 14, Pl. VII.

⁹ Rupam, *ibid.*, p. 75.

THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS IN THE SIMON REPORT

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, the subject of Finance received a very perfunctory treatment. In a volume of 282 pages, it was allotted 13 pages, not in a special chapter, but interspersed here and there. The Simon Report gives it the importance that it deserves. The Commission felt it necessary to secure the opinion of an economic and financial expert, *viz.*, Mr. (now Sir) Walter Layton, and in fact did little else than endorsing the latter's proposals. Mr. Layton shows an unusually brilliant grasp of the problems in Indian Finance. Let me say that at the very outset, because this article is going mainly to be a criticism of his views and proposals.

Mr. Layton starts very well by noting "three of the chief features of the financial situation in India, *viz.*, the mass of the people are extremely poor. She is incurring expenditure on the primary functions of Government, such as defence and the maintenance of law and order, as high in proportion to her wealth as Western nations. Her expenditure on social services such as education, health, sanitation, etc., on the other hand, is far behind Western standards, and indeed in many directions is almost non-existent."

There is one other 'chief feature,' *viz.*, that the expenditure on the superior administrative services in all departments is also on the Western standard as the recruitment for the same has been till recently almost exclusively from among the Westerners. Mr. Layton is, curiously enough, unaware of the fact that in specifying the three chief features he has constructed a syllogism wherein from the first two premises the conclusion in the third proposition naturally follows. In other words, it is because the people are extremely poor and the expenditure on

primary functions is high, that the same on social services is low or non-existent. Mr. Layton knows that "neither elected representatives nor the Government are willing to go very far in the matter" of increasing taxation. But he thinks that if increased taxation was earmarked for social services, it could be levied without becoming unbearable. He does not, however, stop to ask himself why, if that was so, Government in the six pre-Reform decades, when it had full powers of trusteeship, had been unable to follow that sage principle. So far as the people and their elected representatives are concerned, the question is not of what is to be done with additional money if raised by further taxation, but firstly as to whether additional taxation is necessary, whether the money that is raised by existing taxation is being properly expended, or a re-distribution of the same could make more available for the social services. Mr. Layton is aware of this, but he says, "It is outside the scope of my report to express an opinion upon either the efficiency and economy of the administration in India generally, or the large questions of policy involved in considering the scale of existing expenditure on defence or other purposes—though the analysis which follows may throw some light on the financial aspect of this latter problem." So this fundamental issues are outside the scope of Mr. Layton's inquiry. As regards the Simon Commission who may be expected to have considered those issues before endorsing Mr. Layton's proposals, they have nothing to say about the economy of administration in India, and as for the expenditure on defence they only look forward to "an equitable adjustment of the burden of finance" in the form of a non-votable contribution of an annual sum from Indian revenues.

Mr. Layton must be complemented for having ventured to go outside the scope of his enquiry to discuss the Indian expenditure on defence. He has no difficulty in showing that it is "not only high in itself and as compared with other countries, but it has also greatly increased as compared with the pre-war

situation." And the pre-war situation was such that Indian public men like the late Mr. Gokhale had for years been attacking our military expenditure as excessive and as a stumbling block in the way of greater expenditure on the social services. Mr. Layton says that though the rise of wholesome prices in India is only 41 per cent. (in 1928) above the level of 1913, the army expenditure is 66 per cent. above pre-war, and that at the pre-war rate it ought to be Rs. 44 crores instead of Rs. 55 crores. Since 1928 prices have fallen precipitately, the index number for June 1930 being 116. So the figure to-day would be not 44 but Rs. 36·3 crores. It is a bit surprising that Mr. Layton does not refer in this connection to the Report of the International Financial Conference of Brussels, 1920, wherein 20% of the national expenditure devoted to defence is stated to be something 'that the world cannot afford.' Thirty-nine countries of the world, including India, and representing 75% of the world's population participated in that conference and made unanimous recommendations. The Indian ratio, as Mr. Layton points out, is 62½ per cent. of the Central expenditure and 31½ per cent. even of the Central and Provincial expenditure taken together. According to the Brussels standard, an expenditure even of Rs. 35 crores on defence would be unjustifiable. Thus it is clear that there is room for retrenchment of at least Rs. 20 crores in our expenditure on defence.

Then there is the question of economy in administration consistent with efficiency. Merely recruiting Indians in place of non-Indians for the superior services will not lead to much economy. Provincialising all these services will only mean an alteration of the label if inside the Provincial cadre we create a class A and a class B and have separate recruitment and separate scales of pay for the two classes. We must be clear that in civil administration as in the army it is two distinct types of persons that we require to recruit, *viz.*, officers and men. If in the army we expect to get and do get our highest officers—from Lieutenant-Colonels to General Officers-Commanding from among young

men recruited as Second-Lieutenants, even so in civil administration we ought to be able to get our highest officers from among young University men recruited, say, as Mamlatdars (Tahsildars) or Subordinate Judges. With that kind of Provincialisation and Indianisation, there would open up a possibility, both of reduction of number of posts and of toning down the scales of pay, so as to reduce the present expenditure on superior services very appreciably, possibly by a good few crores in the whole of India. But neither Mr. Layton nor the Commission have seriously considered that line of retrenchment even if to show that not much would be achieved thereby. It is of course a question of policy, but it is idle to talk about finance without considering policy. Mr. Layton himself cannot get away from policy for he says that one of the two underlying assumptions in his report is "that it is both possible and desirable to improve the economic and social condition of Indian people by a substantial increase in expenditure on the nation-building services." His other assumption is that it is possible to raise additional revenues for this purpose. So without entering much into the propriety of present expenditure, he proceeds to consider how more money could be raised. He could, as a matter of fact, have made out a good case for the need of raising additional revenue, even after considering the possibilities of retrenchment, had he considered two items on the revenue side, *viz.*, liquor excise and salt.

Mr. Layton has calmly assumed that the revenue from liquor and salt would continue to come in as heretofore. Still more amazing it is to find the Commission dumb on the subjects. The latter-day movement against these two sources of revenue is merely a culminating point of the strong assertion of public opinion against them that has been made for three or four decades past. Any financial scheme that ignores public opinion in these two respects has small elements of stability in it. Mr. Layton, who estimates the need for more money for social services in the next ten years and the possibilities of additional

revenue by taxation during the period, ought not to have ignored the possible fall (may be, virtual extinction) in the revenue from liquor excise and salt, together amounting to more than Rs. 25 crores. He might, therefore, have said that the possible retrenchment in the military and administrative expenditure might largely be counterbalanced by the possible extinction of revenue from liquor excise and salt, and, therefore, additional taxation would have to be resorted to, if more money was to be found for the social services.

New Sources of Taxation.

Let us now consider Mr. Layton's proposals for additional taxation. As regards *Income-Tax*, his proposals for lowering the exemption limit for personal income-tax and also for steepening the progression of the rate are certainly to be welcomed and he deserves to be specially complimented for having made bold enough to advocate the abolition of the exemption of agricultural incomes. He would have liked to propose *death duties* but has been unable, it seems, to make up his mind. In view of the changes in the income-tax and the inclusion of agricultural incomes, it would probably be wise not to provoke further protests by proposing death duties just yet, but they would have to come in later.

As regards *tobacco*, Mr. Layton proposes an excise tax on cigarettes manufactured in India. That industry has as yet hardly got established in this country even with the help of heavy import duties. To imagine, as Mr. Layton does, that the industry will in ten years' time be so largely and so stoutly be planted in India as to be able to yield an excise revenue of Rs. 5 crores and yet stand the competition of foreign tobacco trusts seems to be the height of optimism. Those five crores had better be left out of consideration altogether, at least for the present. Let the industry grow and get firmly established in the face of foreign competition.

Exactly the same thing needs to be said about Mr. Layton's proposal of imposing an excise on *matches*. It is amazing that the rate he proposes is the same rate as the present import duty. He is not perturbed by the thought as to whether there would be any match-industry left alive to pay the excise at that rate. He calmly looks forward to collecting Rs. 3 crores out of it. Like the preceding Rs. 5 crores, these Rs. 3 crores too need not be seriously counted upon. Mr. Layton's mind seems to have pictured English factories, not Indian, before itself when it made these calculations.

Mr. Layton's proposal of a *terminal tax* may be welcome if it is restricted to imports and is also made a substitute for the municipal octroi wherever possible. It is meant to be a temporary tax, to be given up if and when road traffic in goods successfully competes with railway traffic. Mr. Layton counts upon getting at least Rs. 6 crores out of it, presumably in excess of the octrois for which it is to be substituted.

Mr. Layton's remarks on the *local cess on land* seem to be very casual. It is surprising that he should have failed to note that the Indian land revenue is itself a local rate in the English sense, being a particular fraction (anything from 20 to 50 per cent.) of the annual (or rental) value of agricultural land. The Indian local cess is a local rate on the top of a fairly heavy local rate, considering the smallness of the average agricultural holding in India. Had Mr. Layton compared the burden of land revenue in India with that of the land tax in European countries, he would have seen the picture in its proper proportions. The trouble with our land revenue policy has been that although land revenue has been collected on the principles of the English local rates, the money has never been expended on the English analogy, *viz.*, for purely local purposes. Unfortunately, very few even among Indian public men have grasped that aspect of the question. Most of the controversy on that thorny problem would probably die down if it was tackled on those lines. With the proposed taxation of agricultural incomes, the way has been

made clear to treat the present land revenue as if it was a local rate. But in saying this I have entered upon the next and the most important topic of the distribution of revenues.

The Distribution of Revenues.

On this the most vital part of the Indian financial problem, Mr. Layton's proposals are really disappointing. Little need be said about the Commission in this matter, because the Commissioners have done little independent thinking on the subject. The term, Financial Assessor, applied to Mr. Layton by the Commission, is in fact a misnomer. The Financial Assessor has really written the financial judgment which the Commissioners as judges have simply countersigned.

Mr. Layton should have started the consideration of this subject by enunciating the general theoretical principles which should govern the division of functions and resources between the Central and Provincial Governments and as between the latter and the Local Authorities. He should have drawn upon the practical application of those principles in the financial arrangements obtaining in Canada, Australia, the United States and Germany from which lessons for Indian federal finance could be suitably drawn, taking care to allow for abnormal factors like the excessive growth of national debts in some of those countries due to the late War, and the consequent need for the particular Central Governments to appropriate more of the national resources than they did before the War. The Taxation Enquiry Committee, to whose Report Mr. Layton refers now and then, had stated those principles, though it was unable to apply them to the Indian problem. There is really one principle, *viz.*, that the more direct a tax is, the more it should be spent in the locality where it is collected. As expounded by the Taxation Committee, the principles are :

- (1) Indirect taxes, with the possible exception of stamp

duties, are commonly Federal. (Excise duties are almost invariably Federal.)

(2) Taxes on corporation profits are also commonly Federal.

(3) Personal income-tax is generally a State or Provincial source.

(4) Taxes on fixed property are seldom Federal and tend to pass increasingly from State or Provincial to Local Authorities.

Applied to India this would mean :

(1) Customs, excise (including liquor, opium, salt), corporation tax (present supertax on companies), railways, currency would be the chief Central sources of revenue;

(2) Personal income-tax, stamps, forests, irrigation would be the chief Provincial sources;

(3) Land Revenue would be the chief source of revenue for (Rural) Local Authorities.

It is the ultimate destination that is indicated above, whichever may be the suitable authority for collecting a particular tax.

In the earlier part of his Report, Mr. Layton himself says :—“ The problem of financial relations between the central and provincial authorities in any country is ideally solved where the sources of revenue which, from the administrative point of view, fall naturally within the sphere of the Provincial Governments, harmonise so far as their yield and elasticity is (*sic*) concerned with the functions which are assigned to those Governments, while those which are naturally central sources accord with the functions of the Central Government.

“ One of the chief difficulties of the Indian financial problem is that this harmony between the distribution of functions on the one hand and the allocation of sources of revenue to the Provinces and the Centre respectively, on the other, is lacking. Indeed, the contrary is the case, for whereas nearly all the functions which will require large expenditure in the future fall

within the Provincial sphere, the revenue assigned to them show a quite inadequate increase, while the Central Government, whose expenditure should be stationary or falling, has assigned to it the only revenues which in recent years have shown expansion."

This shows a brilliant grasp of the subject, but Mr. Layton seems to have forgotten what he thus wrote earlier, when towards the end of his report he comes to consider the distribution of revenues. Otherwise, how is it that out of the two elastic sources of revenue, *viz.*, customs and income-tax, he not only retains customs, but also the major portion of the income-tax, 14 crores out of 20, for the Central Government "whose expenditure should be stationary or falling?" If the incomes of persons domiciled within a province, from whichever source those incomes may arise—agricultural, industrial, commercial, professional, what not—are taxed entirely for the benefit of that Province, and the Central Government is permitted to retain only the tax on corporation profits (our present supertax on companies), would not the considerations of theory and the requirements of practice both be satisfied? It is surprising that Mr. Layton should have been unable to see this. Similarly should he have noticed that of the functions requiring large expenditure in future, *i.e.*, those on which expenditure "is far behind Western standards, and indeed in many directions is almost non-existing," the most expensive, *viz.*, primary education, sanitation, medical relief, etc., fall within the sphere of Rural Local Authorities, and hence these latter must have a respectable source of revenue. Mr. Layton has nothing to say about it beyond casually suggesting that the local cess may be increased. Is not the annual (rental) value of agricultural land the natural source of revenue for these bodies, as the annual value of house property is the natural source of revenue for municipalities? In other words, must not the whole of our present land revenue be allocated to the Rural Local Authorities? Does that not satisfy both the theoretical and practical requirements in that matter?

Mr. Layton, with his knowledge of English local finance, should have been the first to advocate this reform, particularly when the Taxation Committee's Report had virtually accepted the logic of this claim. In short, the harmony between functions and resources would in a large measure be achieved by allocating customs and corporation tax to the Centre, personal income tax (including tax on agricultural incomes) to the Provinces and land revenue to the (Rural) Local Authorities.

Excise of all kinds (including liquor, opium, salt) is but a counterpart of customs and must naturally go with it. That is theory. But practice also requires that to be done in India. One of the financial blunders of the Reforms of 1919 was the allocation of liquor excise to the Provinces. In province after province, particularly in Bombay and Madras, the Governments during the last ten years have found themselves entirely helpless to meet the emphatic demand of their Legislative Councils in favour of Prohibition. It was Mr. Layton's business, and most certainly that of the Commission, seriously to consider this problem, when the working of those Reforms was being examined and fresh proposals were to be made. The liquor problem, if it is to be tackled properly, must be tackled as an all-India problem, including the Indian States. The Central Government alone can initiate and enforce an all-India policy in this matter. The liquor excise revenue amounts roughly to Rs. 20 crores in the whole of British India. The Central Government alone can afford gradually to lose the whole of this revenue, if necessary, because its military expenditure is excessive by at least Rs. 20 crores, as I have shown earlier in this paper. Let the two policies of marching towards Prohibition and cutting down military expenditure progress side by side and the thing can be done without upsetting budgets, whatever period is fixed for reaching the goal. The Government of India will of course have to induce the Indian States,—and it knows very well how to do it—to be prepared to sacrifice liquor excise revenue, as some of them have already had to sacrifice opium revenue in the good

company of the Government of India, and to make up for the loss by taxing the personal incomes of their subjects, agricultural as well as others.

Mr. Layton, instead of proposing the transfer of liquor excise to the Central Government, as he ought to have done for the reasons stated above, actually advocates the entrusting of another mad dog to the Provincial care when he includes the proceeds of the salt duty in his Provincial Fund to be distributed among the Provinces on the "per capita" basis. Public opinion in the matter being what it is, the proceeds of the salt duty must be held in "suspense account" at least for some time. The proceeds may as a result of legislation vanish for aught we know or be very much reduced, the duty being lowered to a level where it is believed not to interfere with the maximum consumption of that necessity of life. The edifice of the Provincial Fund is not strengthened very much by making 6 crores out of its total of 14 crores arise from the salt duty. As a matter of fact, the other 8 crores—5 from cigarettes and 3 from matches appear to be very much more problematical as I have shown earlier. The valuable part of the Provincial Fund scheme is really the idea that far from levying contributions from the Provinces for expenditure which "should be stationary or falling," the Central Government, according to Mr. Layton, must now get used to the idea of contributing to the Provinces on a "per capita" basis to enable them to undertake expenditure on social services which, in spite of its care during all the five or six decades, "is far behind Western standards, and indeed in many directions is almost non-existent."

If the reallocation of resources which I have proposed above is made it means that the Central Government gets an additional Rs. 19.44 crores from excise, according to the figures adopted by Mr. Layton, and loses Rs. 9 crores of personal income-tax to the Provinces. Thus the Central Government has a surplus of over 10 crores, on the present basis of revenue and expenditure, and the Provinces will have an equal amount of deficit.

So there will have to be contributions from the Central to the Provincial Governments enabling each of the latter to start with a balanced budget and such contributions will have to continue till the Provincial deficits are made good by the application of part of the proceeds of the new taxes proposed by Mr. Layton, *viz.*, the taxation of agricultural incomes, lowering of the exemption limit, steepening of the rate of progression, and terminal tax.

The scheme that I have thus outlined gives a fairly clear-cut division of resources and achieves that harmony between functions and resources for the Central and Provincial Governments and also for the Rural Local Authorities—harmony which Mr. Layton approves but which his scheme hardly can be said to provide. Further, my scheme makes it possible to inaugurate new policies in consonance with public opinion, *e.g.*, reduction of military expenditure, adoption of the goal of Prohibition, abolition or reduction of salt tax, etc., which would be hardly practicable, in my opinion, under Mr. Layton's scheme blessed by the Simon Commission.

R. M. JOSHI

THE ROMANCE OF THE SEA

THE WARSHIP IN DISTRESS

Towards the close of the last century there was a good deal of friction between the United States and Spain.

It was alleged against the latter country that her administration of her few remaining colonies in the New World was as unsatisfactory as could well be; the colonists were in revolt, and they looked, not unnaturally, to the United States. Nor did they look in vain, though how far the U. S. A. would have intervened, but for the blowing up of the flag-ship "Maine," can only be conjectured. The "Maine" lay at anchor in Havana Harbour. It so happened that the revolt of the Spanish colonists was at its highest pitch in this island. On a February night, when all was dark, a tremendous explosion was heard in the town of Havana. Some said it was out at sea, others that one of the many earthquakes for which this part of the world is notorious had taken place. Actually the "Maine" had blown up and then sank, carrying with her some hundreds of American sailors.

How did that explosion come about? To the Americans there seemed but one answer. Though the Spanish indignantly denied it and do to this day—the Americans regarded the explosion as deliberately planned and carried out. War was declared, and, after a series of naval defeats, against a much superior enemy, the Spanish sued for peace.

The peace terms gave America virtual charge of the Philippines, Porto Rico and Cuba, though nominally the two latter islands are independent.

As years went by the "Maine" was found to be a menace in the harbour; in addition, there was a strong desire on the part of some of the citizens of the U. S. A. to discover, if possible, whether the blowing up of this fine battleship was

deliberate, or whether, as in other cases on record, spontaneous combustion took place in the magazine. From such a cause we lost several ships in the late War, though we suspected German agents.

Here then was a chance for a monumental piece of salvage. None but a rich community could have afforded the price which ran into six figures. It was believed that the work of raising the sunken battleship could be carried out for £60,000 ; in point of fact more than double that amount was expended in a single year. Twelve years had gone by since the "Maine" sank into the muddy bottom of the harbour. There seemed but one plan possible, it was to build a huge coffer-dam right round the spot where she rested.

This was a tremendous task, because the ship lay in nearly 40 feet of water or mud. It was necessary for the piles forming the framework of the coffer-dam, to be driven down very deeply, and yet still be long enough to be well above high-water mark.

The task set the salvors was so difficult that only upon a guaranteed payment for work done could anything be attempted. Thus, besides all those massive piles, a great number of cylinders were required to go round the circle. Some of the cylinders were 50 feet across, so their size may be judged. For a year the work went on, and then the huge pit was ready to be pumped out. It was a thrilling moment when the pumps began their steady plugging ; as they went on the water began to sink, very slowly it is true, but in time the masts of the lost battleship were seen, and as the water still flowed out of the coffer-dam the rest of that rusted hull appeared.

The force of the explosion had practically divided the huge ship ; the front portion, in particular, was simply a mass of twisted steel. The after-portion was therefore patched to make it capable of floating, pumped out, and then the water was let into the coffer-dam again. The experts spent hours in examining the remnants of what had been one of the finest ships in the American Navy, but their task brought no real result ; the wreck

had been left too long. Indeed, it is doubtful, even had the salvage work been undertaken almost at once, whether the debatable point as to whether the explosion was external or internal could have been satisfactorily settled.

The wrecked after-portion was towed out to sea, and there sunk out of the way of navigation. So ended one of the most remarkable salvage feats upon record.

The British navy had two battleships losses in quick succession some years ago, both ships being of the same class. These were the "Howe" which went ashore off the coast of Spain, and the "Montagu" which met a similar fate off Lundy Island. In the case of the "Montagu" the salvage did not seem to offer very great difficulties; indeed, it was rather regarded as a chance for a little real practice for our naval salvage corps. But after spending £35,000 the Navy had, for once, to admit they had tackled something altogether beyond them. It is doubtful if it is worth spending five figures upon any naval unit which has gone ashore, or sunk in such a way that successful salvage is in doubt. Naval ships go out of date so rapidly. Very often five years sees a class completely obsolete, and the scrap value of a large battleship is very small indeed. For the "Montagu" the Admiralty received less than £5,000, but it was to be remembered that she lay some distance from a shipbreakers' yard, and that her hull would scarcely pay for fetching home; the engines and other machinery would prove the only really valuable salvage.

The "Britannia" was another battleship which went ashore in the war years. Here salvage was brought to a successful conclusion by the expedient of using concrete patches upon the inner and outer keels of the big ship. She got off under her own steam when lightened by the removal of her heavier fittings and her fuel. After thorough repair she was sent out to do her bit; a German torpedo put an end to her career not so long after her adventure off the Scottish coast.

The unexplained loss of the "Hampshire" startled all Britain probably more than any isolated incident of the war,

It was not so much for the loss of the vessel and her gallant fellows perhaps, as the way she went and the prominent personage who went with her.

More than anyone the nation looked to Lord Kitchener in those early days of the war : a great soldier and a born organiser ; a man who had seen things through in various tight corners ; a man whom we all counted upon in the first 20 months of the World War. It was decided that Kitchener should go on a military mission to Russia.

Although it might have been known to the Germans that Kitchener was to go to Russia, the details of the journey were altered time after time, and none knew for certain what route would be followed or what ship would be used. To reach Archangel it was desirable for Lord Kitchener to embark as far north as possible ; for this reason the base of the Grand Fleet, Scapa Flow, was chosen.

Here " H. M. S." Hampshire was waiting. She was to go at full speed, escorted by destroyers, and then, after a hurried visit, occupying not more than a week in Russia, the little fleet was to dash back again.

As the train bearing Kitchener and his staff to Scotland neared the port of embarkation there were many signs that the voyage would be a rough one. Rain and wind made that June day anything but promising. After a crossing to Scapa in a destroyer, and a brief visit to Lord Jellicoe on the " Iron Duke," Kitchener embarked on the " Hampshire" and she at once set out. Lord Jellicoe had himself planned the course the cruiser was to take, arranging it so that, for as long as possible, the " Hampshire" should have the benefit of the sheltering isles which here fringe the coast.

The gallant little destroyers followed their larger sister out, but very soon found that, in the heavy seas running, they could not keep up with her. It was essential that the cruiser should be driven at full speed, therefore the destroyers were signalled to

return to Scapa Flow, leaving the "Hampshire" to proceed without escort.

All went well for a time ; then a lonely look-out on the shore saw a cruiser stop, and after a few moments disappear completely—it was the "Hampshire." At first it was believed that she had been torpedoed, the Germans having learned of her errand, and of the presence aboard of Britain's greatest soldier. There were the usual cries of 'traitors in the ranks' and all that kind of thing. But no submarine could have fired a torpedo with any degree of accuracy, if at all, in those tremendous seas. What had happened was that the "Hampshire" had run full tilt upon a floating mine, and it was afterwards confirmed, from German source, that one of their submarines, equipped for mine-laying, had been up that very channel but a few hours previously.

It was a pure chance that the submarine laid her mines in those enclosed waters to such good effect. Given calmer weather the "Hampshire" would not have gone that way, so that there is no secret or mystery about the loss of the ship with so valuable a life.

In fifteen minutes after striking the mine the "Hampshire" had gone, and only twelve men came ashore from that gallant crew. She was about a mile and a half from the shore, but the huge seas overturned the boats which got away. The rafts did rather better and it was upon one of these that the only survivors came ashore. Upon another 43 poor fellows were found dead from cold on this summer night.

Lord Kitchener was reading in his cabin when the explosion occurred, which sent out all lights immediately. He came up on deck and waited calmly for the end ; it was obvious to him that there was no hope of a boat living in that sea, nor did a raft seem to offer any better avenue of escape, therefore he remained on deck and sank with the ship.

Thousands believed for months afterwards that Kitchener was a prisoner in Germany, having been picked up by a German

submarine. Another tale was spread broadcast that the Government had deliberately planned this trip, and allowed the Germans to know of it in order to get rid of Kitchener.

Another theory was that a time fuse had been set in the "Hampshire" by German agents, but this too may be ruled out; it was a mine, set at random, that lost Britain her greatest soldier.

Mines were really responsible for many sinkings that were thought to have been due to the remarkable energy of the German U boat commanders. Of all weapons of war mines are the most sinister, and they served friend, foe, and neutral alike.

It was necessary to organise and send out quite a large fleet of mine-sweepers to deal with the mines strewn in many directions by the enemy.

The work of the mine-sweepers was done out of the lime-light by men who were often volunteers; many of them belonged to the society of friends, whose tenets forbade them to take part in actual hostilities. Never could it be said of these men that they tried to shelter behind their conscience, for a more dangerous business than mine-sweeping could never be tackled. The vessels so employed had to face the double danger of mines and attack by German U boats, and the number of ships which failed to return was considerable.

Mines swept from one area one day were replaced when the sweepers went on to another, and too often they came back into the danger with no knowledge of the work accomplished behind their backs.

One of the Cunarders, the famous "Carmania" was equipped as an armed cruiser and sent out for patrol duties in American waters, where it was known that Germany had similar vessels employed upon commerce raiding. Very cleverly the German "Cap Trafalgar" was disguised as a Union-Castle liner; by this disguise she was able to select her victims, many a British ship having come within range of her guns under the impression that she was a member of that famous fleet. Then she met the

“Carmania” and promptly engaged her. Rarely were two ships so well matched in the whole course of the war ; never was there a keener struggle than between these two liner cruisers. What advantage there was lay with the German boat, which was slightly faster than the “Carmania.” The fight opened like a sea battle of the olden days, when one craft challenged another by a shot across the bows, usually sent purposely wide of its mark. If the challenged ship was in no fit condition to meet an opponent an opportunity was thus given to haul down its flag. So with the “Carmania”—she gave the “Cap Trafalgar” that invitation. But the German had no intention of hauling down her flag ; instead she replied with her starboard after-gun, and so commenced a duel which was almost certainly the finest isolated fight in the war. The “Carmania” opened at once with her port guns, and now the ships had drawn so close together that the “Cap Trafalgar” was able to rake the decks of her opponent with machine-gun fire. Very soon the captain of the “Carmania” realised that he was inferior in guns and speed, and he realised too that his safety depended solely on the manner in which his ship was handled. Now they were at it hammer and tongs, loading and firing as quickly as they could. By magnificent handling the “Carmania” drew away, and, in doing so, attracted the fire of the German to her upper works : these suffered very much, but far better these than a shell in her engine-room. There was no armour-plating on either ship to protect these vital portions. A fire was started by a German shell in a cabin well forward, and this led to the abandonment of the fore-bridge, the ship being conned from the lower steering position, situated in the aft portion of the ship.

So they went on—a fight to the death, in which both ships seemed to be suffering heavily. Several men were killed upon the “Carmania,” and a great number injured ; not such totals as were found later in the big fights, but sufficiently serious. Then the men on the “Carmania” gave a cheer ; smoke was issuing from the fore-part of the “Cap Trafalgar,” smoke

mixed with steam. The steam told of a burst pipe which might mean little or much. Better still the big German took on a decided list, and when a ship does that in a sea fight it is quite safe to say a shot has gone well home below the water line. The fire of the "Cap Trafalgar" began to slacken, her list became more pronounced, and now the ether was filled with urgent wireless calls for help. The fight lasted just 100 minutes; at the end of that time the gallant "Cap Trafalgar" heeled over and went down. Gallant she was indeed, and Captain Barr of the "Carmania" was expressing the opinion of many of his men when he said that the only German he would care to shake hands with was his opponent in command of the "Cap Trafalgar."

The commander of the "Carmania's" first thought was to stay to pick up the men from the sunken adversary, but a smudge of smoke appeared on the horizon. This smudge might, and probably did betoken a German cruiser hastening to the aid of her consort, and the Cunarder was in no condition to meet such a vessel. Therefore, she had to turn reluctantly away and steam towards a couple of British cruisers which were coming to her aid. Under their wings she was taken to port, and her worst damage made good.

When the end of the war allowed the "Carmania" to return to her liner duties, a graceful tribute was paid to her prowess. The Navy League presented a piece of plate to the gallant ship to carry for all time; this piece of plate had been carried in Nelson's cabin at the Battle of Trafalgar, and now it was to rest in the cabin of a ship which had proved herself a worthy successor of the old "Victory," beating a vessel which the men of the wooden battleship could scarcely have pictured. The "Carmania" received 79 shells, which holed her in 304 places.

It is good to know that she has been thoroughly overhauled and modernised, and now, with more than twenty years at sea, is still one of the favourite ships of the Cunard fleet. She set the fashion in the Cunard fleet for the big intermediate liner,

which, whilst not fast, is wonderfully steady and comfortable. She and her handsome sister, the "Caronia" go to and fro successfully across the wide Atlantic on various services, favourite vessels in every way.

It might be claimed that an accident altered entirely the design of the warship from the 'sixties' onwards. The French had already shown with their "La Gloire," and the British with the "Warrior," that the day of the wooden battleship was past. But it was left to an accidental happening in the American Civil War to prove that the entire design of the armoured ship would have to be altered. The first armoured vessels followed, in their main design, the old wooden walls in which Nelson had secured his victories. There was the same large amount of free-board, the same muzzle-loaders considerably greater in number than in power. An unpremeditated duel between two ships of entirely different design altered all that. The British and French ironclads were unproved ; now came a couple which were to meet in deadly combat and prove that the earlier designed vessel of the two was rendered obsolete by the latter ; that in effect, the "La Gloire" and the "Warrior," within a few years of their building, were entirely out of date.

A success of the Confederate States led to the abandonment of several wooden war vessels, which were first set on fire and then scuttled to prevent them being of use to the enemy. The Confederates determined to attempt the raising of one of the best of the abandoned ships. This was the frigate "Merrimac" of 3,500 tons and 40 guns. In this they were successful, but finding her greatly damaged by fire, they decided that the only thing to do with her was to cut her down to the water's edge and rebuild her as an armoured vessel. A rectangular casement was built upon her hull. This was constructed of exceptionally heavy timber, about 2 feet thick, and this was then covered with heavy plating, some of it being fashioned from railway lines torn up from the track. The casement was made to slope

inwards, at an angle of 35 degrees, and the armour-plating carried a couple of feet below the water line. It was an extremely crude floating fort, equipped with the poorest of engines. Five knots was the best it could accomplish, and the process of turning it completely round took something like half an hour! The re-constructed "Merrimac," which, by the way, was actually re-named "Virginia," a name never used by her historians, drew 22 feet of water mainly owing to her heavy plating. In all she carried ten cannons of which the pair of 7-inch rifled guns were the most powerful.

On the 9th of March, 1862, the "Merrimac" steamed out ready for action, and promptly engaged two federal ships, the frigate "Congress" of 50 guns, and the sloop "Cumberland" of 30 guns. The latter was rammed by the "Merrimac" very early in the action, though she remained afloat for some time and gave her assailant some heavy fire before sinking, with her pennant still flying from her topmast. Later in the afternoon, the "Congress," having done her best without appreciable result on the armour of the "Merrimac," was compelled to surrender. She had suffered greatly from the broadside of the floating fort. Other vessels of the Federal fleet, which had come to the aid of their heavily pressed consorts, had gone aground early in the action, and here, whilst safe from the fire of the "Merrimac," because of her great draught they were unable to aid their friends.

Meanwhile the Federals had not been idle in designing and constructing a vessel which they hoped would prove superior to anything the enemy then possessed. The very next day the "Monitor" arrived in Hampton Road, the scene of the action between the "Merrimac" and the Federal fleet. Arriving in the night, the "Monitor" anchored near the "Minnesota," a steam frigate which the commander of the "Merrimac" had determined to engage at the earliest possible moment.

The "Monitor" was designed by Captain John Ericsson, and was built at New York with great haste. Her designer

had borrowed the idea of a revolving turret from an earlier invention in which guns could be worked without being exposed. The vessel itself was given the lowest free-board possible. Indeed, except at the centre of the vessel, the waves broke right across the deck, the result being that the "Monitor" presented the smallest possible mark for an antagonist. The whole of the ship above water was very heavily armoured, whilst below it was carried for a sufficient depth to make her invulnerable to ordinary gun-fire.

On the morning of the 9th of March, 1862, the "Merrimac" steamed out to capture the "Minnesota," believing she would prove an easy prey after the experience of the previous day. As she moved slowly along, the "Monitor" slipped out to meet her, and a battle royal commenced as soon as both the queer craft were in range.

It has been stated very frequently that the victory in this sea duel went to the "Monitor," but it is more correct to claim the result as a draw, neither ship having her armour pierced, whilst the worst casualty certainly occurred on the "Monitor," where a shot from the "Merrimac" penetrated the pilot house and blinded the commander. Both vessels broke off the action; later the "Merrimac" was sunk to prevent her falling into the hands of the Federals. The "Monitor" foundered at sea within a few years of her launch.

G. G. JACKSON

THE AIRPLANE

What that disturbance in the trees
That refutes the music of the breeze,
And dominates the very air
Of earth's true symphony up there?

What causes all those thin shrill notes
Emerging from the bird's wee throat's?
May be they resent intrusion
On their little home's seclusion.

What that monster, might and loud
Soaring out of every cloud?
Who asks to share their home the sky?
They ask each other, and they sigh!

A giant of birds, yet not of them—
A wing'd animal,—can they but stem
Their numbers to resist the coming
Of that mighty engine humming?

They meet in every airy place
To chirp the fearfulness of the case.
They seem to say,—“It should not be
And mutely appeal to you and me.”

CHERRY JALASS

HENRIK IBSEN

PART IV—MODERN DRAMA : SECOND PHASE.

The next four plays of Ibsen have certain distinctive marks which weld them together as a unique group. Social ideas and intricate problems of social relationship no more occupy the predominant position they maintained in the plays of the earlier phase. Occasionally they do shoot out revealing searchlights into the absurdities and obscurities of social compact; but that is all. Convinced more than ever that the final integrity of society is broadbased solely on the implications of human character as multifariously exemplified in the various individual souls, Ibsen, naturally enough, restricts the scope of his dramas to a discussion of the workings of the minds of certain individuals, almost detached from society, and to a frank exposure of the inevitable outcome of their selfish and impetuous actions. The ideas and ideals which rule society as such and contribute to the misery of its individual members were mercilessly pilloried in '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*': they were caricatured in '*An Enemy of the People*.' Ibsen will deal with them no more: they have had enough of his pitiless handling. He now turns to the ideas and ideals which rule individuals, each one in a particular fashion, but which nevertheless cause fateful repercussions on the community as a whole. '*The Wild Duck*' written about 1884 marks the transition.

The centre of operations in '*The Wild Duck*' is the intrinsically melancholy abode of Hjalmar Ekdal, by profession a photographer. His father Old Ekdal had seen better days but is now a disgraced man. In conjunction with the rich manufacturer Werle he had violated the forest laws, even more indiscreetly than had his craftier accomplice. The law took its own magnificent course, clapped the less guilty in prison and acquitted the other. Ekdal when he came out of the cell was a broken

and a penniless man. Werle, much as he might have wished to help his unlucky partner, dared not do so lest his own complicity in the affair be made public. However he managed to employ Old Ekdal in copying work and paid him small sums just enough to serve him as pocket money. Werle had a remote idea of helping young Hialmar too to a career in life. Meanwhile another circumstance stared him in the face. During the last years of his wife's fatal illness Werle had contracted a liaison with his house-keeper, Gina, and having subsequently cast her off, his conscience was giving him no end of trouble. It became a positive necessity to still its insidious effervescence. However he made a quick job of it all by deftly contriving and effecting the marriage of Hialmar and Gina. He paid for Hialmar's necessary apprenticeship in photography, advanced some ready capital and satisfied himself that the couple had a quite decent start in life. Hedvig was shortly born and everything soon adjusted itself with supreme nicety.

When the play opens Hedvig is fourteen years old. Old Ekdal is a pathetic figure, only the chaff of his original solidity. His bear hunts have all been given up but he holds on with childish pertinacity to the essential spirit of adventure that had animated his early life. He has garret full of rabbits, pigeons and Christmas trees : Old Ekdal imagines this to be a forest and when he shoots down a rabbit with his pistol is elated as much with pride and self-esteem as in former days he might have felt on bringing down a ferocious bear. Anyhow his second childishness is in full swing.

Sordid and intensely prosaic as the Ekdal household inevitably is, it is illuminated by the illusions passionately nurtured by some of its members. Hialmar is a mediocre, weak in body as well as in mind, vacillating and vain. It is no more in his power than in his father's to restore the Honour of the family name by some bold stroke of intellectual activity. All the same Hialmar is touched to the quick by the poignant memory of the sight of his father "when he had put on the grey clothes

and was under lock and key " and his great mission in life, as he conceives it to be, is to perfect some fancied photographic invention and demand as his sole reward that his father may be allowed to wear the uniform of a lieutenant-colonel which rightly belonged to him. Hialmar has not the slightest aptitude for any kind of research and in fact this wild-goose-chase-idea did not originate in him. It was Dr. Relling, a lodger in Hialmar's abode, who had invented this pious illusion to mitigate the wretchedness and despair of his friend. In the same manner too he had made another friend of his, the Clergyman Molvik, who was inordinately addicted to drink and therefore despised himself with an anguished heart, that after all to Molvik drink was not injurious, that it was indeed just the thing to control his violently daemonic constitution. Hialmar and Molvik are now sustained in their daily battle with their respective infirmities only by the enervating influences of their 'life-illusions.' These are long cultivated lies no doubt: but these are precisely what make life worth living. On the strength of the illusion about the invention, the incomparable Hedvig builds dream castles about her future happiness. She has absolute and unshakable faith in the life mission of her father.

Then there is the wild duck. It was wounded by Werle and later given by his servant to Old Ekdal to be made the most important inmate of his garret. It thrives gloriously there and is earmarked as the special pet of Hedvig. She loves it very much, perhaps with a love second only to that which draws her to Hialmar. Old Ekdal may shoot any rabbits he likes but he should not touch the wild duck, Hedvig's wild duck. The picture of Hialmar's home life is complete.

Werle has a son up at the works who has a knack of being perpetually thirteenth at table. Gregers Werle's relations with his father have been far from cordial: after years and years of separation he comes to meet his father, having been sent for, and in honour of his home-coming Werle gives a

dinner party to his friends. At this stage the curtain rises. Gregers invites Hjalmar, a chum of his school days, and from him learns of his marriage with Gina and of the pitiable existence of his father. Gregers happens to know a thing or two: he knows how great had been his own father's offence in the matter of the violation of forest laws and how he had emerged unscathed in the end: he knows too that Gina was the whilom mistress of his father. Hjalmar has ever been in the dark on both these points. The tragedy now beings to work out its peculiar and grim fulfilment.

The character of Gregers as it issues from his actions has puzzled even the most characteristic of Ibsen's admirers. Gregers is another edition of Brand. The idealism of Brand, its sway over others, its inexorable finality and its pathetic reactions, were all portrayed by Ibsen in the earlier drama with a fascinating robustness in the soothing medium of poetry. This lightened its earthy repulsiveness to a minimum. But people admired it, and Ibsen very much doubted if they ever evaluated its maximum human significance. I do not mean to suggest that '*The Wild Duck*' is '*Brand*' minus the excellence of its poetry. What I do suggest is that occupying as it does a turning point in the chronology of his prose plays and representing a definite attitude of his mind, it is possible, even inevitable for the dramatist, to endeavour once more to point out the moral of the earlier play—the moral that had almost entirely been lost upon the public—along the recently perfected medium of the realistic prose play and concentrate it in a focus of burning and biting intensity. Gregers is a cruder Brand but a more plausible one. He is detestable because he is too true in an atmosphere of general falsity: he is unpleasant, cynical and sinister, because 'he thinks too much': he makes a mess of things where people are not of his way of thinking: and where one rare human being takes up his philosophy quite seriously and immediately acts up to it, he is the instrument of tragedy. It won't do simply to hold Gregers responsible for all the

ingredients of the final tragedy of the play. His character should be weighed with sympathy and discrimination, always reminding oneself of the fundamental kinship between him and Brand.

To return to the story. Once Gregers is in full knowledge of the facts he is convinced of one thing: that the life of Hialmar is based on a 'lie.' From this assumption he deduces that the Hialmar household is filled with 'marsh vapours' which could be permanently expelled only after reinstating the companionship of Gina and Hialmar on a foundation of truth and candour as opposed to the existing slippery and ruinous basis of falsehood and deception. Two things are significant about Gregers's viewpoint: firstly, he is hopelessly persuaded that the present bond that holds the couple together is unreal and therefore liable to give way at the slightest stress: secondly, far from desiring to effect any revolutionary change in the relationship between husband and wife he only wants them to understand each other and then go on as before. He is for tolerance in its largest sense: he is for truth and humanity. It seems to him monstrous that in wedded life such putrid deceit could flourish. His ideal is far less stringent than Brand's 'Thy all or nothing.' "But the essential defect of Gregers's conduct consists in his having moved in the matter at all. He ought to have let things take their own course." Such at any rate in substance is the opinion of certain critics.

Gregers, desiring to put his idealistic plans into instant execution, takes Hialmar out for a walk and roundly tells him the truth about his marriage and the hidden motive behind Werle's generosity. Hialmar's high strung sensitiveness is thrown into violent convulsions. He goes home to "do" it with his wife: in other words to let her know that he knows the long guarded secret and then to found their relations on the more enduring base of understanding and harmony. This, anyhow, is what Gregers urges him to do.

Hialmar 'goes through' it in a halting and clumsy manner. His feeling is profound enough apparently but it is loose

sentimentalism and nothing else : he has not the toughness of character so necessary to battle successfully with the grim forces of reality. The one clear fact is that he passes through "the bitterest moments of my life." He detests and abhors everything that he ultimately owes to Werle, the "favour predecessor"—chairs, photographic equipment, above all 'the wild duck.' To Hedvig he says : "I should almost like to wring that cursed wild duck's neck.... I ought not to tolerate under my roof a creature that has been through those hands." But in consideration for Hedvig he would spare her dear wild duck.

Meanwhile Gregers, the incorrigible idealist, is expecting impossible things. To realise these he goes to Hialmar. Gina greets him with a sarcastic : "God forgive you, Mr. Werle." Gregers is pitifully disappointed in his expectations. It is inexplicable. He says : "After so great a crisis—a crisis that is to be the starting point of an entirely new life—of a communion founded on truth and free from all taint of deception..... I confidently expected, when I entered the room, to find the light of transfiguration shining upon me from both husband and wife. And now I see nothing but dullness, oppression, gloom....." Gregers Werle has indicted himself.

The worldly wise Relling joins the fray. He ridicules Gregers's mission in the Hialmar household,—“to lay the foundations of a true marriage.” Between the idealist dreamer Gregers and the competent Dr. Relling, the wretched Hialmar contents himself with uttering platitudes and kicking his legs in pathetic anguish. Relling warns them all to deal cautiously with Hedvig whatever mess and muddle they may otherwise create for themselves : "Hedvig is at a critical stage ; she may be getting all sorts of mischief into her head."

At this juncture they get a sort of communication from Werle though it is primarily intended as a birth-day present to Hedvig. The sum and substance of it is this : Werle settles upon Old Ekdal a monthly pension of a hundred crowns ; this pension is to pass on to Hedvig after her grandfather's death,

Hjalmar reads the deed of gift and turns pale. He puts two and two together. It is a fact his daughter is losing her eyesight, obviously on the operation of the inexorable law of heredity : Werle too, Hjalmar has just learnt, is fast approaching the complete loss of sight. Werle has been Gina's paramour some fifteen years ago : just a few months before Hedvig was born. But all these rush past his mind in an instant. He cries half aloud, clenching his hands : "The eyes—and then that letter !" Then later : "Oh what vistas—what perspectives open up before me ! It is Hedvig that he showers these benefactions upon." The first flush of anger finds Hjalmar tearing the deed across and saying : "Here is my answer." The idealist Gregers is satisfied. Immediately Hjalmar confronts his wife with a point-blank question : "Does Hedvig belong to me—or— ?" Gina looks at him 'with cold defiance' and answers : "I don't know."

The last lingering cord is snapped. The edifice of the least semblance to home life breaks and crashes to the ground. "I have nothing more to do in this house," says Hjalmar simply. It is here that the constructive side of Gregers's idealism is brought to play. He perorates : "Surely nothing in the world can compare with the joy of forgiving one who has erred, and raising her up to one self in love... You three must remain together if you are to attain the true frame of mind for self-sacrifice and forgiveness." But Hjalmar is no more under Gregers's sway. He partly retorts : "I don't want to attain it... My home has fallen in ruins about me... Gregers, I have no child !" Hedvig comes near him : Hjalmar cannot bear to see her. He frees himself rudely from her embrace and leaves the room abruptly.

Even when matters have undergone such fateful twists, left to themselves, they would attain normality in due course. But Gregers wants to bring about a speedy reconciliation between father and daughter in a novel fashion. He injects her with his lofty notions about the unerring efficacy of

sacrifice : hers is a pliable mind most suited to receiving impressions. Moreover, being Werle's daughter, in fact, Gregers's sister, she is already harbouring such ideas, though in a latent form. What Gregers does is to generate this idealism in Hedvig just at this crisis in her relationship, or say, companionship with Hialmar. She realises that she has lost Hialmar's love. She is prepared to do anything to regain this love. Life would be impossible without it. She cannot envisage any mode of action that would give her back the pure gold of 'father's' love.

Gregers thinks that there is no question of Hialmar having ceased to love Hedvig anymore : such things don't happen with such suddenness. But Hialmar is afraid that Hedvig's love for him is a mere pretence, a calculated hypocrisy. All that is now wanted is some sign, tangible and definite, from Hedvig, which would send Hialmar's suspicions to the pit.

Hialmer hates the wild duck : Hedvig adores it. Could not Hedvig make a voluntary offering of her dearest treasure to prove her attachment to Hialmer ? Hedvig might ask her grandfather to shoot the wild duck : the fact cannot fail to bring about amicable relations between the different members of the house. Hedvig tells Gregers that she would do it.

Hialmer keeps away from his wife throughout the night. Early next morning he returns with the ostensible intention of separating from his wife once and for all. But he is too weak to do anything : he whines and sneaks and sneezes : beyond that he could do nothing. The "mischief-maker" Gregers duly puts in his appearance : he is surprised to find that the wild duck has not been yet sacrificed. He plies the poor girl again with the philosophy of beautiful sacrifice. This time however she does not hesitate. She acts : but in a manner most unexpected and startling even to Gregers himself.

She silently removes the pistol from the shelf and hurries to the garret. Should she kill her 'wild duck' after all ? And what stands she to gain ! The doubtful contingency of

the reciprocation of 'father's' love. And for this she must deprive the innocent wild duck of its life. No, better die herself. She would sacrifice *herself* to prove her love. On the altar of her sacrifice might be built the structure of Hialmer's future domestic concord. Thus chalking out her misson, she presses the pistol right against her breast and shoots herself. Hialmar, too late, realises his irreparable loss. "She crept terrified into the garret and died for love of me:" He sobs. But his wife cuts him quick with the sensible and biting words: "We had no right to keep her, I suppose..... We must help each other to bear this loss. For now at least she belongs to both of us."

Even the consummation of the unrelieved tragedy leaves Gregers's idealisings untouched. We hear him saying to Dr. Relling: "Hedvig has not died in vain. Did you not see how sorrow set free what is noble in him (Hialmer)?" But Relling brushes this explanation aside as sheer effrontery. His humanistic philosophy is expressed pithily in his reply to Gregers: "Life would be quite tolerable after all if we could be rid of the confounded duns that keep on pestering us, in our poverty, with the claim of the ideal." Apparently the two could never agree in this world. The one departs to fulfil his destiny of being ever thirteenth at table: the other is pitifully left alone, with a curse in his mouth. And you close the book, your emotions in great turmoil.

The next play of Ibsen's to be considered here, is '*Rosmersholm*' published exactly two years after '*The Wild Duck*.' In this play the idealist mischief-maker is a young woman of considerable bodily fascination and extraordinary intellectual vigour. Her ideal is to sway the multitudes by acquiring for herself the unassailable position of a Radical leader. This she hopes to effect by utilising some influential personage as her cat's paw. Rosmer is her prey. Descended from generations of Rosmers, Johannes Rosmer is every inch gettleness itself: sometime priest of the local parish, he is full of episcopal

serenity and gloom. The family seat of Rosmersholm, for ages together, has been the citadel of propriety radiating its soothing influence all round. A mere suppliant at first, the idealist Rebecca takes deeper, ever firmer, root in Rosmersholm, till eventually the thought of her leaving it sounds preposterous to Mrs. Rosmer no less than to Johannes. This happens partly owing to the amiability of Mrs. Rosmer but largely a result of the unscrupulous manipulations and machinations of Rebecca herself. Rosmer, too, finds that an exchange of pulses is more easy of fulfilment with Rebecca than with the tender, but otherwise uninteresting Beata. The inevitable happens. But veils over veils of systematic hypocrisy—or if, you will, persisting cowardice preventing them from facing facts—delude their minds and the situation grows from bad to worse. Rebecca of course goes on consolidating her position bit by bit. The more she discusses with Rosmer about the fallacies in the church and about the iniquities in the existing social system with all the warmth of her conviction and backed by the mass of arguments and data she had long ago made herself mistress of, the more is he vanquished by her bodily and intellectual appositeness, though, as yet, he would only acknowledge his subjugation on the latter score. He renounces the faith of his forefathers in conformity to the new opinions he has imbibed: but as this would shock his friends, particularly his wife, were this made public, the truth about his conversion is known only to Rebecca and himself. He subscribes too to all her radical views about the amelioration of the downtrodden and the imminent inauguration of the ‘parliament of Man.’ But the kernel of the matter is hopelessly in love with the woman Rebecca: but he would not admit this to himself.

On the other hand the vanquisher is vanquished as well. This strange woman, all will-power and iron, is slowly but surely drawn towards Rosmer and in the end, as hopelessly as the other, is thoroughly subdued and has no other thought except the consuming passion of love for the noble, inexpressibly

grand man, so long her willing prey. It is now a question of life and death with her: she must have Rosmer, all for herself. It is a mortal necessity therefore to have the gentle Beata removed. And Rebecca sets out to do this with callous and calculated villainy. The unsuspecting wife is first of all casually made to understand that Rosmer has broken with the faith he had held to all along. This is a staggering blow to Beata. Yet she holds her tongue, unwilling to wound the Rosmer she so profoundly loves. She longs passionately for a child by Rosmer: this would assure for her the impregnable position as mother in Rosmersholm. But years pass and she remains barren. By and by she understands how elated her husband feels in the company of Rebecca, poring over treatises, wrangling over social problems and fomulating conclusions with a majestic equanimity. Little by little she feels she is standing in the way of her husband's happiness. To clarify her thoughts and uncertain surmises the excellent Rebecca comes to her rescue. She tells Beata quite clearly, though not in so many words, that her husband's future happiness is irremediably thwarted by her existence. The relations between Rebecca and Rosmer, as it now subsists, could not go on for ever. Rebecca should soon leave Rosmersholm.

Gloomier and wretched grows Beata: the unhappy Rosmer entrenching himself behind his habitual non-interfering goodness draws the only conclusion possible, the conclusion suggested as most, obvious by the intelligent Rebecca,—that poor Beata is out of her mind! As for Beata, she loves her husband too dearly to bear tranquilly for any length of time the impossible, monstrous thought that she is obstructing the path of Rosmer to the goal of ultimate human redemption. Miserable, faithful, heroic, heroic almost to the point of divinity, she casts herself into the mill stream from the bridge: the ideal of her womanly devotion to her husband claims her at last, and whirled in an eddy, her sacrifice is over and done.

A year or so elapses after that tragedy. Rosmersholm is in mourning. Stray sensation mongers no doubt had whispered during the past few months that Beata was not really mad but Rosmer's thinking only had made it out to be so: that, further, she killed herself in distraction and despair because of the indifference of her husband towards her. However the traditional respectability of the Rosmer's weathers the storm successfully enough. The tongue of scandal silences itself in the long run. Beata's brother, Kroll, the leader of the reactionary group in local politics, stands by his brother-in-law with courageous largeness of heart. The curtain rises.

Rector Kroll pays rather an unexpected visit to Rosmer. He comes with a mission. He is much disturbed by the rapid ascendancy of the forces of disorder and revolution witnessed in recent months. The radical organ 'The Beacon' edited by the pest of the community, Peter Mortensgard, is subverting the minds of the ignorant school children. The Rector's own son is giddy with revolutionist maxims: and Mrs. Kroll, incredible as it may sound, actually sides with her son. This is Rector Kroll's tale of woe. Now he comes to the proposed remedies. A purely conservative newspaper is desideratum number one: that it should be edited by one whose personal honesty is above suspicion is desideratum number two. The first is achieved already, Kroll having just then effected the purchase of 'The Country News': but, as for the second, there is some difficulty in pitching upon a suitable person. Would Johannes Rosmer mind shouldering the responsibility of conducting the paper? Indeed could one better be found? The whole neighbourhood knows and esteems and reveres Rosmer's uprightness, humanity, his 'delicacy of mind,' 'his unimpeachable honour,' his severe honesty. In his conscience Rosmer owes it to himself, to the hoary traditions of his House and to the community to step courageously on the arena and save society from the impending storm. Rector Kroll has come to the end of his recital.

Rebecca's long awaited psychological moment has come. What use is it nourishing a hopeless love for Rosmer if a year after Beata's death her memory is so powerfully poignant in him that he cannot still dare to go over the bridge, the bridge from which Beata leapt into the mill stream? She cannot reckon upon winning Rosmer's love: he does not, can never, love her. Let her at least try if her original purpose can be carried out. She goes to Rosmer and urges him to 'declare' himself to Kroll. The ordeal must be gone through sooner or later: Why should Rosmer miss this chance? Rosmer, in broken accents, in pathetic trepidation of his heart, 'does' it. Kroll is thunderstruck. 'This was the unkindest cut of all!' In vain he exercises the conservative spirit of Rosmersholm; in vain with pedagogic repetition does he expatiate on the dangers strewed on the path of Liberalism; leaning on the hard and unbreakable rigidity of Rebecca, Rosmer stands firm. When Kroll abuses and threatens him, Rosmer quietly shows him the door. The rupture is complete.

Rosmer's faith in the importance of his mission and cock-sureness of the pivotal part he is to play in the movement for the liberation of men from the mumbo-jumbo of tradition and convention, are shaken too. In the first place, Rosmer had only to 'declare' himself, when all the energy he had been deluded into believing himself to be in possession of, became as nothing. Rosmer is converted no doubt and the world knows that too: but he has not the zeal nor that implicit faith in his own capacity which alone could spur him on to activity and to the task of the reformation of the world. In the second place, Kroll in a subsequent interview, insinuates and makes Rosmer believe that the real cause of Beata's death is traceable to his own treatment of her. Not Kroll only but the whole body of conservative opinion in the neighbourhood accuses Rosmer of having been the indirect cause of his wife's death. Rosmer cannot understand all this. Could his once dear friends stoop so low as all that? Could they have the

heart to calumniate him in this hideous fashion merely because he thinks like them no longer? But, after all, what if Kroll had spoken the truth? Did Beata die in full possession of her faculties,—and just for the sake of smoothing up things for Rosmer—that he might conveniently marry Rebecca and with her pursue his crusade of world regeneration? Perhaps, perhaps, thinks Rosmer. Then, he is innocent no more of his wife's death? Alas, no. A severe gloom, an impenetrable melancholy, envelops the man. He is innocent no more! The spectre of the woman being swept into the mill stream—of Love rehabilitating itself by one great Sacrifice—of white horses heralding further disaster—of remorse, pity, despair—all in the person of the dead Beata, rise up in troubled disorder, and agitate his entire being. In a frenzy of despair he asks Rebecca if she could not unite herself with him. She shrieks, a spontaneous shriek of joy: but she knows that this joy is not to be,—ought not to be hers. The strange irony of her life is now approaching its quintessential crystallisation. She who in the full plenitude of her wonderful intellectual equipment shutting out conscience and consideration alike with a dictatorial snap has undergone in herself a wondrous transformation. Coming to vanquish Rosmer, she has at last been vanquished by him, rather, as she puts it, by the Rosmer view of life. No more for her the palm of leadership which grudgingly she would divide with Rosmer: no more for her also the connubial bliss offered now by Rosmer in his proposal for marriage: her indomitable spirit has been broken quite by her long association with Rosmer. Rosmer, amiable but grave, conscientious but not over-intelligent, who has never once laughed in his lifetime, always quiet, solemn, sedate, who rarely expresses an opinion and when he does so, does ever so mildly and unassumingly, such a man, impossible as it must seem to everybody and most of all to Rebecca, has with the art of alchemists—the philosopher's stone of his personal integrity—transmuted the base metal of her worldly ambition and passionate yearning, to the

noble gold of heroism, the courage to sacrifice herself if need be in order to save the man she loves still with a heavenly longing. No, she could not stand shoulder to shoulder with Rosmer in his endeavour to establish the Third Empire : she could not marry him. But she could do one thing incomparably superior to either : she could give him back his 'innocence.' This she forthwith does, directly and plainly, by confessing all, by taking away from him the last shred of doubt that in any way he had been guilty of Beata's death. She absolves him.

Rosmer is shattered also. He is depressed. He hurriedly goes to Kroll and others and makes it up with them. The rupture is to cease. He returns home. He finds Rebecca on the point of leaving Rosmersholm once and for all. He asks her why she confessed her all to him that day. She says it was because she loved him and because she wanted him to regain his faith in himself and thereby nerve himself to be in readiness to lead the world on to liberty and happiness. He refuses to believe this plausible and true explanation of her conduct. He asks her if she would be prepared "to go the way Beata went," to prove her love to Rosmer: then would he be sure of his mission and set about the due discharge of it. She eagerly jumps at the suggestion : yes, she would, that very night, to be sure. But immediately the broken, goodnatured Rosmer recognises the futility and inadequacy of such sacrifices. But there is no going back for her : "I am under the dominion of the Rosmersholm view of life—*now*. What I have sinned it is fit that I should expiate."—Rosmer understands. He takes the measure of Rebecca's sacrifice and resolves to sacrifice himself as well. He says : "Rebecca, now I lay my hand on your head—and I wed you as my true wife." They are one now in their determination : they understand each other perfectly. The wife goes with the husband and the husband with the wife. They go gladly braving the severest that lies before them. For the rest, the graphic description

of Madame Helseth, the servant of the Rosmers, is given here in full :

“ O. good God ! that white thing there..... !
 My soul ! They are both of them out on the bridge !
 God forgive the sinful creatures...aren't they
 Now in each other's arms ? Yes. Oh.....down...
 Both of them, down ! Out into the mill race,
The dead wife,—has taken them.”

And that is the end.

The next play of Ibsen's '*The Lady from the Sea*,' stands somewhat apart from the rest of his plays. Not only is its conclusions 'happy' but even its treatment has certain peculiarities not met with in the other plays. But by far the greatest interest should centre round the theoretical aspect of the play. A study of the previous work of Ibsen had given rise in the minds of his readers to some vague misconceptions. Ibsen's view-point about Ideals had not been understood with the requisite clarity and therefore, in '*The Lady from the Sea*,' Ibsen goes into the root of the question. How do ideals originate in a particular individual ? It is this question that is answered in the character sketch of Ellidda. Though the explanation, apparently, is intended only to make Ellidda comprehensible, it has a much vaster significance undoubtedly. Mrs. Alving, Gregers, Rebecca, Ellidda, all in passionate quest of the Ideal, have an undeniable common ground wherein their Ideals, differing considerably of course with their variant organisms, had fertilised and assumed full shape. Their common ground—in fact, the common ground of all Idealists—is the prevalence of an unalterable unhappiness. Unhappiness and wretchedness are not the exclusive heritage of the poor. In certain of their innumerable manifestations they afflict as well indeed, with severer malignity, the very rich and the very powerful. Luxury breeds boredom, which is only another word for misery,—a misery made more miserable by the fact, this misery is misinterpreted by many as heavenly bliss : power, too, generates in

thinking souls that lofty dissatisfaction with their own efforts,—their utter futility while yet in the seat of power,—and that naked pessimism that derives kings to the forests or to the beautiful heights of the mountains to be engulfed by an avalanche. Ibsen would in these plays seem to maintain what is after all commonly accepted that our Ideals are nurtured and worshiped more as an escape from the sordidness of the hourly urgency of the seething, miserable life around us, than on account of anything preternatural about themselves: however, there is this difference, that few could be found who would have the courage to admit the sinister truth to themselves. Mr. A. knows that the Ideals of all other men and women on earth are illusions, only *lies and superstitions*, meant to beguile the mind to seeming happiness and contentment. But what Mr. A does not know, or knowing will not admit to himself, is that he is himself one among the many, as eagerly clutching to his heart *his* Ideal and as sincerely ascribing to it divine omnipotence as *they* do with respect to *their* ideals. For once Mr. A takes this courageous step the dream castles of his fond imagination would vanish instantly to insubstantial nothingness. While in this sense Ibsen has propounded no new theory about Ideals, there is another aspect of his teaching which is indubitably his own. It is this: while the urgency and stress of life around may make you miserable, your Ideals, though they may produce an illusion, and a transitory and a temporary one at that, will not take you far, and sometimes, indeed more often than not, may positively lead you not merely to greater unhappiness but it may even strand you in unutterable chaos. To demonstrate this thesis two things have to be proved: first, that blind allegiance to Ideals ultimately makes life even less worth living than it actually is, and second, that the only hope for idealists is, after having once made a terrible mess of things, to learn better, throw their precious Ideals overboard and return to normal, though almost always rather unsavoury life, like good and sensible folk. They could attain even this moderate happiness only

at the expense of the Ideals. In his earlier dramas Ibsen had followed the first mode of demonstration with such calculated insistence on the tragic outcome of Ideals, inordinately and unintelligently pursued, that he had literally turned some of his crises, that in '*Ghosts*' and '*Rosmersholm*' especially, terrific, impossible, intolerable. In '*The Lady from the Sea*' he attempts and with striking success the second and in fact complementary mode of demonstration. It is a pity that this central point has been so scandalously missed by a whole host of eminent critics that one of them has had the effrontery to remark : "*Fruen fra Havet (The Lady from the Sea)* 1889, is the weakest of the author's works : not only does the author repeat himself, but the action is almost overcome by elements of symbolism and suggestion that are grafted upon it." It is certainly not his weakest play : none of Ibsen's plays is weak ; they are either strong, stronger or strongest. '*The Lady from the Sea*' is one of his very strong plays. It is the very reverse of repetition, as has been explained above : as to its being submerged under symbolism and suggestion, it is true, though the effect of it is far from what the critic makes it out to be : symbolism and suggestion make it powerful on the one hand and highly poetic on the other. In its subject matter it is a necessary footnote, an indispensable gloss, to his earlier plays : in its style and technique it is admirable, poetic, fantastic, nevertheless with the ring of reality and plausibility ever ringing in one's ears from beginning to end.

The story is told in a few words. Ellidda and a seaman in a moment of innocent frolic throw their rings into the sea at the same time, this voluntary and almost silly act being in their eyes symbolic of nothing less than their marriage. But soon the seaman is obliged to fly away from her, being guilty of a crime. Ellidda after a short interregnum marries a well-to-do doctor whose daughter by his first wife does all the housekeeping leaving nothing for the new wife to interest herself with. Petted by her fond amiable husband and surrounded by all that

money can give her, she leads a life of high luxury. In a short time she is bored with her supposed sufficiency : her ennui drives her to sheer desperation. She has absolutely nothing to do in the house : her only daughter, who would have yet given her something to think of and work for, dies, leaving her literally forlorn. She thereupon resorts to the favourite occupation of all professional idlers—brooding. Ellidda broods, day in day out, from morn till night. Imperceptibly she becomes in course of time the slave of an idea : this strange idea dominates her : she thinks she has discovered at last the clue to the positive insufficiency, the glaring incompleteness in her life. This idea is that man having chosen rightly or wrongly to live on land has imprinted in his mind in greater or lesser measure a definite yearning for union with land's counterpart, the sea. This is an idea difficult to grasp. But on that score it should not be branded a mad idea. To Ibsen this idea had tangible meaning as it had to the seafaring people of Norway. In any case this is just one more among a host of ideals caricatured or exposed by Ibsen. Be that as it may, the lady from the sea, as Ellidda had better be called, broods on this, her enforced separation from the thing so near her heart, broods over her misfortune interminably, hoping, despairing, time and again grimly chuckling within herself. Her husband is a phantom to her now, a stranger : her place in her husband's home exists only in name, a mere figment of the doctor's imagination. Ellidda thinks of the sea, lives in thoughts directly concerned with it ; her other personality is totally submerged under the domination of this fantastic ideal.

At last an incredible thing happens, incredible to everybody except Ellidda. The *other* husband, whom she had long ago married by the simple act of simultaneously flinging their rings into the sea, bursts upon the scene and without much ceremony demands her as his own. To her this appears logical enough : this is exactly the preordained conclusion of all her brooding meditations. She tells her husband that her ideal

claims her and that she must leave him. The distracted doctor expostulates : he thinks her mad. She sticks to her purpose. The triangle spins for sometime in incredible extravagance. The seaman would take her only if she comes of her own accord : On the other hand whether she is locked up in the doctor's house or despatched with her lover, the fact remains, says Ellidda that the seaman alone has her soul : the doctor knows not what to do. After a good deal of aimless and irresponsible talk, the doctor cuts a long story short by saying that she may do what she likes either be mistress in the house of the man who so dearly loves her and will ever love her, or ruin her life irretrievably by throwing herself upon the fearful seaman. In a flash she takes stock of his situation. The spell of the ideal is broken as if by the wave of a magician's wand. She knows now that her place is only in the doctor's house. The seaman is sent away, consciousness dawns upon poor Ellidda's mind and she now knows the real clue to her past misery. She must work : that was what she had never done and what she must now do. As befits her position, she immediately takes upon herself the duties of keeping the doctor's household and applies herself from that moment to the proper, meticulous discharge of the same.

In his next play, '*Hedda Gabler*' Ibsen returned to his favourite theme. '*The Lady from the Sea*' an interlude though a brilliant one, had served its purpose. It had reminded men that ideals, if given up sufficiently early, do not lead to tragic denouements: it had done this effectively and finally. But the other mode of demonstration was capable of infinite differentiation in theme and treatment. '*Hedda Gabler*' is one of the most perfect of dramatic creation in all literature. The chief character in the play is a woman. She has affinities with Rebecca and also with Ellidda: but the resemblance in either case does not penetrate deep into the flesh. For the character of Hedda is an unique phenomenon. The only child of a defunct General, beautiful, spoiled, impulsive Hedda has

inherited from her father his dangerous soldierly qualities. She like Ellidda is ever consumed by ennui: her prescription for remedying this is not a wedding of the sea but incessant, exciting adventure, of some form or other. For one thing she dances as often as suitable partners are forthcoming. For the rest, as an outlet from her incomprehensible melancholy, she establishes a kind of companionship with one Lovborg, a rake and a genius in one, who lets her see only that part of himself which is disreputable, ugly nevertheless interesting and adventurous. She is fascinated by the recital which goes on from day to day: being too frivolous a being she cares nought for that side of Lovborg which has in it infinite potentialities for expanse of the right sort. They are both playing blind man's bluff with each other: she secretly yearns after similar experiences but her devotion to accepted canons of propriety puts down all such unworthy desires with an iron hand. On the other hand, Lovborg rightly enough interprets her absorption in his own adventures as partial acceptance of such behaviour. It is clear this kind of thing could not go on for ever and in fact it does before long come to a tragi-comic termination. In one of his chats she shows herself to be slightly more sympathetic than usually and this he takes as sufficient guarantee of her response and hence he ventures to make advances to her seriously and quite lovingly. For a second or two Hedda's mind wavers. Is it better to yield uncomplainingly to the fascinations and romance of this man and thereby follow the inward promptings of her virgin instinct or to take offence at his daring impudence in trying to lure her away from her chaste stand on virginity? Anyhow, the iron hand is for the last time commissioned to put down her natural promptings: and with mock, infuriated and scandalised pride she rushes towards him threatening to shoot him if he ventures to move one step further. Thus ends her first exciting experience.

Another period of unparalled boredom sets in. After a good deal of hesitation she chooses to marry a well-meaning

but otherwise not in any way distinguished research student, who has expectations of being appointed professor. George Tesmen and Lovborg had been competitors in their university days. While Lovborg went from bad to worse with all his brilliance, his mediocre friend, with his unflagging industry, had received plenty of academic honours, as usually happens. Lovborg, sometime after his affair with Hedda, takes charge of the education of the children of the Sherriff Elvstead. Here he comes in contact with Mrs. Elvstead with whom he immediately set up an intellectual comradeship. Thea is the counterpart of Hedda: between themselves they rock poor Lovborg to and fro, between the extreme of rapid intellectual ascendancy and of pitiable infatuation leading to drink, debauchery and despair. Between themselves, too, they seal the fate of this remarkable man.

When the play opens this is how matters stand. After a long tour subsequent to their marriage, the Tesmens have just arrived at the house, which has been purchased specially to satisfy the uppish and refined Hedda. But this house does not interest her at all: the family nurse, Bertha, offends the aristocratic susceptibilities of the late General Gabler's daughter. To her cost, during the foreign tour, Hedda had been bored to death by her husband's mediocrity, his eternal talk about the domestic industries of Brabant during the middle ages, and his too unnatural obsequiousness towards her. Her husband's two aunts, the one dying and the other passionately affectionate, by their very cordiality and solicitude for the Tesmens' welfare exasperate the rebellious Hedda to a pitch of indignation only slightly lessened and alleviated by the fashionable and charming talk of Judge Brack, and of her former admirers, and one to whom her husband is now indebted in money matters. Pleased as she is with his delightful manners, she decides to keep him always at arm's length. All this happens within a few hours after Let, Tesmens' arrival in their newly acquired residence. While things are like this

here, in the Sherriff's house certain startling developments have taken place. Thea and Lovborg get on together for a time very well indeed. He actually publishes a book on the history of civilization which makes him famous and puts a good sum of money into his pockets. He has also, inspired and helped with a singleness of devotion by Thea, prepared another thesis 'dealing with the future,' which is written in Thea's own handwriting and which both are proud to call 'their child.' During these months Lovborg has become a very good boy in everything: not that he cares very much to be so but he has noticed how it pains the good Thea though she ever takes the greatest pains to hide her feelings. In this manner she reforms him by the very force and emphasis of her magnificent silence. As with his affair with the bewitching Hedda, whose memory, the glint of whose glance, during all these months at the Elvsteads he has been unable wholly to wipe out—those mischievous eyes and the little hand that pointed to his breast the pistol ever breaking in upon the Elysian equanimity of his life with Thea...this state of affairs is too beautiful, too evanescent to last for ever. In one pocket his manuscript and in the other the gold his latest book has brought him, Lovborg runs away from Thea to the rush and romance awaiting him in the city. Thea is perturbed: her dear lover has flown away and to Hell beset with temptations of every kind. She leaves her husband without a word and takes the road to where her lover is. She comes to the city also. It so happens she had once been a school mate of Hedda's: hearing of her arrival recently she hurries to her and requests the Tesmens to invite Lovborg to their house and thus keep him away from drink. Tesmen readily and his wife with dark sinister motives consent to the excellent proposal and the letter of invitation is speedily despatched.

From this point onwards Hedda controls more or less the movement of the play. Learning of the metamorphosis in Lovborg's career no less than in his character, achieved in the

main by the silent endeavours of Thea, Hedda's jealousy and rage know no bounds. It is the meaningless rage of those who can do nothing and whose only business is to stir up the kettle all day long, and whenever an opportunity presents itself, to clutch it with fiendish glee and work upon it with unscrupulous obstination. Hedda would do now two things: she would drive away her ennui by immediately subscribing to the creed of evil-doing. She would turn Lovborg back into the path of vice and drink: she would with this self-same stroke of diplomacy demolish the things Thea has accomplished. Possessed with the demonic will of another Rebecca, she proceeds with her work of destruction with astute balance of mind. While dining with Lovborg and Thea, she quite casually insinuates that Thea is afraid that her lover Lovborg may take to drink: in other words, that Thea has not full faith in the permanence of Lovborg's transformed mode of life. This villainous insinuation and a taunting exhortation asking him to join a party at the Judge's, produce the necessary spark that is anon to reduce the whole edifice of Thea's work to ashes. Lovborg, smarting under Thea's ungenerous attitude towards him and unable to bear Hedda's taunts anymore, runs to the Judge's. Here he gets tipsy, as Thea had feared, and delivers an incoherent speech about many things, particularly emphasising the importance of his forthcoming book on 'Civilization in the Future' and ascribing almost the whole of its inspirational authorship to a lady whose and his own child the book in effect was. When the party breaks up Lovborg, still off his mind, wanders aimlessly in the streets and loses the manuscript. As luck would have it, this is picked up by Tesmen who takes it to his wife and leaves it in her keeping. In the meantime Lovborg has become sober, finds out his irreparable loss, and comes to the Tesmens' and tells Hedda and Thea that he had torn up the manuscript to a thousand small bits and thrown them into the *ffjord*. Thea shrieks: her child then has come to such a pitiable extinction! She has no more business there at

the Tesmens'. She leaves the room abruptly. After her departure, Lovborg tells Hedda the truth about the matter. But the woman does not return the manuscript. She offers him one of her father's pistols instead, advising him to "do it" beautifully, by which phraseology she means that he should shoot himself in such a manner that the bullet may enter his seat of intelligence,—his temple. The weapon had been aimed at him once: it would be only in the fitness of things that the work, by it begun, is completed. He promises and takes leave of her.

Immediately, in the consciousness that she has the 'child' in her own power, she laughs a tigress's laugh and without an iota of remorse burns the entire book saying exultantly at intervals: "Now I am burning your child, Thea!—Your child and Lovborg's. I am burning—I am burning your child."

This part of her work satisfactorily accomplished she feels elated: after all even she has done something tangible, something to feel quite proud of.

So proud indeed she is, and so gay, that she is rather ruffled when she hears of the death of the elder of the aunts; she has to be in mourning, willy-nilly. When Tesmen asks her about the manuscript she quickly acknowledges that she has burnt "every line of it"—because she was afraid that on the merits of this book alone Lovborg might wrest the professorship from Tesmen. She did it for love of her husband. Monstrous as her action appears to be in Tesmen's eyes, the magical word 'love' throws dust into his eyes and his joy in having such a faithful wife actually sends him to the eleventh heaven of ineffable happiness. He desires to tell his aunt what a paragon of a woman had fallen to his lot, to be his lifelong partner. "That you love me so much, Hedda—aunt Julia must really share my joy in that!" The irony is terribly tragic.

Fresh thrills are in store for the exquisite thrills-huntress, Hedda Gabler. Judge Brack, the untiring lover, comes with a whole "pack of information. He reports about the death of

Lovborg. Death, he has to call it, for none can say definitely whether it was murder or suicide. It had happened in Mademoiselle Diana's boudoir where he had gone to demand the delivery of his manuscript, thinking that it had been lost there the previous night. Either the pistol went off by itself or the dare-devil Diana should have taken his pistol, shot him and placed it back in his breast pocket. Hedda had been hoping against hope that Lovborg would indeed 'do it' beautifully, thus giving her the sense of freedom "to know that a deed of deliberate courage is still possible in the world." This ideal crashes into atoms when Brack docilely recounts the ugly and unpalatable details of Lovborg's death: how,—most ugly of all,—the bullet had entered his bowels. He makes her understand also that the pistol in Lovborg's possession at the time of his death had been abstracted by the police authorities and how they are investigating into the matter. Casually he confesses that he knows that the pistol was Hedda's but that he would certainly not say anything about it to the authorities and cause a scandal about her to rise. She knows that either she should ever be this unscrupulous creature's pliable victim or he would at any moment rake up a most detestable scandal. To add to her bitter chagrin her rival Thea is not cowed down at all: she is sitting with Tesmen, poring over the rough notes in her keeping out of which the final manuscript of Lovborg's had come into being, and discussing ways and means as to how the lost book could be best resuscitated. Tesmen is consumed by this one desire: he says with naive determination: "We must manage it. Arranging other people's papers is just the work for me." So then the child is to come again into the world: and Thea and Tesmen are to work together at it.

What is to become of Hedda then? Well, Judge Brack will be amenable enough to come to her every blessed evening and talk away the whole time. They could go on capitally together, they two! But not for the irrepressible Hedda such slavish existence: her fiery spirit could not envisage the bare

thought of the unending autocracy of Judge Brack's overmastering companionship. She has no place under the sun now: Judge Brack a present nuisance and potential danger, her only lover out of the world, her ideal shattered, her rival not a bit perturbed but getting on 'capitally' with her own husband, with everything and everybody out of tune with her sentimental agitation, she feels that the only absolutely final thing she ought to do, is to utilise at least the second of General Gabler's pistols in the discharge of a glorious mission. In a word she herself "does it" beautifully: she shoots herself in the temple. She has had the courage to do that. She has had the courage to live up to her ideal, a shabby and dangerous ideal though it was. Brack is pathetically brought back to the world of reality. His slippery illusion of evening flirtations bids good bye to him: he cries in the anguish of disappointed hopes—"Good God—people don't do such things." Yes, people don't do such things: but neither are they all Hedda Gablers. But given a character of the type of Hedda's and assuming the persistent claim of ideals upon her, her final act is intrinsically and indisputably logical. Thus ends the mad career of one of the most tantalising creations of Ibsen, perhaps the most tantalising of them all.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

(To be continued.)

DEVELOPMENT OF JĀTAKA-VATTHU OR PROSE STORY

The term Jātaka in the sense of a new-born child applies very appropriately to such passages suiting Buddhism as were chosen by its earlier teachers from the floating literature in verse existing as Akkhānas or Akkhāyikā (Akkhānan ti Bhārata Rāmāyanādi—Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Digha-Nikāya). It will be further evident from the several ways in which Jātaka nomenclature was made from time to time and also from the fact that its number has varied with the facts of some overlapping those of others increasingly as time went on,¹ that a bigger Jātaka which itself was a selected piece was reducible to more than one pieces each of which would yet be a Jātaka and *vice versa*. Thus, the Jātaka piece known under the designation of Vitura Puṇakiya Jātaka in the Stupa of Bhārhut and agreeing with 'Vidhura Puṇṇa Jātaka' in the Milinda Pañha was eventually divided into two Jātakas, *viz.*, 'Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka' in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā and 'Puṇṇaka Jātaka' in Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya (P.T.S., P. 42, Part II). Conversely, the combination of several Jātakas one of which is definitely the Yavamajhakiya Jātaka of Bhārhut Stupa,² is evident in the Mahāummagga Jātaka of Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā (F. VI. P. 365). Our definition of the term Jātaka is further corroborated by the fact, the full signification of which few seem to be cognizant of, that they are found arranged in Nipātas (collections) not according to the nature or size of the stories but according to the size (*i.e.*, number) of the verses each was composed of. It was the verse portion that was uppermost in the minds of old Pāli scholars when grouping them in the Jātaka

¹ C. F. Alamphusā Jātaka (No. 523 F. V. P. 152) and Naṇini Jātaka (No. 526 F. V. P. 193).

² A Pañcapaṇḍitajātaka of F. IV. No. 508, p. 473,

book in which they vary from a single verse up to several hundreds. Herein, indeed, is to be found the justification for the repetition of the same stories which having verses of different types are really different Jātakas and as such are not repetitions being the production of unskilful old fools in their attempt to provide examples for a large number of different existences of the Bodhisatta.¹

Leaving sufficient room for amplification and interpolations the number of Jātakas each of which could merge into a bigger one or be subdivided into smaller ones, would not be fixed. A Jātaka being 'the chanted summing up of the story or of an episode in it' lost for the most part in oral tradition their collection in the Jātaka book has, as a matter of fact, in the process indicated above, gone on increasing from the earliest time onwards, for example, while it numbered 500 at the time of 'Culla Niddesa' in the second century B.C., at the time of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century A.D. it increased by 50 being 550 (*vide* Samantapāsādikā—Introduction).

The Jātakas as a collection of selected verses go back to the very origins of the Sākya doctrine² and their antiquity will not preclude the possibility of a prose interpretation in the light of their progenitor following them from the very beginning. Though, there is ample evidence in support of the fact that ancient Indian literature was in verse, more so folk-lore called Akkhānas, the Buddha, who is said to have enjoined his disciples not to use them in practical life (*Taṃ akkhānaṃ yasmin thāne kathiyati tattha gantum na vattati*—Commentary on the Digha Nikāya) could not have entirely done away with their application and in the absence of developed Buddhist literature must have had recourse to such passages from these Akkhānas as seemed helpful to the propagation of his Doctrine of Ahimsā and Karma mixing them with his own interpretations for safeguarding against

¹ "In this book we are given—crudely, childishly though it be—the life history of the individual man;" ... Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Birth Story of the Buddha*, p. 19.

² 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jātakas,' C. R., July, 1930.

the influx of vulgar ideas and misconceptions. These interpretations augmented and modified by various other hands supplied the prose of the Jātakas from the time of their origin onwards.

The Jātakas from full stories which were already known, required little effort on the part of the Buddhist teachers to convey the moral lesson implied by them before their respective hearers, thus affording an explanation as to why these interpretations originally remained for the most part implicit rather than explicit. A little verbal explanation here and there was sufficient to guard against the approach of misconceived vulgarity.

After a close study of its history in different parts of the world it cannot be denied, that Buddhism which primarily grew up as a system of intellectual revolt against blind prejudice and conventionalism in all spheres of life social, political and religious, is a living organism which assimilating the most rational thoughts of every age and clime, has progressed onwards stoutly refusing to be stereotyped however much the orthodox school might preach to the contrary. The growth of a vast number of commentaries nay, commentaries of commentaries on canonical works is a sufficient testimony to this fact. (*Vide* Pāli literature in Burma—Mabel Bode.) With the passing of days these interpretations on Jātakas in the shape of stories underwent modification and had to be written down and definitely explained in the light of changing circumstances which to bring to a successful issue the attempt of scholars from time to time provided sufficient clue to the gradual development of the Jātaka-Vatthu or prose.

In discussing the function of Jātakas we have already observed in a previous article (Original Nature of Jātakas—C.R., January, 1930) that they were primarily meant to serve as moral lessons as viewed by the early Sākya teachers. The doctrine of rebirth in consequence of one's wilful actions found a very strong support from them and in this fertile Sakya mentality the seed of this doctrine found an exuberant growth with the result that to check the growing practice of taking life,

be it of an animal or of a human being¹ the antidote in the shape of the Doctrine of Karma coupled with that of Ahimsa was once more sought on the holy soil of India and preached by the Sakya teachers with a vigour the like of which she perhaps never witnessed before or after. In all walks of life—social, political and religious a new spirit was infused into the body-politic making every soul alive to its pulsation which vibrated in perfect harmony with the note that once rang through the religious sky of ancient India accepting the doctrine of God in everything and feeling oneness in all (स तन्मयो हि ब्रह्मतः, etc.).²

The menace of life-killing materialism was once more crushed with unceasing vehemence to make room for culture and progress centered in India's civilisation and national degeneration and death were averted in what is known as the renaissance of religion that followed in the wake of Buddhism.

Man was made entirely responsible for his action. He was to enjoy or suffer according as he did good or bad deeds in this world. His past determining his present and his present shaping his future he went on aimlessly through an endless round of rebirths until again born as a man he attained 'Nirvana' by self-sacrifice and knowledge.

'Jātakas' drawn from popular 'Akkhānas' served for the most part as illustrations of this renewed phase of the Indian doctrine of rebirth. The Buddha better designated as Bhagavā Sākyamuni was merely the spokesman of the Jātaka characters who were not only examples of their past deeds but were also linked up with people of his time mostly among the disciples. Bhagavā also had his place in this system that assigned to him a degree of superiority never to be gained by an ordinary mortal. The 'Lakkhaṇa Suttanta' of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Jātaka stories in the Mahāvastu are apt illustrations of this fact.

¹ 'Mayham piyā puttā attāhi piyo tumhe ca bhariyayo Saggā ca patthayāno tena-mahaṃ ghātayissāmi ti' (J. 542, VI, p. 151). Thus expresses a father king when about to sacrifice his son for his own attainment of heaven.

² Swetasvatara Upanishad, VI. 17. 18.

Other Bhāgavās had preceded him in earlier days and he also came and passed away like them quite unlike an ordinary individual having to undergo the training or mental progress under the law of Karma. In fact, he was kept far above Karma the application of which was not necessary so far as his person was concerned, for it was always devoted to the welfare of all beings. That which regulated his repeated births was his own will or 'abhinihāra.' Even long before his birth as Gotama he could say with authority :

Ahaṃ jāgarataṃ sutto, ahaṃ suttesu jāgaro
ahaṃ etaṃ vijānāmi, ahaṃ patibhanāmi te

—J. 404 III, p. 404.

“ Where others are active I am inactive and am active where others do not act (lit. sleep). This do I know myself and shall speak to you in return.” Bowing down unto his holy feet led to a state of happiness here and hereafter.

श्रुत्वा परार्थां विदधत् विधातृजित् तमो निरस्यन् अभिभूत भानुभृत् ।

तुदत् निदाघं जितचारु चन्द्रमा स वन्दतेऽहं इह यस्य नोपमा ॥

—Asvaghosa.

Literature of every description was exploited to widen the field of Jātaka literature consisting of selections from different types of verses in agreement with the standpoint of the Sākya doctrine.¹ But, though the Jātakas were selections it was not always possible to shape them in every respect conforming to the changed angle of vision taken up by Buddhism. Being mere cuttings they required on this very score an interpretation, as thought advisable by the Buddhist teachers, preserved for the most part by words of mouth and therefore, variable under

¹ H. Oldenburg has used the Jātakas in support of his famous, though now no longer accepted “ Akkhana-theory” (Journal of P. T. S. 1910-1912, pp. 19 ff) claiming them as proving the existence from Vedic period onwards of a type of narrative poetry, etc., etc.

—M. Winternitz, Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1928,

varying circumstances. The importation of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory into the Jātaka collection as a whole brought about a hopeless if not complete distortion of meaning of this verses though helping thereby the development of the prose in the 5th century A.D. in Ceylon.

To come to a concrete case, a comparison between the two versions of the same story based on a Jātaka as found in the Dhammapada Atthakathā and Jātaka Atthakathā will fully illustrate our point in the development of Jātaka prose. The particular Jātaka is 'Kulāvaka Jātaka' so named after the first word of the verse which runs thus :

Kulāvakā Mātali Simbalismim
isāmukhena parivajjayassu
Kāmaṃ cajāma asuresu pānam
ma-y-ime dijā vikulavā ahesun ti

Now, referring as the passage does to a characteristic of Indra, the king of gods, showing great consideration for the sanctity of animal life, a view also accepted in the literature of the pre-Buddhistic India, there can be little doubt as to its being culled out from floating folklore and adapted to illustrate the cult of Ahimsa in early Buddhism. A few cognate ideas about Indra from Purāṇas may be cited here. Indra is represented as creating trouble to stop Pṛthu from performing his celebrated horse and other animal sacrifices (Bhāgavat Purāṇa). The city of Indra is accessible only to those whose hearts are not tarnished by the thoughts of malice, hatred, lust, pride, etc. Even for his attitude of 'Ahimsa' copied so much by non-Brahmanical schools Indra could not escape the slur cast on him by Brahmanical writers who say that the various forms he assumed to create difficulties in the sacrifice of Pṛthu were subsequently adopted by Buddhists, Jains and Kapalic sects (Bhāgavat Parāṇa).

The verse in question is the chanted summing up of the story of Indra or rather of an episode in it which is in the background. The 'Vatthu' as it is called, though it is difficult to

divulge its earliest form, is almost the same in both the works *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* and *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* so far as the main outlines are concerned, with this difference that while in the latter the artistic side has been developed, in the former the descriptive or the practical side for impressing the average mind has been worked out nicely in conformity with the Bodhisatta ideal. Both are intent upon showing the past merit of Indra by dint of which he attained his position of eminence which according to *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* is the final culmination and in the *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* is imperfect and defective.

Without much ado the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* (Vol. I, P. II, pp. 265-280) takes us immediately to the field of action of Magha, then, the Indra to be, in the beginning of the *Vatthu* in the following words :

“*Atīte Magadharatṭhe Macalagāme Magho nama mānavo gāma-kammakaraṇatṭhānam gantvā attano tiṭṭhanatṭhānam pādena paṃsum viyuhitvā ramaniyaṃ katvā aṭṭhāsi*”

But, when according to the *Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā* this young Brahman Magha was no other than the person of the Bodhisatta his early career was not to be touched upon so lightly and therefore in place of this short description it has the following :

“*Atīte Magadharatṭhe Rājagahe eko Magadharājā rajjam karesi. Tadā Bodhisatto yathā etarahi Sakko purime attabhāve Magadharatṭhe Macalagāmake mahākulassa putto hutva nibbatti nāmagahaṇa divase c’ assa Maghakumāro tv’ eva nāmaṃ akamsu. So vayappatto Maghamānavo ti paññāyittha’ Atha assa mātāpitaro samānajātiyaṃ kulato dārikam ānayimṣu. So Puttadhitāhi vaḍḍamāno dānapati ahosi, pañcasilāni rakkhati. Tasmim ca gāme tiṃsa eva kulāni honti, te ca tiṃsa kula-manussā ekadivasam gāmamajjhe ṭhatvā gāmakammaṃ karonti. Bodhisatto ṭhitatṭhāne pādehi paṃsum viyuhitvā taṃ padesaṃ ramaniyaṃ katvā aṭṭhāsi...*”

(*Jātaka No. 31, F.I., p. 199.*)

In the first place it pains one to find how heedlessly in the Jātaka Atthakathā the idea of Bodhisatta has been thrust upon the previous existence of Sakka, the permanent (ajarāmara) ruler of gods who did exist in the time of Bhagavā himself and can by no stretch of imagination be identified with his Bodhisatta so wisely shunned in the more scholarly work Dhammapada Atthakathā. In the Jātaka lines,

(1) "Assa Inda-samo rājā accantam ajarāmaro"

—J 433 F. III, p. 515.

(2) "Sahassanetto atulānubbhāvo

na miyyati dhammavaro kadāci

—J. 417 III, p. 426.

the idea about a permanent Indra as the ruler of gods is clear and bold.

As to the next discrepancy, we find in the extract from Dhammapada Atthakathā instead of thirty (tiṃsa) there were thirty-three (tettiṃsa akin to tāvatitiṃsa) who grew to be his friends one after another when he was actually doing the deeds of piety :

"Tato patthāya deve janā ahesum, te disvā tath'eva tath 'eva pucchitvā ca sutvā ca aparo ti tesam sahāyo jāto' evam aparo aparo pi te sabbe pi tetiṃsa janājātā"

(Dh. Atthakathā, Vol. I, P. II, pp. 266-267).

Thirdly, the grandeur of the city of gods wherein delights Indra is described in detail in the Dh. Atthakathā which begins thus from "Devāsura saṃgāme pana asuresu parājitesu...to... evaṃ mahantam yasam anubhavanto Sakko devarājā vicarati"—(Dh. Atthakathā, V. I, P. II, pp. 272-274). This compares favourably with that given in the Bhāgavat Purāṇa (Book VIII, Chap. 15th) and bears positive proof of the fact that the idea of Sakka in Buddhism was derived from pre-Buddhistic times. But, as luxury was incompatible with the regulated life of the Bodhisatta this description of the city of Indra has been dismissed in the Jātaka Atthakathā in only three or four words :

¹ Sakko, asurā kira utthitā ti sutvā samuddapīṭhe yeva abbhugantvā yujjhamāno
tehi parājito diyaḍḍhayojanasatikena Vijayantarathena dakkhina samuddassa matthaka-
matthakena palāyitum araddho—J.F., Vol. I, p. 202.

in pointing out the power and grandeur of the permanent king of gods raised to that eminence by merit alone. The former picture was yet to reach perfection while the latter was a stereotyped fulfilment of what had been accomplished in a past existence.

Now, this is only an instance in point to show how wildly speculation was rife as to the interpretations put on old Jātaka verses. Such instances might be multiplied by legion and need not be cited here.

The question which arises next is, how far these interpretations might be relied upon as belonging to the original Jātaka story. And for this we have certainly to go back to pre-Buddhistic conception of Indra and that preserved in the scattered Jātaka verses.

As early as the time of Rigveda, the Aryans of ancient India had conceived a picture of Indra which was indeed of a very lofty nature attributing to him even the power of the Almighty, though at times, it dwindled more towards his human than to his divine nature (Vedic India by Ragozin, pp. 199-200). He was the mightiest god whose adoration brought victory to warriors in battles and riches to commonfolk in life. But no attempt to paint his previous life preliminary to his rulership in heaven seems to have been made therein though in a particular hymn only a brief hint is given that he was an ordinary man doing good deeds on earth before he became Indra. The hymn is as follows: "Come O Indra, brotherHere thy friends have lived from oldest time; look now on thy later friends the youngest.....For thou wast our fathers' friend of old and willingly didst grant them their wishes.....We call on thee who dost not make thy ear deaf to our voice but hearst from afar.....For thou, O gracious one, hast always been both father and mother to us.....the most fatherly of fathers."

A few quotations from Jātakas will also testify to the fact that reminiscence of the Vedic Indra was still retained to a great extent at the time of their composition from folk-lore

literature. The following are among the most notable points mentioned in Indra's character :—

(1) Indra is recognised as the mighty conqueror of the demon Vitra being the father of all victors and has his seat in the hall of 'Sudhammā' after winning the hands of the heavenly damsel Alambhusā :

“Atha abravi brahā Indo Vatrabhu jayatam pitā
devakaññaṃ parābhetvā Sudhammāyaṃ Alambhusaṃ”

—J. 523 V, p. 153.

(2) He is looked upon as Bhutādhipa (the lord of all beings) as known to Nārada :

“Tā (āsā, saddhā, sirī, hiri) Nāradena
paramappakopitā
udiritā vaṇṇamadena mattā
sakāse gantvāna Sahassa cakkhuno
pucchimsu bhutādhipaṃ
kā mu seyyasi ti”

—J. 535 V, pp. 411-12.

(3) Indra appears as the custodian of virtue (dhamma) :

“Sahassanetto atulānubhāvo.
Na miyyati dhammavaro kadāci

—J. 417 III, p. 426.

(4) Honour to samaṇas and brahmans, liberality, meekness, self-restraint and equality of treatment constituted Indra's doctrine which led to a state of happiness after death :

“Ye kec' ime maccharino kadariyā
paribhāsakā samaṇabrāhmaṇānam
idh' eva nikkhippa sariradehaṃ
kāyassa bhedaṃ nirayaṃ vajanti
Ye kec' ime suggatiṃ āsasāna
Dhamme tthitā samyame samvibhāge
Idha nikkhippa sariradehaṃ
Kāyassa bhedaṃ suggatiṃ vajanti ti”

—J. 535 V, p. 391.

From the above it will be evident that the picture represented in Dhammapada Atthakathā is more akin to the traditional Indra than that represented in Jātaka Atthakathā though both have considerably deviated from the original.

With the rise of Buddhism assigning him a status no better than that of a virtuous devotee having the Buddha as his refuge, the high regard paid to Indra became considerably poorer as will be evident from the post-Jātaka Suttanta literature wherein he is depicted in the following manner :

However great or powerful he might be in the eyes of mortals of the earth, he was never tired of seeking for truth and religion which could give him the mental peace he required most and of meeting for that purpose various ‘Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas’ living in forests (ārañṇakā pantasenāsanā) who to his disappointment, became, after a conversation with him, his disciples instead of teachers. Finally, in extreme veneration he approached the Master with caution (lest he be displeased) and saluting him with bended head asked him questions regarding ‘Dhamma.’ On hearing the Doctrine he became fearless and as a devout disciple taking refuge with the Master he expressed himself thus :

“Apariyositasamkappo vicikiechi katham kathi
 Vicari digham addhānam anvesanto Tathāgataṃ
 Yāsu maññāmi samane pavivitta-vihārino
 Sambuddho iti maññāno gacchāmi te upāsituṃ
 Katham ārādhanaṃ hoti katham hoti virādhanaṃ
 Iti puṭṭhā na sambhonti magge paṭipadāsu ca
 Tyassu yadā maṃ jānanti Sakko devānam āgato
 Tyassu maṃ eva pucchanti kiṃ katvā pāpuni idaṃ
 Tesam yathā sutam dhammam desayāmi jane sutam
 Ten’ass’ attamanā honti dittho no Vāsavo ti ca
 Yadā ca Buddham addakkhim vicikiechā vitāraṇam
 So’mhi vitabhayo ajja Sambuddham payirupāsiyūṃ
 Taṇhā sallassa hantāram Buddham apaṭipuggalaṃ
 Aham vande mahāvīram vandāmi ādicca bandhunam”

—Sakka-pañba Suttanta of Digha Nikāya.

It is however admitted in the extract above that though sceptical and inquisitive Indra did possess some doctrine which pleased 'Samaṇas' and 'Brāhmaṇas' before meeting Buddha notwithstanding the passage maintaining an air of Buddhistic arrogance that runs throughout its length. The prose portion of this Suttanta admittedly later than the verse, stresses moreover the fact that the arising of the Buddha in the world was responsible for increase in the number of gods in Indra's heaven as the disciples were mostly reborn therein after death. But it cannot be denied that although bringing in Indra to the field the author of the Suttanta literature was not actuated by a pious desire to laud him up in the same scale as ancient folk-lore and only used his name with a view to popularising the special aspects of the doctrine of the Master. Therefore, it would not be a matter for surprise if turning on to the Jātaka-Vatthu or prose of a still later time in both Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā and Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, we find that the story of Indra is only a peg on which rests the moral of observing the five precepts which come so much in the fore-front that the main story fades into nothing. Thus, the original Jātaka-story of which the verse was the 'chanted summing up' illustrating Indra's greatness and regard for animal life dwindled in the fourth or fifth century A.D. into that of his humiliation while advocating the practice of what are technically known as 'Pañca Silas' in Buddhism.¹

Almost every Jātaka story has suffered more or less by the introduction of the Bodhisatta into it. We shall cite one more example. In the Kāka Jātaka (J. 146, Vol. I, pp. 497-98) we are told that a certain female crow perished in the waves of a sea; the male crows collected on the beach and out of revenge began to throw beak-fulls of sea-water on the land above in their effort to empty the sea of all water. But the water thus thrown out trickled down to the sea again. After a time, when their jaws began to ache they spoke the Jātaka :

¹ For the story please turn to pp. 193-208 in Fausbøll's edition of Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, and in P.T.S. Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, P. II, pp. 265-280.

Api nu hanukā santā, mukhaṇ ca parisussati
 Oramāma na pārema, purat' eva mahodadhī ti

Evidently they were about to retire at this stage when the Bodhisatta who was the sea-god at that time assumed a fearful form and dispersed them. Now, the part played by the Bodhisatta here is extremely ludicrous not to speak of his marring the simplicity and the effect of the whole story as if but for his intervention the poor sea would have been dried up by the mighty crows! In all deference to those who advocate Bodhisattaism in Jātakas may we ask: 'Did Bodhisatta in this existence perform a work of piety by saving the sea from the onslaught of crows?'

The intrinsic worth of many a Jātaka has been irretrievably lost in this way by the introduction of an unwanted Bodhisatta but for whom the main outlines of the 'Vatthu' would be original and trustworthy.

Generally speaking the growth of Jātaka prose, *i.e.*, the story proper depended largely on two main factors being (1) the nature or the type of the Jātaka itself and (2) its capacity for developing the Sākya religion in its diverse aspects. Hence Jātakas varied in size according as they bore on society, politics or religion. Topics referring to social matters or royal functions were generally cut short in as small compass as possible but those that seemed to help the establishment or propagation of the Doctrine either by way of criticism or support were unduly lengthened often to the point of exhaustion.

Examples of the first type are Jātakas like Gijjha Jātaka No. 164; Nakula Jātaka No. 165; Sakunagghi Jātaka No. 168; Rohini Jātaka No. 45, etc., which are contained in the greater part of the first, second and third volumes of Fausböll's edition while those of the second type being Jātakas like Citta-Sambhuta Jātaka No. 498, Sivi Jātaka No. 499, Campeyya Jātaka No. 506, Hatthipāla Jātaka No. 509, Sarabhaṅga Jātaka No. 522, etc., etc., comprise bulk of the fourth, fifth and sixth volumes.

The development of a Jātaka into a story replete with Paccuppannavatthu, Atitavatthu, Gāthā incorporating the Jātaka itself, Veyyākaraṇam and Samodhāna as a rule does not seem to have taken place even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa in the earlier part of the 5th century A.D. It appears from his commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya that the verse portion is reproduced when any reference is made to a Jātaka. The following are the examples :

(1) Titthiyānam pana Bāveru-jātake kākassa viya labhasakkāro parihāyittha. Yath' āha :

Adassanena morassa sikhino mañjubhānino

* * *

Atha labho ca sakkāro titthiyānam ahāyathā ti

(Majjhima N. Aṭṭhakathā, P.T.S.,
Part II, p. 3).

(2) Kin te vatam kiṃ pana brahmacariyam
kissa sucinnassa ayam vipāko

* * *

idañca nu dhira mahā vimānaṃ ti

imasmim hi Puṇṇaka Jātake dānam brahmacariyaṃ ti vuttam

(3) Mayaṃ ca bhariyā nātikkamāma
amhe ca bhariyā nātikkamanti
aññatra tāhi brahmacariyam carāma
tasmā ti amhaṃ daharū na miyare ti

Mahā-Dhammapāla Jātake sadārasantoso brahmacariyanti vutto

(M.N.A., Part II, pp. 42).

(4) Hinena brahmacariyena khattiye upapajjati
majjhimena ca devattam uttamena visujjhati ti

evam Nimi Jātake attadamanavasena kato atthaṅgiko upasatho
brahmacariyaṃ ti vutto

(Do. p. 42).

The portions from Jātakas thus quoted by Buddhaghosa not only testify to their forms being in verse but definitely prove that their avowed purpose was primarily the setting up of morals for

mankind. One noticeable feature in this connection is that whenever Buddhaghosa mentions any act of the Bodhisatta as narrated in a Jātaka story he does it by saying that such a thing happened in the time of the Bodhisatta born as so and so omitting the word Jātaka from his statement. Thus, referring to the story of 'Gandhāra Jātaka' he says 'Tathāgatassa Bodhisatta kāle pi evaṃ ahosi (M. N. A, Part II, pp. 382-84). Similarly with reference to the story of Sarabhaṅga Jātaka he observes 'Evaṃ Sarabhaṅgakale, etc.' There are also many other examples besides these two. Certainly, if the word 'Jātaka' had any significance of a birth story it would have been found attached to 'Bodhisatta' or his name instead of 'kāle.' That is, it would have been 'Bodhisatta Jātaka' instead of 'Bodhisatta kāle.' Evidently a wide distinction was maintained between the life story of the Bodhisatta and a 'Jātaka.'¹ Hence the study of how a 'Jātaka' came to be considered as a story of the Bodhisatta with the agglomeration of Paccuppana Vatthu, Atīta Vatthu, Veyyākaraṇa and Samodhāna becomes all the more interesting.

It is natural that any aspect of the Doctrine contained either in gāthā or a Jātaka or a Udāna to have an importance of its own must have some context as regards its author, recipient and purpose. In fact, every Suttanta developed on these principles making the exposition of some cardinal point or points of the Doctrine as the basis. The author of the discourse no other than the Teacher himself makes clear some points of the Doctrine with an elaborate exposition in certain circumstances that culminate in the conversion of the recipient taking refuge with the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The desire to preface a doctrine with a statement of circumstances leading to its pronouncement and for concluding it by recording the effort it produced on its hearers was predominant from the very beginning.

¹ This also agrees with our observation on the Jātakas of Milinda Pañha (Bhārhu-Jātakas in a new light.—C. R., August, 1929).

In literature the development of Jātakas into stories becomes evident for the first time in the especial Suttantas known as Mahā Apadāna, Mahā Govinda and Mahā Sudassana in the Digha Nikāya and Makhādeva in the Majjhima Nikāya. Though the real Jātaka and the story in each are greatly modified or lost they are clearly traceable all the same. The avowed object of these Suttantas is to belittle the previous existences of the Teacher however glorious they might have been in the past in order to show his final existence as Gotama Buddha the greatest of them all. This is not uncommon in India or be said to have been inspired by the Bodhisatta ideal in the least.

Ever since the beginning of her history India has particularly stuck to one common religious belief that in every age a teacher of religion is not only accepted by his disciples as God incarnate but as the greatest of all those who lived similar lives before him and the early Sākya disciples were in no respect much behindhand of this time-honoured custom. Believers in impersonal and omnipresent God explained it through the doctrine of incarnation but those who could offer nothing in common much less believe in such an idea had but one theory to advance their claim. This theory was that which later on developed as the 'Bodhisatta-Pāramitā-Cariya.' Deeply engulfed in the lofty personality and spiritual teachings of their master, the early Buddhists in the time of Suttantas while adhering to the belief that he was the best and the greatest of all previous manifestations had not as yet propounded the philosophy of his arising in the world or his disappearance.

The taking of infinite pains and sacrificing oneself for the good of all beings soon stood out to be the most prepondering ideal of Buddhism in which the hitherto cherished divine origin¹ of Sākya-muni was almost forgotten and there emerged

¹ Ten'ahu Porana :—

'Muhuttajāto va gavampati yathā
samehi pādehi phusi vasundharam
so vikkami satta padāni Gotamo

out of it the belief in the long long period of toilsome rebirths through which he had been making sacrifices in the cause of others and himself fit for attaining Supreme Wisdom.

“Kappe ca satasahassee caturo ca asankheyye
ettha antare yaṃ caritaṃ sabbam taṃ Bodhipācanaṃ”

—Cariyapiṭaka.

also

“Jātikotiśahasseehi pamānarahitaṃ hitaṃ
lokassa lokanāthena kataṃ yena mahesinā”

—Introduction to Jātakas.

Stories from Jātakas illustrating this part of his character were then selected and needless to say that the most enlightened ones were utilised for the purpose. They constituted the works known as the Cariya Piṭaka and Buddhavaṃsa and underwent during the process a thorough overhauling. In the next stage, the Jātakas of an extraordinary type were accepted as the ‘cariya’ stories of the Teacher without their undergoing any modification as will be evident from Dhammapala’s commentary on the Cariya Piṭaka (Nidāna-Kathā).¹ Once admitted to the Jātakas, the Bodhisatta became the hero not only of selected stories but also under circumstances narrated in the introductory verses of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā given below, came to be recognised in the years which followed soon after as the stereotyped hero of them all.

“Buddhavaṃsassa etassa icchantena ciraṭṭhitaṃ
yācito abhigantvāna therena Atthadassinā
Asaṃsaṭṭhavihārena sadā saddhivihārinā
tath’ eva Buddhamittena santacittena viññunā

setaṃ ca chattaṃ anudhārayum maru
Gantāvāna so satta padāni Gotamo
disvā vilokesi sama samantato
aṭṭhangupetaṃ giram abbhudirayī
siho yathā pabbatamuddhani ṭhito’ ti
Evam tathā gato ti Tatthāgato”

(M. N. Atthakatha, P. T. S., pp. 47-49).

F. Vol. I, pp. 45, 46, 47.

Mahimsāsakavaṃsaṃhi sambhutena nayaññūnā
 Buddhadevena ca tathā bhikkhunā suddhabuddhinā
 Mahāpurisacariyānam ānubhāvam acintiyam
 tassa vijjotayantassa 'Jātakas' Atthavaṇṇanam
 Mahāvihāravāsinaṃ vacanamaggaṇissitaṃ
 bhāsissam, bhāsato taṃ me sādhu gaṇhantu sādhavo'

The author who chooses to remain anonymous says "Desiring the permanency of this history of Buddha's births I approached the 'thera' Atthadassi, also the calm and wise Buddhamitta leading a secluded life with pupils apart from the society of men; in like manner, the 'bhikkhu' Buddhadeva, clever in logic and experienced belonging to the Mahimsasaka school and being asked by them I am now going to write as directed by the residents of the Mahāvihāra, a commentary after meditating on the Jātakas in illustration of the 'cariyas' and the greatness of the Great Being. Let the virtuous accept my words in good faith." He also admits that Jātakas were already rehearsed and put into a collection before him by the 'Dhamma saṅgāhaka theras' in their desire to illustrate the 'cariyas' of the Great Sage.

'Jātakam nāma saṅgitaṃ dhammasaṅgāhakehi yaṃ'

(Introductory verses.—Jātaka Aṭṭhakāthā).

Now as to the identity of these 'Dhammasaṅgāhakas' it may be almost definitely said that they did not belong to either of the first, second or third Councils which are invariably referred to by ancient Pāli scholars as 'pathama,' 'dutiya' and 'tatiya' saṅgiti respectively and their authors as 'Sangitīkārakas.'¹

'Sāsana Vāṇsa' informs us that in the reign of king Vaṭṭa-gāmini in the last century B. C. (Kern's Manual of Buddhism, p. 120) the whole of the 'Tripiṭaka' with 'aṭṭhakathās' was reduced to writing by the great *theras* numbering 500 in the

¹ Mahāvamsa—conclusion of Chaps. 3rd, 4th and 5th on pp. 20, 27 and 55 of Geiger's edition. Sāsana-vamsa—Ed. by Mabel Bode, pp. 5, 6 and 10; also cf. 'Sangitīkārakā' on p. 345. F. Vol. I.

cave of Āloka at Malaya janapada¹ in Ceylon and that the council so formed was looked upon as the fourth council :

“pañca-matta mahātherasatā Vaṭṭagāmanirājānaṃ nissāya
Tambapaṇṇidipe padese Malaya janapade Ālokalene aṭṭhakathāya
saha pitakattayam potthake āropesum. Tam ca yathā vutta-
saṃgitiyo upanidhāya catuttha saṃgiti yeva nāma ti veditabbo”²
(Sāsana Vamsa, P.T.S., p. 28).

Certainly it was this council that our anonymous author of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā was referring to. We further learn from the post-script to the ‘Chaddanta Jātaka’ (No. 514 V, pp. 55-56) that the addition of ‘Samodhāna’ was made by the Dhamma Saṅgāyika *theras* in verse only thus bringing it into line with the Jātaka proper.

* * *

“Ahaṃ vo tena kālena ahoṣim tattha bhikkhavo
nāgarājā tadāhosim evaṃ dhāretha jātakam ”

imā gāthā Dasabalassa guṇe vaṇṇenteḥi dhammasaṃgāyikat-
therehi ṭhapitā” (cf. Kurudhamma Jātaka, II, p. 381 and Mahā-
paduma Jātaka No. 472, p. 169 IV).

It is beyond all pale of doubt that every Jātaka of the collection was not indiscriminately looked upon as a birth story of the Buddha³ in this council following which and after consultation with some of the leading *theras* of his time our author sets himself to the task of preparing a commentary which at the very outset enunciates the principle that a Jataka is necessarily a birth story of the Bodhisatta. This then affords as the history of the agglomeration of Paccuppanna Vatthu, Atitavatthu, Veyyākaraṇa and Samodhāna with real Jātaka in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, edited by Fousböll in six volumes.

We have already commented on the gradual development of the Atīta Vatthu or the Jātaka story and will now make a few

¹ The central mountain region.

² C. F. Mahavamsa, Ch. 33, Gatha Nos. 100 and 101.

³ This is proved by the evidence of Dham. Aṭṭhakathā.

observations regarding the importance and authenticity of the Paccuppana Vatthu, Samodhāna and Veyyākaraṇa.

It may be stated without fear of contradiction that in imitation of the Suttanta literature, Paccuppana Vatthu and Samodhāna were added to the Jātaka story not much later than when the Bodhisatta-Pāramita theory was read into the Jātakas themselves synchronising with Pali literature being first reduced to writing. That the 'Paccuppana Vatthu' was not added earlier is evident from the very first Jātaka containing in its Paccuppana Vatthu the following :

“Atha Bhagavā māyā kho gahapati aparimitakūlam dasa
pāramiyo puretvā lokassa kaṁkhācchedanattamaṁ eva sabbaññu-
taññānam paṭividdhaṁ ”

The date of its composition as indicated by the passage is certainly in the post-Pāramita period. It would therefore, be idle to expect in it that much love for old facts which it was our misfortune not to have come across in the Atīta-Vatthu itself. Moreover, on a comparison with that given in a different work the Paccuppana Vatthu of Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā smacks of inconsistency and fiction. Take for example the 'Kulāvaka Jātaka' the story of which we have dealt with already. In the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā the occasion for its moralisation is said to have been caused by the act of a 'bhikkhu' compelled to drink water without using a strainer whereby destroying though against his will, insects living therein.¹ In the Dhamapada Aṭṭhakathā on the other hand, the story of the Jātaka was told by the Teacher at the desire of his disciple Mahāli enquiring as to whether the glorification of Indra in the Sākyapañha Suttanta was made by Bhagavā with full knowledge or not.² Whatever reliance may be placed on the latter, the former for taking very seriously what once constituted a minor offence³ not quite applicable in

Faus., Vol. I, p. 198.

¹ Dh. Atthapatha, Vol. I, P. II, pp. 263-65.

³ Whatsoever monk uses water knowing that it contains living things in it, commits a sin which requires expiation—Rules on Pācittiya Dhamma.

this case, cannot but be looked upon as untrustworthy concoction. But, dwelling exclusively on the facts of the time of the Buddha derived for the most part from the Suttantas, the Paccuppanna Vatthu of Jātaka Atthakathā may be relied upon as noteworthy for general purposes, though it would be sheer unwisdom to stress the veracity of the relation in which it stands to the corresponding Jātaka story in the work.

The inconsistency of statements found in the Paccuppanna Vatthu and Samodhana deserves especial notice in this connection. Passages in the Paccuppanna Vatthu which introduces a Jātaka indicate its purpose to have been general moralisation in view of some past happening, while the Samodhāna belonging to it brings in, in a formal way, the Bodhisatta quite uncalled for, in the field as the master of the situation. For example in the same 'Kulāvaka Jātaka' the Teacher says in its Paccuppanna Vatthu 'Bhikkhu pubbe paṇḍitā devanagare rajjam kārentā, etc., etc.' without referring to himself in the least, but, in the 'Samodhāna' he merges the Pandits of old in the person of the Bodhisatta :

"Tada Mātali saṃgāhako Ānando ahosi, Sakko pana aham evā ti"—(J., 31, Vol. I, p. 206).

The number of such Jātakas containing inconsistencies in statements in the Jātaka Atthakathā itself is quite large and would by no means come below 25 per cent. of the whole. Hence, apart from their proving that most of the Jātakas remained as moral stories even after the rehearsal of the 'Dhamma saṃgāyika' *theras* in the last century B. C. in Ceylon, they show how conventional the 'Samodhāna' in the sense of the identification of the hero with the Bodhisatta was with respect to a Jātaka in the 5th century A.D., when the 'Atthakathā' was compiled. But however unwise the addition of 'Samodhāna' to most of the Jātakas might have been, there can be no two opinions about the fact that in the beginning it was formulated to be added on to Jātakas of exceptional merit with a view to

inspiring adoration and love for the Teacher (Dasabalassa gune vāṇṇentehi) and was composed in verse by the Dhamma saṅgāyikas as already referred to.

Automatically after 'Samodhāna' Veyyākaraṇa came next, for the latter has been greatly influenced by the former. The Veyyākaraṇa being as it is, a literal explanation of the Jātaka Gāthās in bringing out the sense of the archaic words contained in them, is really an adjustment of their old meaning to the new one in consonance with the Bodhisatta ideal. And though there may be left in it much that is desirable, in our opinion, it seems to be one of the utmost importance inasmuch as but for it much of the meaning of Jātakas themselves would have been shrouded in mystery for ever. We will substantiate this view by citing a few cases below :

'*Potthakaṃ*' is used in a Jātaka (Vol. IV, p. 251) in the sense of 'ghāṇa sākaṭaṃ' whereas in ordinary prose the word signifies a book. The word '*Satthā*' is found in ordinary prose literature as always meaning the person of the Master but in Jātakas its application is met with frequently in the sense of an ordinary teacher who can show the way to heaven (Sagga maggasa desitattā Satthā—J. 537, Vol. V, p. 503). '*Thupa*' ordinarily denotes a burial mound or a tomb but in a Jātaka (No. 541, Vol. VI, p. 117) the word is used meaning a house with a dome (kuṭāgāra). The word '*Bhagavā*' which in prose literature stands for the person of the Blessed One, in the Jātaka signifies any teacher worthy of respect and love (Ko nu te Bhagavā Satthā, kass' etaṃ vacanaṃ sucim, J. 539, Vol. VI, p. 60).¹ '*Paṭimokkha*,' a word seldom found in the prose literature, means that which is opposed to 'mokkha' or release (tam saṅgaram paṭimokkhaṃ na muttam, J 513, Vol. V, p. 25). Herein is to be found the derivation of the term Pātimokkha from Paṭimokkha meaning that (code) which is binding on every one concerned. *Bahutamajjā* is a word used in the sense of

¹ Also '*Bhagava bhūmipālo*' in the sense of a respectful or kind-hearted landlord. J. 587 V, p. 460.

'matakabhattam' (J. 417, III, p. 426) in a Jātaka but rarely found in prose. The word *Dhamma* though used in the Jātaka (No. 414, III, p. 404) in its general sense, is explained in the *Veyyākaraṇa* as being equivalent to nine kinds of transcendental conditions 'navavidhalokuttara dhammam,' a technical term in Buddhist philosophy which developed long afterwards.

In fact, a vocabulary of these terms with original and especial meanings in Jātakas does by itself form the subject of a separate thesis ; a few of them however will suffice to maintain in our case that 'Veyyākaraṇam' was essential to the understanding of the text.

Thus towards the end of the 5th century A.D. a Jātaka comprising only the verses of old fledged into a full story in combination with the *Paccuppanna Vatthu*, *Atita Vatthu*, *Veyyākaraṇa* and *Samodhāna* as its inseparable parts giving an account of the author, the recipients and the avowed purpose, with an importance of its own ; in fact forming a miniature *Suttanta* with this difference that while in the *Suttanta* the Jātaka form was quite lost or modified, in the new full-fledged story it was retained intact.

We shall now briefly note in conclusion the employment of Jātakas in ancient Indian sculpture. That Jātakas were an essential feature of the life-history and doctrine of the Teacher is clearly evident in the sculptures of Bhārhut and Sāñchi. Having at our disposal only fragmentary materials not exceeding two-fifths of the whole it is not possible to reconstruct the complete story once revealed in the entire railing of the Stupa of Bhārhut. But, an honest attempt in this direction with what is left has every chance of arriving at what might be looked upon as satisfactory.² A close examination of the labels of the four quadrants as discovered and recorded in order by General Cunningham in his monumental work, 'The Stupa of Bhārhut,' reveals one important fact that each quadrant consisting of

¹ Our thanks go to Dr. B. M. Barua, D. Lit. (Lond.) and Dr. Stella Kramrisch for accomplishing this task in a joint work entitled "Bharut Stone as a story-teller."

twenty pillars including the coping and the return railing was really the exponent of an independent story having in the forefront like the 'Paccuppanna Vatthu' incidents from the life-history of the Master followed by the figure of a past Buddha and Jātaka scenes in the shape of the Atita Vatthu and terminating in representations of inhuman beings standing in reverential postures unmistakably bearing the stamp of the overpowering nature of the Master and his Jātaka doctrine as Samodhāna. Thus on the first and foremost pillar in the S. W. Quadrant we have on its three sides representations of 'Thupa puja,' 'Kadāriki (?) narā', 'Vijapi Vijadharo ; 'Sakamunino Bodho,' 'Sudhavāsa devatā.' 'turaṃ devānaṃ' also 'Dhama cakamo,' 'Pasenadi Vandate' and 'Bahu hathiko' all being scenes from the life-history of the Master and subsequent events ; on the sixth pillar 'Bhagavato Kassapassa Bodhi', on the twelfth 'Tikotika Cakama', on the seventeenth 'Yavamajhakiya Jātaka' and on the eighteenth being the last among those discovered 'Suciroma Yakkha' and 'Sirimādevatā' standing in an attitude of prayer.¹ These may be explained as representing the component parts of a Suttanta or more correctly a Sutta containing the exposition of some cardinal points in the Doctrine with an account of its author, recipients and the purpose involved therein. Thus the Jātaka forming an integral part of early Buddhism had some kind of Paccuppanna Vatthu, Atita Vatthu and Samodhāna attached to it though not as component parts from the very beginning so vividly described in figures on the monuments of ancient India.

To sum up there were at least five stages in the development of the Jātaka Vatthu and they may be stated thus :

(1) Encased between the Paccuppanna Vatthu and the Samodhāna Jātakas represented the Doctrine as found in the Stupa of Bhārhut.

(2) Jātakas developing into Suttantas wherein the real

¹ The sculpture of 'Latuva Jataka' is also found in a rail bar in this quadrant. Vide Cunningham's 'Stupa of Bharhut' pp. 134, 135, 136 ; also p. 139. Plates : XIII, XIV, XV, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXX and LIV.

Jātaka form when applied to Buddha was lost or modified as will be evident from the Suttanta literature.

(3) Jātakas improved and represented as *cariya* stories and those of ghosts and angels in poetical forms found in the Cariya Piṭaka, Peta Vatthu and Vimāna Vatthu.

(4) Jātakas found as *cariya* stories contained in the Cariya Piṭaka of later writers. (*Vide* Nidāna-Kathā in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I.)

(5) Jātakas in their final garb formed by the Paccupanna Vatthu, Atīta Vatthu, Gāthā, Veyyākaraṇa and Samodhāna as in Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā of the 5th century A.D.

Thus, as a record of the different stages of its progress to the student of Buddhism the value of the Jātaka prose in its final stage can hardly be overestimated while it is impossible to appraise too highly the importance of Jātakas themselves as a faithful document on ancient Indian history and culture so piously preserved in the lands of Buddhism.

GOKULDAS DE .

MORN AND EVE

I

Morn.

My love's awake, she smiles on me.
A smile enchanting sweet
A smile that turns to rapture pure
In love to cool heart-heat.
Her coyness lost, love's art forgot,
Her smile's th' embrace of heart and heart
Her smiling eyes are rays of joy
That make all sweet and one
And make me feel the shining hope
Of duty's life begun.
Now blush of shame ov'r powers my bride,
Her face is hid in warm love-pride.
I know I'm hers and she is mine
In life and death, in gloom and shine.

II

Eve.

The fare-well smile of parting Sun,
The restful peace of duty done,
That smile for moment lives above,
Within it melts this life in love,
Ah! will it end, has it begun!
In gloom and gleam this life is spun
Now look! there's life, unstained by breath,
In love spun one with twin called death.
As one on Mother's lap they lie,
That Mother's lap they lie,
That Mother's love is earth and sky.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

PROBLEMS OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

The problems which modern democracy has got to encounter and solve are, it will be admitted, many and varied, and there is, in almost every country which has tried and practised the democratic form of government, a cry that it has lost, its prestige and its vogue. It is interesting to note that this phenomenon of the diminished prestige of democratic government exists side by side with the other phenomenon of a demand for an extended application of the democratic principle and for greater popular control of governmental institutions. But it is clear to any close observer of political tendencies and to any student of political institutions that neither of the phenomena noted above represents a correct understanding or a real appreciation of the present position facing democracy; for democracy, meaning thereby the "people" have nowhere yet come completely into their own and everywhere what is denoted by the people is the body of vocal or articulate individuals within a state, which is able to make its voice heard, its existence felt, and takes an interest in public and political affairs. It is not, however, the purpose of this article to discuss the meaning of abstract conceptions like the "people" and the "state" or the implications of the various forms of government and so on; but it is intended to take facts as they are, to adopt the generally accepted interpretation of the terminology of political science and to see how far and by what forces democracy is assailed and to suggest, at the same time, some means whereby it can be reinstated in its old pedestal of influence and prestige.

At the time such as the present when democracy is at the cross-roads, it is advantageous that such an examination of the tendencies affecting it is made in order better to guard ourselves against the pitfalls into which we may otherwise unwarily fall. There have been several definitions and interpretations of

democracy and what it implies; but it may safely be asserted that almost all of them are mere imperfect, improvised explanations of a phenomenon, which has not anywhere manifested itself in all its true bearings on account of the sheer impossibility of such a consummation. It is nowhere a government of the people by the people for the people but has everywhere meant only the government of the many by the few who have only indirectly held themselves responsible to the many, being chosen by the latter through the instrumentality of some form of an electoral machinery, so much so that for all practical purposes, it has come to resolve itself into a government by, at best, the ultimate consent of the governed. The position as stated thus is true of many countries claiming to be democratically governed and it remains only to understand how this consent is obtained.

What we now have in practice and what is now popularly known as democracy is in reality the government by representative institutions or representative democracy; but the term is a misnomer, firstly because though the legal power is vested in the community as a whole functioning through the representative institutions, the actual power may be exercised by a single man or more often by a dominant group of men and secondly because representative democracy, though convenient as a method of expressing the democratic ideal, really usurps and sometimes with very unwholesome consequences the powers and functions of the community, the ultimate repository of all such powers. Direct democracy or pure democracy, by which is meant that the whole people act as government is an impossible and impracticable ideal which had not been attained at any time in history, and which even the highly trained democracies of ancient Greece and of the present-day Switzerland cannot be considered to approach or to be capable of approaching. Apart altogether from the fact of the great difficulty inherent at arriving at a correct definition of the term "people," the people as a whole or even the adults and grown-ups in it cannot be thought to constitute the governing class anywhere; for the "people," whatever it may stand

for, is not capable of taking that sustained and careful interest in governmental matters to justify its being called the government by the people, which is what democracy is defined to be. Representative democratic government in practice is therefore only the government by the few or the few amongst the many; and democracy in the representative stage can only be called so in proportion to the ability and the readiness on the part of the representative institutions to devote attention to the securing of the good of as many amongst the people as is possible and not merely concern themselves with the good or the interests of a particular class or group of individuals.

So long as representative institutions keep in view the welfare and the advantage of a majority of the population within the state and so long as they succeed in inducing in the people the belief that they are actuated by altruistic motives, their success may be said to have been assured and their existence will be tolerated. But when they discontinue to inspire that confidence when they fail to perform their functions with the noble ideal before them of serving the whole nation instead of being the handmaids of particularistic groups striving for their own preponderance, then the rub comes; then will come out into bold relief the omnipotent character of the people, and they will be sought to be superseded sometimes mercilessly. A situation such as this has arisen in many European countries at present and let us analyse the causes for it.

As has already been observed, direct-democracy is an impossible ideal which cannot be achieved in the imperfect conditions existing in the world: but it is not, from that point of view safe or sound to assert that democracy is an undesirable form of government and that it should be scraped. It is no doubt true that the very professions and the experiences of the various people practising democracy through representative institutions prove beyond controversy how impossible it is to procure from the people at large an intelligent and understanding appreciation of their rights and responsibilities; and even England

and America, the two examples of countries working democratic systems of government for the longest period are coming to acknowledge the impracticability of sustaining the democratic character of their constitutions with electorates even as present constituted, while extensions of the franchise, though undertaken under pressure, as, for example, witness the giving of the vote to all adult women in England, only prove in an intensified manner the great difficulty in securing that impartial and sound judgment from the electorate on important and crucial public problems. But, notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, the very fact that the people hitherto unenfranchised demand the franchise and exhibit a keen desire to secure it, ought to silence all those who consider that the people can be played with, can be duped into an understanding somnolence for all time, with impunity. The people is a giant which has only to be roused into activity and life to make its existence felt; and though in all probability it may relapse into its wonted stupor after even a single effort, still the apprehension and the probability of its being awakened again to assert its supremacy will be sufficient correctives to and safeguards against either the excesses or the indolence and indifference of the few who actually are entrusted with the work of government.

That democracy is being put to a very hard inquisition now-a-days is a proposition which will receive general assent; but the statement should be made to apply only to the system of government connoted by it or rather to its administrative phase but not to the human agency in reference to which the system exists. Democracy in the latter sense of the term or the Demos, as it is called, is omnipotent and everlasting, something which is above and beyond the purview of fleeting political forms. Democratic government or government by the people as has already been observed, had largely been and is an unreal and unrealized ideal, in view of the tendency of democracy to resign actual governmental authority into the hands of an intellectual aristocracy or an official hierarchy; but, in spite of this, it must

be admitted that the source from which all governments draw their inspiration and strength is the demos itself. It is this recognition of the ultimate sovereignty of the people that lends sanctity and adds strength to the democratic forms of government and elevates them to a place that cannot be attained by any other form of government not based upon the consent of the people, however efficient or praiseworthy it may be, in itself, and it is this sanctity attaching to democratic government that has given rise to the saying that good government is no substitute for self-government and that enables one to repose faith in the prognostication and hope that democracy will assert itself in the end even though in the beginning it may allow itself to be eclipsed temporarily by hostile forces. The invocation that inevitably comes uppermost to the mind of anyone who has made a historical study of political development and of the principles of political organisation is ' Democracy is dead; long live Democracy ,' for, for one thing, though political organization changes its colour so that one form of government goes out of existence and yields place for another. Democracy will go on for ever; and for another though democratic systems of government go out of vogue at times, still they have got that potentiality in them of resurrecting again in fresher and more chastened forms after a time.

The most powerful factor that has emerged into view as a reaction against democracy in recent times is Autocracy, or in the terminology of political science in the post-war era, Dictatorship. Dictatorships have grown up in rapid succession during the last decade, and, though it is strange that the war which was fought ostensibly for the purpose of making the world safe, for democracy should give birth to such an obsolescent institution, still it cannot but be regarded as an essential sequel of war, the termination of which has brought in its train so many social, political, and economic problems of such great complexity that the young inexperienced democracies, especially of Europe, found themselves unequal to grapple with. For it is

in the new republics of Central and Eastern Europe that the principle of dictatorship has secured the deepest footing and is extending its vogue. The readjustment and reconstruction necessitated by the termination of the cataclysmic explosion of the great war required the undertaking of effective measures of political and economic amelioration, which democratic governments, with their inexperience on the one hand and with their traditional routine methods of carrying on business on the other, could not successfully accomplish. Moreover, the world as a whole is tending more and more to become an arena of economic conflicts throwing forward irresistible economic forces clamouring for satisfactory solution of their problems ; and when democratic institutions, constituted mainly for the purpose of reconciling political factors and embark upon political remedies only as the means of alleviating distresses in all spheres, are brought face to face with the challenging factors of an economic revolution, they have been found invariably wanting and incapable of accepting the challenge. There is however this extenuating circumstance in their favour and that is that they, being mostly institutions intended for a particular purpose, cannot be expected, in the very nature of things, to subserve other purposes as well, the result of all which is that representative democratic institutions organized for political purposes have had to own up their reverse when economic forces have assumed a dominant role. There has therefore, in many countries, been a reaction against democratic government, the intensity of the incidence of which, varying as it does with different countries, is simply a matter of degree and not of quality or kind. Economic ills, which are primarily what the war has brought into prominence, are not capable of being trifled with or put off indefinitely ; they call for immediate treatment and effective tackling ; and while democratic institutions have been considering the methods of such treatment, the people who are affected by the evils most have taken the matter in hand and tried to solve them according to their

own lights, the result has been that a dominating personality who had the courage of his convictions and who could exploit the situation to his own advance gained the upperhand and succeeded in securing for himself a supreme position in the direction of affairs as Mussolini did in Italy. The meteoric rise of socialistic parties in several countries professing to practise the democratic form of government and their assumption of the reins of power at the present day is only a further indication of the urgent and imperious demands of economic forces for satisfactory solution of their problems. But socialism is only a moderate manifestation of the economic reaction and there are besides that the extreme forces of Fascism on the one side and Bolshevism on the other threatening to envelop the world in their folds, to perpetuate the phenomenon of dictatorship and lastly to remain as violent antagonists of the democratic forms of government.

The forces of Fascism and Bolshevism, the former with its doctrine of the dictatorship of the middle class and the latter with its slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat are penetrating their way into countries, which had hitherto been considered impenetrable and unsusceptible to such extreme forces, and bid fair to secure a firm lodgment in them. They have not confined themselves to the borders of the countries in which they first manifested themselves, as it was thought would be the case by many old-fashioned statesmen and political observers, but have easily crossed those bounds and tend to become international in the extent of their operations. The most optimistic country in Europe in this regard is England, the quiet, conservative country par excellence ; but even in England, it cannot now safely be assumed that there is not a considerable number of people who believe that a dictatorship is an indispensability or that communism is the only remedy for her industrial and economic ills, while, in every other country also still holding out to the democratic ideal, the danger of a fascist or a communistic revolution is any day considered imminent.

It may be that dictatorships are good in themselves and it may be that they contribute to the evolution of a new order of things which promise to be favourable to the economic prosperity of the people ; but the price which the latter have to pay for the luxury of dictatorship is indeed a very heavy one, too heavy perhaps for them to bear beyond a certain point. One natural and inevitable consequence of a dictatorship is the curtailment of the liberty of the individual to the very narrowest limits ; for in the nature of its existence it cannot but reduce every human being to a cast iron mould and capable of thinking only in terms of the particular methods and programme of the dictator and incapable of thinking out anything independently for himself. This sort of an artificial unanimity of opinion cannot be sustained for long without the strain proving too much for the natural instinct of man to a free existence and to throw off all restrictions to liberty of speech and action ; and the time will inevitably arrive when the bonds binding the dictator and his supporters will snap and when the resulting reaction will sweep away the dictatorship and all that it stood for. It is this hope in the ultimate triumph of the ideal of human liberty embodied in democracy that ought to sustain all believers in the democratic ideal and to give them strength not only to guard themselves against the possibilities and the probabilities of incursion into popular liberties by dictatorship but to treat them as passing phases when once they come into being.

While, on the one hand, democracy is being threatened by forces of a highly inimical nature from outside, it is being gradually undermined, only in a lesser degree than those forces, from within by the canker of departmentalism and bureaucratic encroachment into democratic liberties. Owing to the immense accumulation of business in the hands of Legislative bodies of the representative variety and the heavy strain put upon them by the several matters that come up before them for discussion and disposal, much of the actual work of day-to-day administration

is being transferred from the control of the Legislature to the departmental heads and permanent civil servants, who are thus given a carte blanche to substitute departmental regulations for statutory prescriptions and carry on the Government of the country much according to their own lights. Parliament under the present system are reduced to the indispensable necessity of delegating their powers to departmental officials, while their political chiefs, the cabinet ministers being too much engaged in party manoeuvring and securing party advantages in Parliament to be able to devote sufficient attention to departmental details, are constrained to limit their supervision of their actions to the minimum, with the result that bureaucratic control over the lives and liberties of the subject is becoming more and more pronounced. This is a point which is receiving attention in more countries than one and is being vigorously protested against ; but a remedy for it is not easy to discover. The danger to-day is not that the state is keeping aloof but that it is encroaching more and more into the sphere of the individual's life and restricting his liberty at every turn. What we need most at present is therefore not more Government, of which we are already having too much, but less and less of it and the restoration of the individual to a place which ought really is his in the scheme of things, while, at the same time, there is need also for the restoration of the independence of Parliaments to their position of supreme legislative organs, the repositories of the people's powers and the representatives of the common will. For after everything has been said against representative institutions, we cannot but admit that some variety of representative institutions are an irremediable necessity for democracy to function at all.

But the curtailment of departmental initiative and the reinstating of Parliamentary bodies in their pedestal of pristine glory and things which are more easily said than done ; and it may be almost a matter of impossibility for the latter to regain anything like their former authority and prestige. The remedy for the situation is to be found only in the innovation of

establishing representative assemblies in several local centres in a country, all of which will possess law-making powers within their own sphere and exercise control over regional cabinets, subject however, to the general control and supervision of the Central legislative body. The growth of such regional institutions will secure for the people greater and more effective control over executive actions than can be the case if there is only national parliament, will circumscribe the operations of the party machine, will prevent the exploitation of popular support for party and sectional ends, and lastly will enable the people better to understand and easier to exercise their judgment in the various matters effecting their welfare and coming up before the national councils for discussion. There will further be longer opportunities for the introduction of the systems of the Referendum and the Initiative as methods of sounding popular opinions on important and crucial issues and for ensuring less departmentalism and greater scrutiny of official actions; and the wind can then be taken out of the sails of the complaints so persistently heard now-a-days that departmental rule is taking the place of parliamentary statutes and that the civil service is infringing parliamentary privileges.

Besides the dangers of delegated authority discussed above, there is another force which has grown in strength ever since representative institutions through which democratic functions have come into existence, which contributes to the throttling and stultification of democracy. The development of political parties is an advantageous factor from the point of view of the consideration that political parties are the only instruments that has so far been devised by the ingenuity of man to enable democracy to function successfully over an extensive area and to serve as a substitute for direct popular rule. There are obvious objections to the party system as an adequate instrument for securing the representation in political institutions of the various shades and phases of political opinion in the country, but that does not detract and has not detracted from their usefulness and value of

political parties to fulfil their highly beneficial office of bringing the majority opinion to bear upon the shaping of administrative policies, however imperfectly it may be. To say this, however, does not mean that this institution has everywhere and at all times functioned ideally and leave nothing to be desired; as a matter of fact, they have called forth into existence a number of forces which stand in its way of being the handmaid of democratic government and which contribute only in a very imperfect way to enable it to play that role. It has to be conceded that political parties, for the very success of their methods, have to resort to the device of manufacturing and sustaining an artificial public opinion in their own favour out of the inadequately appreciative understandings of the populace; and in this process, they have ruthlessly to stamp out in the individuals composing it that sense of independence and fearlessness both in forming opinions and in expressing them, so essential for the successful working of democracy. Political parties are, in short, the most potent enemies of the cultivation in the individual citizen of an independent outlook on political and public questions, in so far as they serve to compartmentalize the ideas of the people, to circumscribe and narrow down their horizon of thought and to limit their vision to only an one-sided understanding of affairs. They, therefore, acting as they do through the party machinery, make democracy a damp quib, a lifeless system, incapable of asserting itself and log-rolled into a set of opinions, manufactured to the order of the party leaders and bosses, who run the whole show.

One problem on which most democracies founder and wreck themselves is their incapacity and sometimes even their disinclination to successfully manage their minority interests within the state. An unsatisfied or sulky minority is as great a danger to the safe existence of the democratic system as the emergence of a dictatorship; but majorities who leave by the sheer weight of their numbers and not on account of any

consideration secured predominant hold over legislative organs, very often refuse to see or acknowledge the necessity for reconciling minority opinion. This is another potent cause for the declining faith in democratic institutions in the minds of those who fail to get sufficient representation of their strength and their opinions in governmental organizations, and it is a factor which cannot be left out without being tackled if representative democracy is to be restored to anything like its former position. The attempt to suppress minorities and minority opinions will result in discontent being driven undergrounds and ultimately in armed revolutions, the chances of such catastrophic occurrences being proportionately heightened if the minorities so sought to be trampled down happen to be the more virile forces in a nation as opposed to the senile majorities. Minorities are bound to exist everywhere and there may be many varieties of minority opinion ; but everything depends upon the majority to make them feel their position as safe and to rope them into an attitude of co-operation in maintaining the integrity of the nation as a whole. To the extent that the majority opinion succeeds in inducing in the minorities a feeling of security and sense of strength by the impartiality and altruism of its motives and actions to that extent will democracy attain a position of stability and permanence.

Democracy at the present day has got new problems to encounter and new phenomena to deal with ; but it is set to assert though it may sound a trifle too optimistic, that soon after the transition stage is passed over and democracy attains itself to the new conditions that have grown up since the war, its depreciated vogue will re-establish itself. The centre of gravity in the world of the present age has shifted from the political to the economic sphere and an unconscionable burden is thrown upon representative democratic institutions which have got to shoulder them and carry through with them ; and though in such countries as in England, where the people

have for long been brought up in the traditions of respect for law and dread for violent revolutions which may involve a complete breach of political continuity, the burden may not be too straining to their nerves to bring about a revolution ; other countries, which consist of more phlegmatic populations with less love for tradition, conventions and customs, will find it hard to bear and will surely become subject to violent convulsions, leading to general disorganizations of their political life, to the manifestation of undesirable exorecences like dictatorship and mob rule and to the supersession of democratic institutions and the subversion of democratic principles like individual liberty. In the latter category of countries, which have taken to the practice of representative government only as an experiment, democratic government cannot but prove a dismal failure, especially at a time like the present, when even in such countries as the United States, where the democratic experiment has been tried on the largest scale and under the most favourable conditions, it has been found to be woefully incapable of fulfilling all the hopes entertained about it. In all such countries, representative democratic government must be considered as a 'misfit,' and it is no wonder that it is being rejected everywhere in favour of "representative government" by which is meant the personal rule of a dictator, call him Emperor, President, Duce, or whatever one wills, directly responsible to the people. The conclusion is irresistible from this that in all those countries where democracy has been sought to be introduced in the face of conditions and circumstances unfavourable to the successful working of the system, it has met with but insignificant response, especially in view of the social and psychological conditions prevailing therein. Based as it is upon the doctrine of majority rule, democracy fails to notice the imperative necessity of reconciling the various minority interests, based though it is upon the principle of popular support, popular support is more often artificially manufactured than naturally secured by the spread of popular political education, and lastly based as it is

upon the doctrine of natural rights and of equality, it tends to perpetuate inequality through the emphasis laid upon class and religious distinctions of various denominations. The fact will not be sufficiently recognised by democracies that violent revolutions have always been the work of armed and organized minorities, for though they may be lulled into satisfaction for a time through the operation of political compromises, they will very soon be able to see through the game and seek a remedy, which may, in its results, prove a complete sacrifice or even an overthrow of the democratic principle, which rests, as in the present circumstances upon majority rule. But majority rule, as every other doctrine on which democracy bases its claim to superiority, is a very unreal thing, a counsel of expediency, valid only in certain conditions and having no warrant either in nature or in history.

The future, therefore, of democracy is hanging in the balance, but it is pretty certain that in the long run it will come into its own, though in the short run there is room for grave doubt in the face of the various forces that confront it on all sides. Believers in the future of democracy base their faith on the fact that on the whole democracy is incorruptible and unsailable; that it is not a force which can be played with for a long time and that it is sure to assert itself though it may be deceived or duped for a time by the machinations of artful politicians, unscrupulous demagogues and autocratic dictators. The forces that it has to contend against being mighty, it behoves democracies everywhere to be very vigilant and careful, to arm themselves against the encroachment of all or any of them, and to refuse to be influenced, or exploited or subverted. All democracies rest for strength upon public opinion, which, though intangible in its expression and imperceptible in the methods of its working, is yet a potent instrument for correcting and setting right any aberrations on the part of the agencies entrusted with the work of government in a democratically organized country. The non-existence of a sound public opinion and the absence of

favourable condition for its formation constitute the worst danger for democracy, as it gives the impetus for hostile forces to ingratiate themselves into the body politic and work for its overthrow.

In concluding this study of the problems of modern democracy, it is necessary to point out that the world is still in an experimenting stage so far as democratic government is concerned, though the spread of the democratic ideal immediately before, and more especially after the great war, had been most rapid, the stimulus to its growth being to a very large extent and in a very large number of cases, supplied by the fact that the war was fought professedly in the name of democracy. Not only is the whole of Europe now a field for experiments in popular government, but the influence of the ideal has spread into vast spaces of the world hitherto untouched by it and among people accustomed from immemorial times to other forms of rule. But by a strange irony and paradoxically enough, this broadcasting of democratic principles has taken place precisely at a time when among the European peoples themselves, democracy, in its representative form, has been rapidly falling into discredit. To say this is not merely to echo the croakings of hidebound conservatives intent upon decrying democracy and all that it stands for; the failure of popular government, in nearly every country it has been set up, is a fact so obvious that it must be admitted, as indeed it is admitted, even by those who are its ardent advocates. But the modernity of democracy, especially the special form of it known as representative democracy, is, from that very fact, still in its experimental stage, even in countries like England which is the nursing mother of constitutional liberty and where it had been longest established; and it is still too early to say what its ultimate outcome will be. Democracy, is, however, by itself a highly necessary and useful form of government; and it follows from this, that all who have the welfare of mankind at heart before they proclaim the democratic nostrum as a certain remedy for the political ills of any country, should first

understand what is involved by it and then seek to introduce the conditions under which it can successfully be worked. The careful husbandman first tests his seed, and then scatters it in the ground prepared to receive it as otherwise he would reap a sorry harvest, and the same is true of the democratic experiment.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

BY SPANISH HEAD

What splendour waited for us on that walk !
'Twas lovely land—let other people talk
Of Wales, or Ireland, or of lands afar ;
Their boasted splendour does not even mar
This Manxland landscape clothed in sunny beams,
Oh, Beautiful !—a Fairyland of Dreams !
Nature with a fine and liberal hand
Passed by, and cast upon this happy land
A carpet made from sea-green grass, and gorse,
(The sweet gold-yellow kind, of course ?)
And then she gently wove a purple sheen
Of deep luxuriant heather in between.
I see it now—my tender dreaming eyes
So gladly close to once more visualise
The rugged coast that bears undying fame—
The fame of beauty, and God's wondrous Name.

LELAND J. BERRY

DR. HALDANE ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

I

Dr. J. S. Haldane's Gifford Lectures of 1927 and 1928 on *The Sciences and Philosophy* are, like those of his departed brother, Viscount Haldane, on *The Pathway to Reality*, some of the best of the whole series. The Doctor has the advantage of being a scientist, an eminent physiologist, as well as a philosopher. This combination of qualities is very rare. Scientists as a rule are not only not philosophers, but are not even students of philosophy. This, more than anything else, is responsible for the supposed conflict of science and religion. Scientists, as men of reflection, cannot keep themselves confined to the conclusions arrived at in their respective sciences by strictly scientific methods, but must digress to matters beyond their sphere, either to other sciences or to matters religious or philosophical, and speculate on the way these matters are affected by the conclusions with which they are familiar. When this is done without any or only a poor knowledge of the methods and achievements of philosophy, the result cannot but be disastrous and irritating. Dr. Haldane complains now and again on the scientists', specially English scientists' ignorance of philosophy and its misleading effects on the mind of the unscientific and unphilosophical public. For instance, speaking of the relation of supernaturalism and materialism our author says: "The materialism with which orthodox theology is at present shot through and through is the whole source of the weakness of religious belief in presence of the sciences and of the alienation between religious belief and the sciences. It ought to be added, however, that men of science themselves are equally to blame in this respect. They have, on the whole, discarded philosophy

completely. It is probable, for instance, that hardly any scientific writers during the nineteenth century had a real appreciation of the work of Hume and Kant, and even now we find scientific writers taking an actual pride in their ignorance of philosophy. They are in a similar position to that of the schoolmen who despised experimental science." (Pp. 311, 312.) Again, in giving a retrospect of the whole discussion of his book in his concluding chapter he says: "Of all the very foolish ideas current at the present time none is, I think, more foolish than the idea that philosophy is useless and has made no progress since antiquity. I am bound, however, to admit that I have only as yet myself encountered this idea as originating south of the Tweed. Those who, in modern times, think that they can do without philosophy, and at the same time without religious belief, are invariably the victims of bad and obsolete philosophy; and unfortunately these victims have been very numerous in the ranks of men of science owing to their defective education in philosophy." (P. 339.)

In the first of the two courses of lectures comprised in the present volume Dr. Haldane narrates at some length the history of the different groups of the sciences,—the mathematical, the physico-chemical, the biological and the psychological,—and shows their mutual relations and also their defects. As all are based on conceptions more or less abstract, they cannot but be defective as systems of knowledge. "When we examine the body of knowledge presented to us by each science, we find that though it is logically consistent, it only corresponds partially or imperfectly with our actual experience. In other words, it does not represent actual reality, but only a subjective picture of reality...Thus science brings us to a point at which we require more than science." (P. 172.) This "more than science" is philosophy, which with its relation to theology and religion our author discusses in the second part of his book.

Nothing like a clear idea of the way in which Dr. Haldane shows the abstract nature of the special sciences and brings out

the concrete nature of the Supreme Reality which philosophy presents to us, can be given in a single newspaper article or even in a series of such articles. He shows that even the shadowy electrons and protons and their behaviour, to which modern scientists have reduced the fixed and solid 'bodies' of the Newtonian 'philosophy' and the 'forces' exerted by them, cannot be satisfactorily explained by present-day physics; that the so-called inorganic environment of organisms cannot be essentially different from the latter as they serve the purposes of life; that the attempted physico-chemical explanations of life entirely fail to account for the co-ordination of the different parts of organisms and specially their reproduction; that matter and life conceived as independent of mind are mere abstractions necessary for certain useful purposes, but not concrete realities; and that even persons conceived as mere individuals independent of one another and of a Supreme Person transcending the limits of time and space are not real objects of experience, as our author sums up the result of a long discussion: "A universe interpreted biologically is at any rate nearer to reality and less of an ideal abstraction than a universe interpreted physically; but a universe interpreted psychologically as a spiritual universe is still nearer to reality. We have seen moreover in the last lectures that a spiritual universe consisting of mere individual spiritual realities is not consistent with itself. The spiritual universe is one and leaves nothing outside. In other words, the only ultimate reality is, in the language of religion, God. This seems to me the result of analysis of what our Experience means, or what Nature means, if we prefer the word Nature to the word Experience." (P. 294.) Elsewhere the author has called his system "spiritual realism." He says: "It is thus what may be called spiritual realism that this course of lectures will represent." (P. 190). It might more fitly be called "spiritual monism," so strikingly similar it is to the Unqualified Monism,—*Nirvishesha Advaitavāda*,—of this country, specially in its teachings on immortality. To our Monists the individual

self's distinction from the Universal is *máyika*, illusive, unreal. At death,—the death of both the gross and the subtle body, the latter passing through an indefinitely long series of incarnations before it is worn out,—the individual, with his illusory sense of distinction from the Universe, ceases to exist. Nothing real is lost thereby and so the wiseman does not fear death. He knows that in reality he is one with God, and as God is immortal, he, as in God, is immortal too. Dr. Haldane teaches the same doctrine,—leaving out only that of re-incarnation,—sometimes in different language, sometimes in language very similar to that of our *Máyavádins*. We shall make this clear by a few quotations from our author. He says: “Mere individual personality is unreal. It is only in so far as God is manifested in us that we partake of reality.....It is God manifested within us, and not the abstraction which we call our individual self, that is the Creator and Sustainer of time-relations themselves. From this standpoint the immortality of individual persons is only a meaningless conception.” (P. 295.) Again: “For either philosophy or religion individual personalities are unreal, the only real personality being that of God.” (P. 303.) Speaking of those who gladly give up their lives for the sake of their country in wars and such other occasions, our author says: “In losing their lives for the sake of others they show that individual life in itself is unreal.” (Pp. 305, 306.) We may just ask parenthetically,—when those lives also for saving which the patriots lost theirs were “unreal,” did not they commit a great mistake by sacrificing one unreality for a number of other unrealities? But our author is reminded and reminds us of the truth that “All that was real in those who have died is immortal and ever-present.” (P. 307.) We shall however close with one more quotation: “Nothing else is real except God, and relations of time and space are only the order of his manifestation. Nature is just the manifestation of God, and evolution is no mere biological or physical phenomenon, but the order in time-relations of his manifestation.” (P. 310).

There is much in Dr. Haldane's words with which we sympathise and which we can accept with the proper qualifications. But we miss these qualifications in the extracts we have made and in fact in his whole system. In emphasising unity and showing the abstractness of the individual apart from the Universal he commits the opposite mistake of not seeing, like our old Advaitavádins, that a bare Universal unrelated to individuals, a unity apart from differences, is as much an abstraction as those which he delights in exposing.

We shall try next to show this radical defect of his philosophy.

II

Dr. Haldane, as we have already seen, says : "It is only in so far as God is manifested in us that we partake of reality...It is God manifested within us, and not the abstraction which we call our individual self, that is the Creator and Sustainer of time-relations themselves." Again : "Nature is just the manifestation of God, and evolution is no mere biological or physical phenomenon, but the order in time-relations of his manifestation." We agree ; but it seems to us that our author does not see the full significance of the term 'manifestation' used by him in the above quotations and elsewhere in his book. If he had seen it, he would not have spoken of the individual so disparagingly as he so often does. As the reader may remember from the quotations we made in the first part of our article, he speaks of individual personality as 'unreal' and of the immortality of individual persons as "a meaningless conception."

Let us see however what 'manifestation' means. It will be readily admitted that it is only through God's manifestation to us—'within us' is Dr. Haldane's own phrase,—that we know him, and as that manifestation is real, God must be as he is manifested to us. The importance of understanding the real significance of manifestation cannot therefore be exaggerated.

Hegel explains 'manifestation' as 'being for another' or 'being for an other'¹ and the correctness of this explanation is quite evident. The manifestation or revelation of God to or within us is just *our knowledge of God*. This implies a duality, a duality of subject and object, knower and known, each related to the other and thus constituting a unity-in-difference. Knowledge is impossible without both these moments,—unity and difference. The denial or disparagement of any one of them lands us in abstract thought, whatever form it may take,—Dualism, Monism or anything else. In God's manifestation to us therefore,—in every form of our knowledge of God,—he reveals himself as distinct from and yet one with us. In knowing him as infinite and perfect we necessarily know ourselves as finite and imperfect. In knowing him as "the Creator and Sustainer of time-relations" we know these relations to be real, or else their "Creator and Sustainer" would be, in Dr. Haldane's own phrase, "a meaningless conception." In knowing that God transcends the limitations of time and space, we know at the same time that we are under these limitations. 'Here' and 'there,' 'now' and 'then' are equally present to him, but not to us. To us only the 'here' and the 'now' are immediate, while the 'there' and the 'then' are mediate. The individual therefore is not to be disparaged, far less ignored or denied. The Universal and the Individual are necessarily and indissolubly related, and the one is as real as the other. If the individual is an abstraction apart from the Universal, the Universal apart from the individual is equally an abstraction. To teach therefore, as Dr. Haldane does, that the death of the individual does not matter, for "All that was real in those who have died is immortal and ever-present," is really indulging in abstractions. The individual, as a moment of concrete reality, *cannot die*. What is real in him, what makes him what he is, is his self-consciousness as a person distinct from and yet one with the Universal. He is either this or nothing at all.

¹ *The Philosophy of Religion*, Pt. III, pp. 2, 77, 98 &c.

The Universal himself, if he is a person, as Dr. Haldane teaches him to be everywhere in his book, must be ever-conscious of the individual as related to him,—as distinct from and yet one with him. Thus alone can he be truly self-conscious and a true person. This truth is liable to be overlooked and ignored owing to the apparent transiency of our existence as individuals. We seem to be born and to die, and even during our short lifetime our consciousness seems to be extremely intermittent,—alternating with more or less long durations of unconsciousness. Our knowledge of this intermittence and the constant reproduction of the contents of our consciousness which it implies indeed reveal to the deeply thoughtful our citizenship of an eternal kingdom. But this fact escapes the ordinary thinker and he does not see the individual's necessity as a moment of Reality. Nature seems to be a far more lasting manifestation of God—in fact a necessary manifestation,—to scientific theistic thought, and in its constant presence the death of the human individual does not seem to matter. This is evidently Dr. Haldane's attitude. To him, as we have already seen, "Nature is just the manifestation of God and evolution.....the order in time-relations of his manifestations." But the fact is that Nature being a manifestation of God, and manifestation meaning revelation *to another* it implies the same duality of subject and object as human life. To a spiritual philosophy like Dr. Haldane's the various stages of the evolutionary process, in fact all natural events, cannot be anything but presentations by an Eternal Spirit to a spirit or spirits subject to time-relations,—a person or persons to whom things appear and from whom they disappear. If nature is a unity,—a continuous process, which it undoubtedly is to scientific thought,—it necessarily implies a superhuman spirit,—indefinitely larger than man though not infinite in the truest sense,—to whom the whole panorama of creation is successively presented. Both Hindu and Christian philosophy postulate such a cosmic spirit, the former under the name of Brahma or Hiranyagarbha and the latter under that of the 'Word' 'the only begotten Son of

God.' If Dr. Haldane rejects this conception, as he seems to do by his silence about it, Nature to him ceases to be a manifestation of God, as his idea of it becomes as abstract as the 'realistic' idea of a material world. However, if Nature is, as it is to the true idealist, the son of God, what we have said about our deathlessness applies to him as fully as, if not more fully than, to us. A system of "spiritual realism," such as Dr. Haldane attempts to establish in his book, is a mere metaphysical chimera, with an Eternal Spirit that is timeless on the one hand and on the other an impersonal order of time-relations resulting in a countless series of rational beings engulfed in everlasting death. Its chimerical character will be more evident when we consider the world as a moral order with its various interests and values.

Dr. Haldane devotes a lecture to this important subject, but he fails to see that for a lonely Universal and Eternal, "above the vicissitudes of time."—with no other spirit to distinguish from him,—no interests or values either sensuous, intellectual, emotional or spiritual, either domestic, social, national or international, have any real meaning, all of them implying the existence of real and not merely apparent spiritual beings related to one another and progressive in their nature both as individuals and members of a brotherhood. The unreality of the individual taught by our author therefore makes all values unreal and only apparent. Personality, the real source of all values, is the most valuable of things. Its transiency, as taught by our author so far as man is concerned, makes all values transient. Dr. Haldane indeed speaks of God as a person and a loving person. But of what worth is a person without relation to other persons? And what can 'love' mean without real and permanent objects of love? All values depend on relation, and love is the highest of all relations. It may be said and this is implied in what Dr. Haldane teaches in his book, that values are conserved in the continuance of human society, the experience of individuals, whether they live or die, helping others in their progress. On this subject we content ourselves by repeating what we said on

another occasion :—“The moral good of the individual is indeed social ; it is constituted by his relation to society. But the moral progress of a society means nothing apart from the moral progress of individuals composing it. If the good man really dies, there is so far a cessation of moral progress even though his life may give rise to better persons in future. The demands of our moral nature are not met by the perpetuation and gradual progress of the race; they call for the immortality of both the race and the individual. It needs hardly to be added that those who have lost faith in personal immortality cannot keep up their faith even in the immortality of the race. The same laws that bring about in a few years the dissolution of the human organism will also bring about in a few millions of years the extinction of the earth as the habitat of the human race, and there will then remain no race to be benefited and enriched by the moral acquisitions of perishing individuals. The race and the individual are bound up with each other. They live or die together. If you lose faith in the one, you must lose faith in the other also. It is in vain to give up the one and stick to the other. ‘The immortality of the race’ is a straw which the man drowning in the sea of doubt catches at in his last despair.”

PANDIT SITANATH TATTVABHUSHAN

Reviews

The Nyaya System of Indian Philosophy—"Akṣapāda Gotama."—By Pandit Narendrachandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., published by the author from Tirtha-niketan, 62/5A, Beadon Street, Calcutta, pp. 112+16. Price Re. 1.

The subject-matter of the work is very difficult, and we are glad to observe that Pandit Narenchandra Vedantathirtha, M.A., has solved in it a host of debatable questions which deal with the most difficult subject of the name, birth-place and the age of the author of Nyaya-system of Indian Philosophy.

The questions raised by the author are—whether the name of the founder of the Indian Logical system is Gotama or Gautama; if he is known by the name of Gotama, then which of the Gotamas he may be identified with, and how his time may be fixed. The husband of Ahalya, a contemporary of Ramachandra, is also well-known as Gotama or Gautama. Is the husband of Ahalya then the founder of the Nyaya system or some one else before him?

The author of the Nyaya-sutra is well known in India as Akṣapāda also. What, then, is the import of this word—Akṣapāda? It is then necessary to solve whether the usual meaning of the word in 'having a pair of eyes on the feet' does fit in here. Of course, before the present author, some have devoted their time and labour, more or less, to fix the age and personality of the author of the Nyaya-sutra, but we are very sorry to say that we do not find anywhere else, such a critical and systematic treatment of the subject with so many fascinating arguments and thoughtful conclusions as may be seen in this work of the learned Pandit Narendrachandra. The author has concluded that Gotama, the author of the Nyaya system, may be identified with the renowned sage Dirghatamā of the Vedic period and as such he has advanced a series of arguments to that effect placing the Logician about 6000 B. C.

There is mention of the word "Akṣa", masculine, in the sense of 'blind from the very birth', to be had in the celebrated Lexicon Savda-ratnavali quoted in the Savda-Kalpadruma. The sage Dirghatamā, being blind from his very birth, there is no cause why he should not be named as 'Akṣa'. Then the significance of the word "Pāda" should be ascertained. The author says that the word "Pāda" indicates

honour and respect, as the words "Bhatta", "Acharyya", etc. Raghunāth Siromani was blind of one eye and so he is known as Kānabhatta; besides a father is generally said to be a "Tātapāda" in Sanskrit out of regard for his person. The author of the Nyaya-sutra is also called Akṣapāda out of regard for his distinguishing merits. Our author has proved this point very creditably and established his novel and original theory on incontestable facts and figures. The name "Gotama" also points to the same fact. The word "tama" means "darkness", it may signify "ignorance" as well. 'Sightlessness' may be very well explained by the word "tama". It is said in the Puranas that Gotama was afterwards favoured by the divine cow Surabhi who dispelled his everlasting darkness by providing him with a pair of eyes and the word "Gotama", is no doubt, indicative of that fact.

In order to fix the chronology of the founder of the Nyaya system, the author has had to criticise the views of the Western Scholars like Prof. Maxmuller, Jacobi, Keith, and others. In those criticisms also we find sufficient proofs of the experience, scholarship and far-sightedness of the author. Finally, the author has discussed and shown that the Nyaya system of Philosophy was written and prevailing even before the birth of the "Buddha". That Pandit Narendrachandra is specially versed in history as well, can be thoroughly seen from these discussions. We have, to say the least, gained much satisfaction to peruse this unique publication.

The book under notice has been printed and published as an Introduction to "Dārshanika-Tarkavidyā". It appears to us that the author has been writing or has already composed a bigger work on the Nyaya system of Gotama. We suppose that the principles embodied in the abstruse Nyaya system of Philosophy have therein received a due treatment; and if we are correct in our conjectures, we eagerly and earnestly long for the publication of that important work. It will not be out of place to say that there is hardly any book on Nyaya in Bengali to meet the demands of the learned public of Bengal; the one or two books already published, have not, at all, been able to clear away the logical abstrusity of the subject. It is next to impossible to present the difficult subject-matter and the subtle theories of Nyaya before Bengali readers in a very easy and intelligible way by one who is not well acquainted with the manner and method of discussion and the technicalities of Nyaya specially Navya-Naya, along with a strong hold on the Bengali language and literature at the same time. From the simplicity of expressions, dignity, liveliness and elegance of the style, forcibility and intelligibility of the arguments

in this introductory work, we may reasonably hope that Pandit Vedantatirtha's earnest attempts will be, no doubt, successful in the matter. Professor Radhakrishnan and Professor Dasgupta have attained name and fame by composing the 'History of Indian Philosophy', but it is much to be regretted that there is hardly any account of Navya-Nyaya even in their celebrated works. It may be that they have been dissuaded from similar attempts on account of the unpopularity of the subject. Pandit Dayákrishna of Sylhet has written a Bengali book on translating some important portions of Gangesha's "Tattva-Chintamany", but has not, at all, been successful to render the subject-matter easier in any way. In his book also, attempts have been made to clear away the abstruse technicalities of Navya-Nyaya, but we are sorry to notice that the same difficulty of the time-honoured "Avachcheda", "Vyadhikarana-dharmāvachchinna" and many other technical terms has still been intact. Will not Pandit Vedantatirtha be able to fulfil our expectation and meet a long-felt demand of the educated public?

K. SASTRI

India and the Simon Report.—By C. F. ANDREWS. GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, Ltd. 3s net.

The present condition of Indian administration is too well-known to bear repetition in this part of the country, but the book has been designed for a different purpose. It gives an account of the national upheaval which may be witnessed all over India and which received an impetus due to the Simon Report,—whence the name of the book. Mr. Andrews was the most suitable man to write it,—having had occasion to view men and things in India at close quarters and being closely associated with the movement which he seeks to describe and analyse. He has been prompted to take the pen, as he has been roused by the superiorly complex, by the new idea that bids fair to be popular in the West, *viz.*, the Indians are racially inferior to the British. What other way out for him but to show to the West, how India is certainly not inferior in point of civilization, how she can stand any fair and reasonable scrutiny.

The book is an attempt on behalf of a lover of both the countries, to reconcile them to friendly alliance, and to prevent bloodshed, for it is his fear, as it is that of many others, that "a guerilla warfare,"

with all the miseries of incessant shooting and bloodshed in every part of the country, may take the place of the present passive struggle.

But "Lord Birkenhead and the Simon Commission" were in limelight, and they pointed to the plague spot of India her political subjection. The trouble is deeper; and taking of other things Mr. Andrews goes on to tell us that the present architecture of the office buildings and the constitution of the Indian Christian Church both fail to satisfy the needs of the people. If the disease that the Indian body politic has been suffering from is to be diagnosed the shame of subjection must be realised as well as the national programme placed before the workers by Mahatma Gandhi requires to be understood.

Mr. Andrews finds no such bars to unification in India as frighten away many wise heads both in India and England. The Hindu-Mussalman problem simply does not exist before "the greatest levelling factor in modern India—nationalism," at least, that is the opinion of a worker like him who has been to the remote corners of the country and mingled freely with the masses that toil.

The appendices are a distinctly valuable contribution, specially the interview with Rabindranath published in the *Manchester Guardian* on May 17, 1930, in course of which he was reported to have said:

"The time will come when reparation will have to be made. Therefore, I trust and hope that the best minds of England will feel ashamed of every form of tyrannical action, just as we ourselves have been ashamed at the violence which has broken out on our side."

The two letters written by Mahatma Gandhi and incorporated in the appendices are worth perusal though they must be familiarly known to all lovers of India by now, and while recommending the book as a stimulating reading, we may be allowed to quote one pertinent passage, pertinent at this time of the day when politicians are busy in London devising safeguard:—

"This freedom must be entirely unfettered; for in that lies its moral value. The independence must be unconditioned; for here again to impose conditions would destroy its moral content.....There can be no dallying in an intermediate stage where the great principles of freedom become confused and the swift currents of idealism run sluggish.....A protected India, with innumerable safeguards, can only develop weakness. But an India that launches out boldly into its own freedom under the inspiration of a moral genius like Mahatma Gandhi may fall back a hundred times, but in the long run it will stand upon its own feet with its manhood and its womanhood restored

to their full stature. No one but a prophet can bring to the heart of India in her present bondage the inward freedom which her soul so passionately desires." (Pp. 122-23.)

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Present-day Banking and Currency.--By B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University.

It is admirable in its comprehensiveness. No topic on Indian Banking, present and past, has escaped the notice of the author. Every theme has been worked out in detail, all conclusions have been supported with up-to-date statistics and information, as well as quotations from and references to known authorities on the subject. At the same time the volume does not lack altogether in original contributions. The chapters on the indigenuous banker, the loan companies of Bengal and topics of the Hundi system, agricultural credit and banking management particularly evince a painstaking spirit of research and original remarks. The author has boldly criticised and impartially pronounced judgments on many of the partisan-like conclusions which are so unfortunately prevalent in circle of the experts, real or so-called, in banking.

His views and suggestions may not be unquestionably accepted by all and his working of the details in some cases may seem a bit too much to many a real master of the subject and expert worker in the field, but to the students of the Indian banking system and to the curious general readers, the book will prove to be not only of immense interests but also serviceable for all information regarding the Indian banking system.

A. K. SARKAR,

Greetings to Young India.--By Benoykumar Sarkar. Published by M. N. RAYCHOWDHURY & Co., CALCUTTA Price Re. 1.

Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar has been long a toiler, earnest and unwearied, in the cause of Indian cultural nationalism, and his countrymen looked on with admiration while he was feeling the pulses of the world and studying men and things under other skies. When he returned to India after twelve continuous years of travel, he was received with gratitude for the service he had been rendering. On his

arrival he made some observations on different topics which are here published in book form and provide suitable reading for those who want to understand the present and see into the future. The 27 chapters embrace a long range of subjects—art, culture, commerce, politics, economics, education,—and whatever Prof. Sarkar has got to say invites attention. His suggestions are not commonplace but fresh, not vague but definite, proceeding from a mind not crude but well-informed. He is one of those rare critics who come out with a constitutive programme. But where are the men to work out his suggestions?

P. S.

A Refutation of the Versailles War Guilt Thesis.—By Dr. Alfred von Wegerer. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930. Price \$ 3'00.

Dr. Alfred von Wegerer has made a distinct contribution to the history of the World War. The author's fundamental thesis is that the Versailles verdict concerning Germany's sole responsibility for the war is false. This decision was arrived at because the commission which pronounced the verdict had to depend upon forged materials. He further holds that "a revision of this verdict is necessary in order to restore Germany's good name and to take the edge off the discordances between the nations which have arisen out of the false verdict on the outbreak of the World War.

Dr. Wegerer has devoted about eight years or more to study all the available materials on the causes of the World War and produced a work whose value will grow in importance. Every assertion made by the author in refutation of the charges about Germany's sole responsibility for the World War is backed by a document or an authoritative work.

Those who are interested in practical politics will find that this book will more and more be used by the German public as an effective weapon for the revision of the treaty of Versailles which in its Article 231 says:—"The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the War imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."

Germany's alleged responsibility for causing the World War makes her responsible for making up the financial damages caused by it,

There lies the basis of the so-called "Reparation" which Germany has been indirectly forced to accept.

Germany's future foreign policy will be to bring about such a condition in world politics that the Versailles Treaty, by which she has been robbed of her colonies and has been saddled with a vast Reparation, may be revised.

The value of Dr. Wegerer's book has been materially increased by an exceedingly able and interesting preface by Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes of Smiths College (U. S. A.). Prof. Barnes thinks that the allied powers, to enslave and rob the vanquished, cleverly laid down the false dictum of Germany's responsibility for the World War.

This book should be read by every student of World Politics. It is a valuable reference book for the students of history.

TARAKNATH DAS

Federal India.—By Col. K. N. Haksar, C.I.E. and K. M. Panikkar. London Martin Hopkinson, 1930. Price 10s. 6d.

When the Round Table Conference on India met in London, the whole world was astonished to learn that the Indian Princes had favoured the formation of a Federal India in which the Indian states will become component parts. They also advocated that a Federal India should enjoy equality of status with all other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. British statesmen were greatly surprised to learn this decision of the Princes, because the Simon Commission Report, the Government of India's Report and the Butler Commission's Report passed the judgment that there was not the remotest possibility of forming a Federated India in which the Indian Princes would be willing to participate.

The Princes of India have lately become much upset by the recent developments in India. The British Government in violation of the existing treaties have usurped some of the very fundamental rights of Indian Princes who are supposed to be its allies. By exercising the "doctrine of paramountcy" the Government of India has reduced the Indian Princes as mere vassals. On the other hand Indian nationalists have begun to denounce them as "enemies and traitors to the cause of Indian freedom."

The Princes have very ably utilised the occasion of the Round Table Conference on India to establish that they are Indians first and are not

opposed to Indian aspirations; and at the same time they have demanded that their status—their treaty rights—should be judiciously determined and protected by the future constitution of a Federal India in which they will play an important part. For this, the able ministers of Indian Princes and their unquestioned patriotism and statesmanship should be recognised by all impartial students of the present-day India.

Let this be here asserted that if there was no boycott of the Simon Commission, and no Civil Disobedience movement under the leadership of the All India National Congress, then possibly there would not have been a Round Table Conference. Furthermore if the Princes of India, under the guidance of their able ministers, were not anxious to champion the cause of Federated India enjoying virtual dominion status, then the British statesmen would not have thought of adopting the course which might bring about a real United India including the Indian States.

The idea of a Federal India including the Indian States could not be easily brushed aside by British experts because, this idea has been very concretely and admirably presented before the world by a volume "A Federal India" by Col. K. N. Haksar, C.I.E., Political Member of the Gwalior Government and Mr. K. M. Panikkar, Secretary to the Princes Delegation to the Round Table Conference.

This book should be carefully studied by all who are interested in the future of India. To my judgment it is a distinct contribution to the valuable literature on comparative constitution and evolution of states. The authors have so ably and concisely presented various facts on constitutional history of various federal governments—the United States of America, the Swiss Confederation and the German Confederation and others—that it must excite admiration of impartial scholars. The book is a credit to Indian Scholarship in the field of Political Science.

The authors have not tried to work out a federation of Indian States and British India on an ideal basis. They have tried to draw an outline of a federation, which is within the sphere of practical politics. They think that at the present stage of political evolution of India, "a centralised unitary government for the whole of India is not yet an attainable ideal. And to have the Indian States as they are, that is as 'foreign' territories, would be to evade the crux of the problem" (p. 145). In this scheme the Indian States would enjoy internal autonomy, except in so far as it is modified by the constitution of the Federal State. "It may be that some states would have constitutional form of government, others a purely personal one. The difference of form need not stand in the way of a Federation. In Imperial Germany, the free cities like

Hamburg and Danzig, with their traditional Republican forms of Government, freely joined Prussia, Bavaria and other states which were monarchical " (p. 83). While advocating certain practices prevalent in Imperial Germany—such as Federal Council and special provisions for various states to participate in various committees, the authors rightly lay special stress in the need of the establishment of the Supreme Court, which will have the power to decide disputed questions on constitutional problems involving the states.

Space would not permit me to make a detailed examination of the suggestion made in this volume about the nature and function of the Federal Government in India. However it should be noted that the authors do not propose to erect "responsible government" for the whole of United India. They write:—"Responsible Government means the control of the executive by an elected legislature. If the Federal Executive is made responsible to a body elected by a *non-federal and unitary* basis, then the guarantees provided for the states will become illusory..... A parliamentary government for the whole of India is therefore not conceivable if the interests of the states are to be guaranteed and maintained. British has been promised responsible government. It has also been officially stated that the necessary implication of this promise is Dominion Status. Our proposal is perfectly consistent with the realisation of both these ideals. British India would enjoy responsible government for purposes of exclusive affairs, and for purposes of All-India affairs, by alliance with the states, a Dominion would come into being, the central authority of which would be created by agreement " (pp. 120-122).

In this connection the authors suggest that to guarantee all the Indian States a share in executive authority over the matters of common concern, there should be various standing committees of the Federal Council. "The standing Committees of the Council, in each of which adequate representation would be given to the princes, would be for— (1) Defence (2) Foreign Affairs and Political Relations (3) Trade and Commerce (4) Customs and Indirect Taxation (5) Transport, including Railways (6) Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones and (7) Currency, Exchange, Banking. In no case would the representation of the states be less than one-third; and on certain committees some states, which have special interests, would have to be given a permanent place—*e.g.*, Kashmir on the Committee on Defence, since that state borders on Russia, Chinese Turkestan, and on Tibet; Hyderabad on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, since the foreign relations of India would be mainly with Islamic countries (*Sic*).....[It may, however, be mentioned that

the proposal to confer permanent seats on the Standing Committees is not a novel one. On the Council of the League of Nations the great powers have permanent seats allotted to them. Even in Republican Germany, Bavaria is accorded this privilege. Considering the great differences of area, population, and revenue among the Indian States, manifestly it would not be fair to treat them alike. Important states will not come into any scheme which does not secure to them an effective share in the exercise of the power they surrender " (pages 112-113).

The Nehru Report (published by the All India National Congress in 1928) presented the ideal of the Indian nationalists trying to work out a constitution for India with a Dominion Status, within the British Empire. This report made special mention of guaranteeing the Indian Princes, their rights in a federation. This report was denounced by some Indian Princes. Now in "A Federal India" by Col. Haksar and Mr. Panikkar we have the scheme of federation which will be acceptable to the Princes. Practical statesmen interested in the formation of a Federated India will be greatly benefited by the perusal of this book.

TARAKNATH DAS

England under Queen Anne (Blenheim).—By George Macaulay Trevelyan, O. M., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, 8vo. pp. xii, 477. Price 21s net. Longmans, Green & Co.

In this admirable volume, we have the history of England under Queen Anne up to the great victory of Blenheim, a great event in the making of modern England. A country with five and a half million sturdy inhabitants had just solved its constitutional question, had sent its tyrannical king to exile and under a foreign king had come forward to make its importance felt by an attempt to check the aspiration of a king who almost succeeded in making himself the dictator of Europe. William III, the sworn enemy of Louis XIV, had devoted his life to the curbing of the pride of the Grand Monarch, but had not lived long to complete his great task. His mantle had not fallen on one equally energetic or capable. But the people of England had taken up the work he had begun. War with Louis was renewed though William was gone. Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts, was on the throne. She lacked the abilities of her predecessor, but a new England had arisen, an England which produced eminent men of genius, capable

of promoting the national cause in all spheres of activity and thereby making their mother country move "forward in the path of destiny".

In his own admirable way, the author begins with a description of England of the time. He depicts English town-life and gives a description of country gentlemen and their various types. He then passes on to the position of women and gives us a picture of female education as it was understood in those days and presents an account of the divergence of public opinion on the subject. There is also a fine picture of the marriage-market, and showing how 'in the upper and middle classes husbands were found for girls on the principle of 'frank barter.' Then follows an interesting account of contemporary social vices like gambling, drinking and dwelling. The condition of the parochial clergy, the position of the Catholics and the conflict of High and Low Church receive their proper attention from the author, and this is followed by a detailed account of the city of London, its growing commerce, its local institutions and its social and economic condition.

After a careful discussion of the above topics, the author devotes his attention to the position of parties in England and the prelude to the Spanish War of Succession. New light has been thrown on the nature and character of Queen Anne. In his brilliant analysis of temperament and her aims, we find in the Queen more of a desire to have her own rather than a meek submission to others. As the author shows, the Queen's friendship for Sarah Churchill was rooted in genuine human affection, but like the friendship of Hamlet and Horatio "it flourished on a contrast of temperaments." If Sarah looked primarily to her own self-interest, the Queen, too, had her own objections. Thus, instead of advancing the claims of Sarah's husband, the Queen entertained the ambition of putting her own stupid consort at the head of the allied armies. In the appointments to the church, the Queen always selected high churchmen, rather than the nominees of the Whigs, and Sarah's influence "went for nothing at all." In short, Anne had inherited all the Stuart instincts. At heart, she still believed in her 'right divine', but self interest had made her wiser than her father and if she recognised the checks imposed by Parliament on the royal power, she admitted it only as an accomplished fact, which it was too risky to nullify.

As in the case of the Queen, so in regard to Marlborough, the learned author attempts with justice to save England's great Generalissimo from the charges of perpetual perversity and habitual treachery, as we find in the writings of Macaulay and the Tory writers of the

period. Marlborough's true place was between Macaulay's 'villain of genius and the high-minded public devotion of Wellington.'

These fine character sketches are followed by an equally fine description of party strife in contemporary England. The author's illuminating style and lively description take us to the contemporary life. He describes the two rival parties, the electioneering methods and the great personalities of the Whig Junto like Wharton, Somers, Halifax and Oxford. He shows how Wharton was a man "without any principle in private, but an example of public loyalty in a slippery age, a monstrous compound of the very worst and the best."

The history of the great struggle is written in similar style. The army of Marlborough and the militia is described and we have accounts of the feuds at the Spanish Court. The notes, maps and the appendices add to the value of the work.

We offer our heartiest welcome to this fine work of an able writer, who is already too well-known. At the same time, we await the completion of the history of the reign of Queen Anne. The author adds to the laurels already won by him, and confers great benefits upon students and teachers alike. The printing and get-up are good as usual and the publishers are to be congratulated for all this.

N. C. BANERJEE

Lord Hastings and the Indian States.—By Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.) Bar-at-Law, with a foreword by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. Royal, 8 vo, pp. xv, and 275. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporewala and Sons, Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay.

At a time when the status and character of the Indian States under the paramountcy of the British Government are claiming public attention not only in India but in England, Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta has come forward with this volume on Lord Moira and his policy towards the Indian States. The value of the work has been enhanced by a brilliant foreword written by Sir P. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.I.E., C.I.E.

The author who is an inhabitant of one of the most ancient Indian States, took up the suggestions of Dr. C. Delisle Burns of Glasgow and worked with a view to write a book on the Indian States 'from the impartial stand-point of an unofficial student', in order to state the relations existing between these Indian States and the paramount

power and to pave the way for the solution of the great question of their place in an All-India Confederation.

The first chapter of the volume gives us a picture of the political condition of India at the time of Lord Hastings' assumption of the Governor-Generalship of India. Next, he goes on to discuss the avowed policy of non-intervention once held by Lord Hastings and shows how he was compelled to change it. Several subsequent chapters describe the causes and circumstances leading to the Third Mahratta War and the suppression of the Pindaris, all ultimately establishing the ascendancy of the British Company in India. The last two chapters discuss the sovereignty of the Indian States and give the author's own estimate of Hastings' work.

In writing out these chapters, the author has worked hard, having consulted almost all the English records, memoirs and historical works available. Had he but consulted some of the papers or records of the Indian States, the value of the work would have been further enhanced and this would have made his views more approaching the standard of impartiality which he claims. For although the imbecility and worthlessness of the Indian rulers were mainly responsible for their final downfall, the policy of the British Company and its officers deserves often the severest condemnation. Indian records if available would have done much to state the case of these princes who in their own way have a right to be heard.

It will be unpolitic in these days, when the Indian States are going to join the coming Federation of India, to raise the vexed question of past relation between the Company and the Indian princes. But no sincere and honest student of history will justify the treatment meted out to the Indian rulers. Incompetent and worthless most of them undoubtedly were and India suffered from a dearth of genius and a lack of personalities. The house of Taimur produced weaklings, the house of Sivaji produced profligate refugees in the harem and power passed to new lines of usurpers. After two or three generations of activity, these usurpers were themselves transformed into those imbecile beings, whom their forefathers had displaced.

Under these rulers, India enjoyed neither peace nor respite. War and aggression remained the guiding policy of all in position. The weakness of these rulers made them invoke the aid of foreign mercenaries and these raised themselves to position and power. Despicable men like Samru who in their own countries would have been readily hanged in

the midst of public applause became men of consequence and even rulers in India!

In the midst of all these, the British Company came forward to make a bid for political power. Success attended their intrigues and their military activity. After one or two defeats, Indian princes, fond of pleasure, handed over to the Company the task of protecting them and for this they surrendered valuable slices of their dominions. The contingents maintained at the cost of Indian princes served only to strengthen their new masters and they forged their own fetters. The alliance between the company and the princes, once on equal footing was, turned into a subsidiary one. The rulers of Indian States had to submit to everwaxing demands. The Residents became their liege-lords while in many cases, their own servants, with the connivance of the sovereign power became their masters. This was galling to many. Some princes like Sekandar Jah retired to the harem. Others like Baji Rao II, the evil genius of the Mahrattas, intrigued thought of resisting at last and thus ended their lives in agony and exile.

After Wellesley, came Lord Hastings, the next great founder of British power in India. He reduced the Maharattas to impotence and the Rajputs to perpetual dependence. At the same time he crushed the Pindaris. His public policy made him establish peace in Central India and he did it by absorbing the pre-eminent Maharatta State, reducing others like Holkar of Indore to vassalage and by rewarding the great services of Amir Khan and Gofur Khan with chief-ships at Tonk and Jaora. From the English point of view, he had done excellent service. He had followed the aggressive policy of Wellesley with vengeance and more than half completed his task. Two more successors like Ellenborough and Dalhousie were needed to enslave the Sikh state of the Punjab and the Amirs of Sind. As the result of Hastings' policy, the Indian states "ceased to be independent sovereign, bodies." "Theoretically speaking, they were internally sovereign, but even their functions of internal government were only discharged with the sufferance of the British Government."

The author's estimate of Hastings is good and his parallelism between Wellesley and Hastings very fine. He tries to be impartial and uses moderate language. A little bit of stronger language in condemning some of Hastings' policy—his extinction of the Peshwa's State, his rewards to Amir Khan and Gofur Khan and his support to Chandulal, would have added to the value of his criticism. Lastly, while we can safely accept his statement that 'Hastings' dealing with the states

constitute a prominent landmark in the course of Anglo-Indian annals' we entertain very grave doubts as to the truth of his statement that 'the problem of the Indian states ceased to be a military one.'

On the whole, the book is good and we recommend it to students and scholars.

N. C. BANERJEE.

The Splendour that was Ind—a Survey of Indian Culture and Civilization (from the earliest times to the death of Emperor Aurangzeb). By K. T. Shah, B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Bar.-at-Law, Professor of Economics, University of Bombay, xxxv + 236, 8' x 11", published by Messrs. Taraporevala, Kitabmahal, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Messrs. Taraporevala are to be congratulated on having undertaken the publication of this fine volume by Prof. K. T. Shah, whose other works on Indian economics and finance have already given him an international reputation. The present volume shows that Prof. Shah is not a mere economist, but proves him to be one who can explore the very basis of Indian cultural and social life and give a lucid exposition of it. He tackles all sorts of intricate topics yet explains everything in his own way. He also evokes the interest of the reader in matters which too often appear hackneyed and common place.

The ambition of the author and its great magnitude has been very rightly emphasised by the Marquis of Zetland, known to Indians not only as a great English statesman, but as the able writer of the *Heart of Aryavarta*, in addition to his other works. Dr. Shah's 'canvas is vast, the span of time great and the material under view so varied!' yet he wields his brush carefully and presents things in their true perspective and colour. His first chapter gives a masterly presentation of the 'panoramic view' of India and in the next we have a fine description of the diverse races and peoples which make up the life of a living India. In succeeding chapters, the author describes the heroes and saints of the country, the makers of history and the builders of empire. He then passes on to poetry and drama, and then to religion and philosophy. Music and dancing as well as painting and sculpture, which unfolds the true psychology of a people next receive their proper attention. Lastly the author gives a fine exposition of Indian social life and analyses the caste system which too often calls for sneer and ridicule from European writers and their more fanatical disciples—modernised Indians.

In all these chapters, the author shows his originality of presentation and even in topics of dispute, his views are often sounder than many researchers. The different schools of architecture and painting receive the author's attention and we have illustrations of the best specimens of Indian temples, tombs and palaces.

To bring the present in harmony with the past and to mark the stages of Indian cultural development have been the main theme of the author and in this task he has succeeded eminently. Very few writers could have achieved this task better. Very few could have handled the exposition of the Indian social problem so ably. Dr. Shah is up-to-date in his way of thinking but is conscious of the existence of a real India, an India with a soul of her own, which western influences cannot easily destroy. The illustrations are fine and add to the value of the work, which ought to find its way to every library and to every scholar. Considering the numerous illustrations and the costly get up, the price is not high.

A History of India for High Schools—By E. Marsden, B.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., I.E.S. (Rtd.) and Sir Henry Sharp, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.E.S. (Retd.). Cr. 8 vo. pp. 284. Macmillan & Co.

This book written by two eminent authors is meant for High School students. The authors have done their work carefully and the book is sure to be useful to students. The language is easy and the student will surely form an idea as to the main events of Indian history. The addition of more details would have made the book better. The printing is good and the illustrations very fine.

N. C. BANERJEE

Ourselves

THE NEXT ANNUAL CONVOCATION

The next Annual Convocation of the Senate will be held on the 28th February, 1931, at 3 P.M.

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THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN SCIENCE FOR 1930.

The Jubilee Research Prize in Science for the year 1930, has been awarded to Mr. Satyaprasad Raychaudhuri, M.Sc., on his thesis entitled "Soil Acidity and Base Exchange in Soil."

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RESULT OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW, NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 919, of whom 408 passed, 211 failed, 1 was expelled, and 299 were absent. Of the successful candidates 42 were placed in Class I, and 366 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 65·9.

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RESULT OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW, NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 567, of whom 305 passed, 92 failed, and 170 were absent. Of the successful candidates 32 were placed in Class I, and 273 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 76·83.

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RESULT OF THE FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW,
NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 679, of whom 228 passed, 120 failed, 330 were absent, and 1 was expelled. Of the successful candidates 20 were placed in Class I, and 208 placed in Class II. The percentage of pass was 65.5.

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RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY SCIENTIFIC M.B.
EXAMINATION, NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 56, of whom 39 passed, 17 failed, none was expelled, and none was absent.

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RESULT OF THE SECOND M.B. EXAMINATION,
NOVEMBER, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 103, of whom 73 passed, 30 failed, none was expelled and none was absent.

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A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Rasbehari Das has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on his thesis on "The Self and the Ideal."

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KRISHNAKUMARI GANESH PRASAD PRIZE AND MEDAL FOR
RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF MATHEMATICS IN INDIA
BEFORE 1600 A.D.

Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Hardinge Professor of Higher Mathematics in the Calcutta University and President of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, has handed over to the Society 2½% G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 1,400 for the creation of an endowment for the purpose of awarding a prize and a medal in memory of his daughter. The Calcutta Mathematical Society has laid down the following rules for the award of the medal and prize :—

(1) A research prize and a gold medal shall be instituted to be named Krishnakumari Ganesh Prasad Prize and Medal after the name of the donor's daughter.

(2) The prize and the medal shall be awarded every fifth year to the author of the best thesis embodying the result of original research or investigation in a topic connected with the history of Hindu Mathematics before 1600 A. D.

(3) The subject of the thesis shall be prescribed by the Council of the Calcutta Mathematical Society at least two years in advance.

(4) The last day of submitting the thesis for the award in a particular year shall be the 31st March of that year.

(5) The prize and the medal shall be open to competition to all nationals of the world without any distinction of race, caste or creed.

(6) A Board of Honorary Examiners consisting of (i) the President of the Society, (ii) an expert in the subject nominated by the donor, or after his death, such an expert nominated by donor's heirs, and (iii-v) three experts in the subject elected by the Council of the Society, shall be appointed as soon as possible after the last day of receiving the theses.

(7) The recommendation of the Board of Examiners shall be

placed before the next annual meeting of the Society and the decision of that meeting shall be final.

(8) Every candidate shall be required to submit three copies (type written) of his or her thesis.

(9) If in any year no theses is received or the theses submitted be pronounced by the Board of Examiners to be not of sufficient merit, a second prize or a prize in a second subject, or a prize of enhanced value, may be awarded in a subsequent year or years as the Council of the Calcutta Mathematical Society may determine.

(10) The thesis of the successful candidate shall be printed by the Society.

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INDIAN THEATRE IN MUNICH¹

The Deutsche Akademie has the pleasure of announcing to the Indian public that the Indian Student's Club of Munich staged the famous drama *Chitra* of Rabindranath Tagore on the second December, 1930, in the Hall of the Studentenhaus, under the joint auspices of the Deutsche Akademie and the Deutsche Akademische Auslandstelle, for the benefit of poor German students. It was a spontaneous act on the part of the Indian students and at the same time a unique experiment, for this is the first time that an Indian drama was staged in Europe *in the original Indian text!* Still, strange as it may seem, the big Hall of the Studentenhaus was full; and so great was the success of these amateur actors that they have been requested to repeat their performance on the eleventh December. Mr. T. Sen appeared in the very difficult rôle of *Chitra*, the heroine, and although nobody understood the meaning of the words which came with musical effect from his rich melodious voice, his acting

¹ The Editor is grateful to the authorities of the German Academy of Munich for this interesting and valuable communication.

was done with so much feeling and devotion that the main plot of the play was clear to everyone in the auditorium. Many Munich papers praised him specially for his wonderful acting. Dr. A. Mukherjee too was a success in every way in the rôle of *Arjuna*, and Dr. K. P. Basu produced a deep impression as *Madana*. A special feature of the evening was the real Indian music played on real Indian instruments for which the Munich public is thankful to Mr. N. Das.

The best society of Munich was gathered that evening in the Studentenhaus to watch the grand performance of the Indian students. Nobel-prize winners like Wieland, Willstätter, Sommerfeld and world famous Professors like Oertel, Fajans and Gerlach were present. Representatives of many Munich papers were also there on this evening and the press opinion was wholly favourable. The "Bayerische Staatszeitung" was enthusiastic over the beautiful figures of the Indian students in their classical costumes and their earnest devotion in the performance, and compared the piece with Goethe's Tasso. The "München Augsburger Abendzeitung," in a short but vivid review, would hardly admit that it was a performance by amateurs. The success of the evening was complete, but that is not all. It has a much deeper significance. It shows clearly that the Indian students in Germany have learnt to love Germany and their German fellow-students and that explains their loving sympathy for the German students in distress. This sentiment was fully expressed when Mr. Raju, President of the Indian Student's Club, Munich, in his opening speech, said: "This performance is the expression of our gratitude for all the sympathy and kindness we have received in the German Universities, from our German friends and in the German families." Truly it is the sign of a great cultural rapprochement now in progress between India and Germany and it is a pleasure to note what the "Welt an Sonntag" wrote on this performance: "Everyone who took part in the performance did his best to make its wholesome effect equally felt in both the Continents of Europe and Asia and to

connect this evening the two Continents by the bonds of friendship and specially the two countries of India and Germany.”

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REGULATIONS MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA FOR
ADMISSION TO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION
TO BE HELD IN LONDON IN JULY AND AUGUST, 1931.¹

HOME DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION.

Examination for the Indian Civil Service.

1. A Candidate must be a male and either :—

(a) A British subject whose father (if alive) is a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (if dead) was at the time of his death either a British subject or a subject of a State in India or a person in the permanent service of the Crown or a person who had retired from that service; or

(b) A ruler or a subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor-General in Council has made a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act.

Provided that in the case of a male British subject the requirements of this rule may be waived by the Secretary of State in Council if he is satisfied that their observance would occasion exceptional hardship and the Candidate is so closely connected by ancestry or upbringing with His Majesty's dominions as to justify special treatment.

2. A Candidate must have attained the age of twenty-one, and must not have attained the age of twenty-four on the first day of August of the year in which the Examination is held.

3. A Candidate who is a Native of India must obtain a certificate of age and qualification under Regulations 2 and 3

¹ Liable to alteration from year to year.

issued under Notification of the Government of India, No. 1114, dated 12th September, 1918,¹ and signed, should he be a resident in British India, by the Secretary to Government of the Province, or the Commissioner of the Division within which his family resides, or, should he reside in a Native State by the highest Political Officer accredited to the State in which his family resides.

4. A Candidate must be free from disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him, or likely to unfit him, for the Indian Civil Service.²

5. A Candidate shall satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the Indian Civil Service.

6. No person who, in a previous year, accepted the offer of a nomination as a Selected Candidate for the Indian Civil Service and subsequently resigned his position as a Selected Candidate, will be admitted to the Examination.

7. Should the evidence upon the above points be *prima facie* satisfactory to the Civil Service Commissioners, the Candidate, on payment of the prescribed fee, will be admitted to the Examination. The Commissioners may, however, in their discretion, at any time prior to the grant of the Certificate of Qualification, institute such further inquiries as they may deem necessary; and if the result of such inquiries in the case of any Candidate should be unsatisfactory to them in any of the above respects he will be ineligible for admission to the Indian Civil Service, and, if already selected, will be removed from the position of a Probationer.

8. The Examination will include the following subjects.³ The numerical value is shown against each subject.

¹ This Notification is at present under revision in consequence of the recent amendment of Clause 2 of these regulations.

² The Civil Service Commissioners will regard no person as constitutionally fitted for appointment to the Indian Civil Service who has not been satisfactorily vaccinated within the last seven years.

³ A Syllabus defining in general terms the character of the examination in the various subjects is sent herewith.

SECTION A.—Subject to the instructions at the head of Section B of this rule, Candidates are to take up all the subjects in this section.

	Marks.
1. ESSAY	100
2. ENGLISH	100
3. PRESENT DAY	100
4. EVERYDAY SCIENCE	100
5. AUXILIARY LANGUAGE	100
6. VIVA VOCE	300

SECTION B.—OPTIONAL SUBJECTS.—Candidates are allowed to take up subjects in this section up to a total of 1,000 marks, but Candidates taking one modern foreign language in Section B may take, in lieu of the auxiliary language in Section C, a further subject in Section B carrying 100 marks, and Candidates taking two or more modern languages in Section B may take, in lieu of both auxiliary languages (Sections A and C), a further subject or subjects in Section B to a total of 200 marks.

History.

	Marks.
7. English History, Period 1	200
8. English History, Period 2	200
9. European History, <i>either</i> Period 1, <i>or</i> Period 2	200
10. European History, Period 3	200

Economics, Politics, Law and Philosophy.

	Marks.
11. General Economics	200
12. Economic History	100
13. Public Economics	100
14. Political Theory	100
15. Political Organization	100
16. Constitutional Law	100
17. Private Law	200
18. Roman Law	100
19. International Law... ..	100
20. Moral Philosophy,	100

					Marks.
21.	Metaphysics	...	...	...	100
22.	Logic	...	...	...	100
23.	Psychology	...	...	...	100
24.	Experimental Psychology	...	...	...	100

Mathematics and Science.

					Marks.
25.	Lower Pure Mathematics	...	...	...	200
26.	Higher Pure Mathematics	...	...	...	200
27.	Lower Applied Mathematics	...	...	...	200
28.	Higher Applied Mathematics	...	...	...	200
29.	Astronomy	...	...	...	200
30.	Statistics	...	...	...	100
31.	Lower Chemistry	...	...	...	200
32.	Higher Chemistry	...	...	...	200
33.	Lower Physics	...	...	...	200
34.	Higher Physics	...	...	...	200
35.	Lower Botany	...	...	...	200
36.	Higher Botany	...	...	...	200
37.	Lower Geology	...	...	...	200
38.	Higher Geology	...	...	...	200
39.	Lower Physiology	...	...	...	200
40.	Higher Physiology	...	...	...	200
41.	Lower Zoology	...	...	...	200
42.	Higher Zoology	...	...	...	200
43.	Engineering	...	...	...	400
44.	Geography	...	...	...	400
45.	General Anthropology	...	...	...	100
46.	Special Anthropology, *consisting of either Social Anthropology or Physical Anthropology	...	...	...	100
47.	Agriculture	...	...	...	200

English Literature, Languages and Civilizations.

					Marks.
48.	English literature, Period 1	...	...	...	200
49.	English literature, Period 2	...	...	...	200
50.	Latin Language	...	...	...	200
51.	Roman Civilization	...	...	...	200
52.	Greek Language	...	...	...	200
53.	Greek Civilization	...	...	...	200

				Marks.
54.	French Language ...	...	...	200
55.	French Civilization	...	...	200
56.	German Language...	...	...	200
57.	German Civilization	...	...	200
58.	Spanish or Italian Language ...	...	...	200
59.	Spanish or Italian Civilization	...	...	200
60.	Russian Language...	...	...	200
61.	Russian Civilization	...	...	200
62.	Arabic Language ...	...	...	200
63.	Arabic Civilization...	...	...	200
64.	Persian Language ...	...	...	200
65.	Persian Civilization	...	...	200
66.	Sanskrit Language	...	...	200
67.	Sanskrit Civilization	...	...	200

SECTION C.—Subject to the instructions at the head of Section B of this rule an Extra Numerum subject may be offered carrying 100 marks and chosen from the following :—

General Anthropology
 Special Anthropology
 An auxiliary language.

9. The auxiliary language in Section A or Section C will be tested by means of translation from the language. The following languages may be offered : French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Russian, Latin, Ancient Greek.

No candidate may offer any language or General Anthropology or Special Anthropology twice in the examination.

No candidate may offer in Sections A and C together two languages of the group Italian, Spanish, Portuguese or two of the group Norwegian, Swedish, Danish.

Only a Candidate who takes two modern languages in Section B may offer Latin or Ancient Greek as an auxiliary language.

Instead of an auxiliary language a Candidate whose mother

tongue is an Indian language may offer as Subject 5 either General Anthropology or Special Anthropology.

10. In subjects 50 to 67 the civilization subject associated with a language can only be taken by Candidates who offer the language itself for examination.¹

11. A Candidate desiring to offer subject 24 or any of the subjects 31 to 43 must produce evidence satisfactory to the Commissioners of laboratory training in an institution of University rank. For Astronomy (29), Geography (44), the Physical Anthropology branch of Special Anthropology (46), and Agriculture (47), other equivalent training will be required. There will be no laboratory test as part of the examination.

12. From the marks assigned to Candidates in each subject such deduction will be made as the Civil Service Commissioners may deem necessary in order to secure that no credit be allowed for merely superficial knowledge.

13. Moreover, if a Candidate's handwriting is not easily legible a further deduction will, on that account, be made from the total marks otherwise accruing to him.²

14. A list of the competitors shall be made out in order of their proficiency as disclosed by the aggregate marks finally awarded to each competitor, and in that order so many competitors, up to the determined number of appointments, as are found by the Civil Service Commissioners to be qualified by examination, shall be designated to be Selected Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, provided that they appear to be duly qualified in other respects.

Should any Selected Candidate become disqualified, the Secretary of State for India will determine whether the vacancy thus created shall be filled or not. In the former case the

¹ E.g., a Candidate desiring to offer subject No. 51 (Roman Civilization), must also offer subject No. 50 (Latin Language).

² It is notified for general information that the number of marks deducted for bad handwriting may be considerable.

Candidate next in order of merit, and in other respects duly qualified, shall be deemed to be a Selected Candidate.

15. Application for permission to attend an examination must be made in the handwriting of the Candidate, at such time and in such manner as may be fixed by the Civil Service Commissioners.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

OPEN COMPETITION OF 1931

An Open Competitive Examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service will be held in London in 1931. The *viva voce* test will take place in July, the written examination in Section B subjects will begin on the 25th July, and that in Section A subjects on the 1st August.

The number of persons to be selected at this examination will be announced hereafter.

No person will be admitted to compete from whom the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, has not received, on or before the 8th May, 1931, an application on the prescribed form, a copy of which is sent herewith. No allegation that an Application Form or a letter respecting such Form has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered by the Commissioners unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office Certificate of Posting. Candidates who delay their applications until the last days will do so at their own risk.

Acknowledgments of such Application Forms are sent, and any candidate who has filled up and returned the printed Application Form but has not received an acknowledgment of it within four complete days should at once write to the Secretary, Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, London, W. 1. Failure to comply with this provision will deprive the Candidate of any claim to consideration.

The time Table of the written part of the examination will probably be posted towards the end of June to the address given on the Form of Application, and will contain instructions as to the time and place at which candidates are to attend. Candidates will be notified at the same time of the date and place fixed for their *viva voce* test and of the manner in which the fee (£8) is to be paid.

NOTE.

If Open Competitive Examinations for the following Services, *viz* :—

Eastern Cadetships in the Colonial Service,

Junior Grade of the Administrative Class in the Home Civil Service;

should be held in 1931 concurrently with the Open Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service, Candidates duly eligible in respect of age, etc., will be admitted to compete for any two or all three of these Services, subject to the following conditions,—

(1) Every successful candidate who may have been admitted to compete for either the Indian or the Colonial Service (or both), as well as for the Home Service, will be called upon to declare, immediately after the announcement of the result of the competitions, whether he prefers his name to remain on the list of Candidates for the Indian or Colonial Service or on the list of Candidates for the Home Service.

The name of any Candidate who fails to declare his choice when called upon to do so will be removed from the list of Candidates for the Home Service.

(2) Every successful Candidate who may have been admitted to compete for both the Indian and Colonial Services will be called upon to declare, immediately after the announcement of the result of the competitions, whether he prefers his name to remain on the list of Candidates for the Indian Service or on the list of Candidates for the Colonial Service.

The name of any Candidate who fails to declare his choice when called upon to do so will be removed from the list of Candidates for the Colonial Service.

(3) All declarations of choice are irrevocable.

(4) Candidates for all three or any two of the above-mentioned Services will be required to pay a consolidated fee of £8.

N.B.—For further particulars application should be made to the Secretary to the Public Service Commission, Simla, Delhi.—*Editor.*

APPLICATION FORM

Application Form for the use of Candidates seeking admission to the concurrent open competitive examinations to be held in London in July and August, 1931, for appointment to services of the Administrative Group, namely :—

Home Civil Service : Administrative Class.

Indian Civil Service.

Colonial Service : Eastern Cadetships.

NOTE 1.—Male Candidates may include any or all of these three Services in their application (see paragraph 3 below); but it should be understood that the only competition yet announced as certain to be required in 1931 is that for the Indian Civil Service, the regulations for which are enclosed herewith.

An announcement as to whether competitions will be required in 1931 for the Home and Colonial Services will be made in due course.

NOTE 2.—This form is to be filled up and returned to the Secretary (C. Room 19), Civil Service Commission, 6, Burlington Gardens, London, W. 1, in time for delivery on or before *May 8th, 1931*. *No application Form received after that date will be accepted.*

A Candidate who fills up and returns this Application Form and does not receive an acknowledgment of it within four com-

plete days should inform the Secretary of the Civil Service Commission.

NOTE 3.—Candidates should, by consulting the regulations, make certain that they are eligible to compete for the services for which they make application, and that their selection of subjects conforms with the regulations. No scrutiny of the information which is given on this sheet is made by the Commissioners before the examination.

NOTE 4.—Should any of the particulars furnished by Candidates be found to be false within their knowledge they will, if appointed, be liable to be dismissed; and, if otherwise entitled to Superannuation Allowance they will forfeit all claim thereto. The wilful suppression of any material fact will be similarly penalised.

1.	WRITE NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS	(a) Surname ... (b) Christian name, or names (in full).	
2.	Postal Address (in full) ... (Any change of address should be at once communicated.)		
3.	Place your initials against the Service or Services for which you desire to be considered (<i>see page 15</i>).		Home Civil Service : Administrative Class ... Indian Civil Service ... Colonial Service : Eastern Cadetships
4.	Date of birth (<i>see page 15</i>) ... Give place of birth, and state whether a natural born British subject.		Age last birthday
5.	Father's Name ... „ Address ... „ Profession or Trade ... (If deceased, give the last address, profession, &c.) Give place of Father's birth and his nationality at birth Give place of Mother's birth and her nationality at birth		

<p>Only for natives of India :—</p> <p>6. State your community, religion, caste, sect, &c.</p>	
<p>Only for candidates for Eastern Cadetships :—</p> <p>7. State whether you are of pure European descent, or of pure Ceylonese descent, or of mixed European and Ceylonese descent</p>	
<p>8. Name, in order, the Schools you have attended since the age of 12, giving addresses with dates of entering and leaving</p>	
<p>9. Have you been on any former occasion a candidate before the Civil Service Commissioners? If so, state when, and for what appointment</p>	
<p>10. Age on finally quitting School ...</p>	
<p>11. Have you been a student at any University? If so, name it, and give the dates of entering and leaving. State any degrees, honours or prizes you have obtained. Name your College</p>	
<p>12. Give the name of your Director of Studies or College Tutor, or of the Professor or other responsible person to whom reference can be made as being best acquainted with your conduct and the character of your work. You should give one name only, selecting the person to whom you think reference would be most useful. If you have been at more than one university, the referee should be chosen from your later university, unless you entered it at a later date than October, 1930</p>	
<p>13. Have you had any special teaching for examinations for these situations? If so, state where and by whom it was given, and the dates of beginning and ending. If it was part-time preparation state what fraction of your study time it occupied and whether by day or in the evening. Regular University courses are to be excluded</p>	

[illegible]

ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP COMPETITION, 1931.

Selection of Subjects.

1. Do you select any of the subjects for which evidence of training is required? If so, pin the necessary vouchers to this form, stating here the subjects to which each voucher applies.

2. If you are taking the degree examination in Modern History or in Literæ Humaniores of Oxford University state which, and name your College. Endeavour will be made to avoid a clash of appointments.

3. Is your mother-tongue an Indian or a Ceylonese language? If so, name it.

4. Place a cross so, ×, on the dotted line opposite each of the subjects you take from the following list, show your auxiliary language and your extra numerum or their substitutes as well as your Section B subjects. Do not omit a subject because it is compulsory for the Service for which you are a candidate. If you are a candidate for more than one Service and you wish to offer different subjects for different Services, append a statement showing to which Service your selection applies, and the variations you desire for other Services. If your selection of subjects for any Service is not in accordance with the regulations, the Commissioners cannot undertake to avoid clashing among your subjects in the time-table.

Auxiliary French	.....	33. Lower Physics	.....
Auxiliary German	.....	34. Higher Physics	.....
Auxiliary Italian	.....	35. Lower Botany	.....
Auxiliary Spanish	.....	36. Higher Botany	.....
Auxiliary Portuguese	.....	37. Lower Geology	.....
Auxiliary Dutch	.....	38. Higher Geology	.....
Auxiliary Norwegian	.....	39. Lower Physiology	.....
Auxiliary Swedish	.....	40. Higher Physiology	.....
Auxiliary Danish	.....	41. Lower Zoology	.....
Auxiliary Russian	.....	42. Higher Zoology	.....
Auxiliary Latin	.....	43. Engineering	.....
Auxiliary Ancient Greek	.....	44. Geography	.....
7. English History, Period 1	.....	45. General Anthropology	.....
8. English History, Period 2	.....	46. Special Anthropology	{ Social
9. European History, Period 1	.....		{ Physical
European History, Period 2	.....	
10. European History, Period 3	.....	47. Agriculture	.....
11. General Economics	.....	48. English Literature, Period 1	.....
12. Economic History	.....	49. English Literature, Period 2	.....
13. Public Economics	.....	50. Latin Language	.....
14. Political Theory	.....	51. Roman Civilization	.....
15. Political Organisation	.....	52. Greek Language	.....
16. Constitutional Law	.....	53. Greek Civilization	.....
17. Private Law	.....	54. French Language	.....
18. Roman Law	.....	55. French Civilization	.....
19. International Law	.....	56. German Language	.....
20. Moral Philosophy	.....	57. German Civilisation	.....
21. Metaphysics	.....	58. Spanish Language	.....
22. Logic	.....	Italian Language	.....
23. Psychology	.....	59. Spanish Civilization	.....
24. Experimental Psychology	.....	Italian Civilisation	.....
25. Lower Pure Mathematics	.....	60. Russian Language	.....
26. Higher Pure Mathematics	.....	61. Russian Civilisation	.....
27. Lower Applied Mathematics	.....	62. Arabic Language	.....
28. Higher Applied Mathematics	.....	63. Arabic Civilization	.....
29. Astronomy	.....	64. Persian Language	.....
30. Statistics	.....	65. Persian Civilization	.....
31. Lower Chemistry	.....	66. Sanskrit Language	.....
32. Higher Chemistry	.....	67. Sanskrit Civilization	.....

Signature.....

Procedure.

Immediately the results of the examination are known, all successful Candidates will be summoned to attend at the Civil Service Commission to be medically examined and to state their choice among the Services open to them and among the various Departments, Provinces or Colonies. That statement of choice is irrevocable.

Evidence of Age.

A Candidate born in the United Kingdom must not send in a birth certificate with this form but must be prepared to produce it when required.

A European or Anglo-Indian who was born in India must be prepared to produce when required a certificate of baptism from the district in which he was baptized. If this does not also mention the date of birth it must be accompanied by a statutory declaration by one of the Candidate's parents, stating the date and place of birth.

An Indian born in India must send in with this form a certificate as required by Clause 4 of the Regulations for the Indian Civil Service. If the Candidate's family is resident in British India the Certificate must be signed by the Secretary to the Government of their Province or by the Commissioner of their Division. If they reside in an Indian State it must be signed by the highest political officer accredited to that State.

Fee.

Fees are *not* to be forwarded by Candidates. Instructions respecting the manner of payment of the fee prescribed (£8), and respecting the time and place of the examination, will be sent to Candidates before the examination.

H. W. EMERSON,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS (NON-MEMBERS)

The Commemoration Volume of the Calcutta Mathematical Society is out and is available from all book-sellers at Rs. 12½ in India and at £1 outside India. The volume contains 26 original research papers from eminent Mathematicians of America, Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Poland and Russia.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1931



CONDITIONS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN GERMANY¹

I

The extraordinary complexity of Germany's economic conditions renders it almost impossible to indicate within the limits of a short survey the various conditions which are exerting influence on the economic life of Germany. Any correct statement on the achievements and results in the field of German economic activities has moreover to take into consideration so many other facts of a quite different nature that it is hardly possible to compare it with a similar survey of the economic condition in any other country. The economic conditions of post-war Germany have undergone a radical change almost in every department in comparison with the pre-war state of things. The main cause of this radical change is perhaps the fact that the exchequer in its rôle of the Reich, country or the community, has now come into open conflict with private undertakings (building of lodging houses, banking, industry, agriculture, commerce), and that the State has exercised and is still exercising its influence in the widest possible sense in the control of prices (rent-control, cartels, regulation of working

¹ By Dr. Spitta.—Authorised Translation from the original German by Mr. Batakrişna Ghosh.

hours and the policy of taxation, wages and contracts). These measures taken by the State have led to the raising of the cost of production in private trade, and in combination with the progress of machine-power they have inaugurated an opposite movement which has resulted in the thorough economic and technical rationalisation of all business and commercial enterprises of Germany, so that the industrial organisations in Germany must be regarded as belonging to the most modern ones in the world from technical and organizational point of view. The rationalisation of German industry has, on the other hand, had far-reaching effect on the various means of trade and communication, such as the construction of harbours, railroads and ships, aeroplanes and locomotives, etc. A similar trend is perceptible in German building engineering, and even agriculture is undergoing a radical change inasmuch as former extensive agriculture is now gradually giving way to intensive farming and the standardisation of all agricultural products and the levelling of their quality has given the agriculturists an effective weapon to fight the present deplorable state of trade and industry.

On the other side, particularly in the face of the worldwide trade-depression, it was but unavoidable that with the rationalisation of the industrial organisations an increasing number of workers and employees would be thrown out of employment; and for the maintenance of these people it is again the industry which has to supply means. The situation has now become unusually acute, so that the question of lowering the standard of price and wages as well as a more flexible regulation of working hours, has become of primary importance for the future of German industry.

Although in the post-war period, in spite of everything, Germany has again gone up in many important branches of economic activities, we should never lose sight of the fact that strenuous efforts had to be made in order to achieve this end in a country placed as it is like Germany. Particular importance

attaches to the industrial development of Germany in this respect. Already before the war there was a large number of notable industrial concerns, above all the firm Friederich Krupp in Essen, the chief work of which during the war was to supply the needs of the army and the navy. Industrial concerns were drawn into this task in increasing numbers, so that at the end of the world war, which also meant the end of compulsory military service and a standing army only of 100,000, it was quite natural that a large number of people would be found unemployed. The restoration of the whole economic activity of Germany to the normal conditions of peace could be achieved only by slow degrees. With the help of the old trade relations, some of which were still remaining intact, new markets had to be found for German industrial products. But at first great difficulty was encountered in procuring raw materials, for with inflation much capital and property had dwindled down slowly but irresistibly. On the other hand, German agriculture too could not cope with the most important task which was entrusted to it—the sustenance of the people, for in the preceding years, manuring of the fields and foddering of stock animals had to be neglected for want of the necessary materials for manure and fodder. A further difficulty in the path of Germany's economic reconstruction lay in the fact that until the year 1925 Germany had not a free hand in shaping her own destiny in commercial policy and only from this year Germany was in a position to make commercial treaties as an independent party.

How since then German economic life has developed may be best understood by a foreigner from a consideration of the extent of Germany's foreign trade. Details on this point have already been published in another connection, particularly about the structure of Germany's foreign trade, which proves beyond all doubts the industrial efficiency of the German people. Let us here stop for a short time to consider the fact that in the year 1929 Germany was the third nation in the world in the volume of foreign trade, after the United States of America

and Great Britain. The figures (in RM mill.) for that year are as follows :—

	Import.	Export.
Germany	13,434,6	13,482,2
Great Britain	22,678,4	14,880,7
U. S. A.	18,191,4	21,661,1

Another significant fact in this connection is that in the increase in export in the year 1929 over that of the previous year Germany was the first country in the world. The increase in export in that year amounted to 1,206 Million Marks in Germany as against 580 Million Marks in U. S. A. and 125,5 Million Marks in Great Britain.

If now in spite of all these successes Germany has to experience an ever-worsening depression in her economic life, it is, apart from the gloomy world crisis which is darkening the prospect of all trade and industry, the unfortunate result of the Versailles treaty and particularly of the heavy burden of reparations, which are being extorted from her. For this reason formation of capital for the benefit of German trade and industry is almost out of the question. Moreover the normal course of economic life in the rest of the world too is being rudely disturbed. Only when this capital mistake is corrected it can be expected that Germany would resume her natural position in culture and civilisation benefiting her wealth of natural powers.

TOWARDS A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE VEDĀNTA*

If philosophy is but life brought to the focus of self-consciousness, then, assuredly, the Vedānta, as Max Müller puts it, "is clearly the native philosophy of India."¹ Such a testimony, veridical as it is, is not to be accepted, however, without important reservations. His concluding reflection, "that, with the Hindus, the fundamental ideas of the Vedānta have pervaded the whole of their literature, have leavened the whole of their language, and form to the present day the common property of the people at large," may not unfairly be taken as an excursus on the initial statement. That Vedānta has, through the ages, gone on embodying the inmost stirrings of the soul of India is a pronouncement that bespeaks the depth of insight and imaginative sympathy which the Professor brings to the execution of his task—a task which, be it remembered, like the drawing of the bow of Ulysses by any lesser hand is attended with grave peril. It is to such a nature alone that is given the key to unlock the mysteries of the heart of India; for it is 'deep that calleth unto deep.' Truly, here as elsewhere, many are called but few are chosen and to him that is chosen is vouchsafed the bliss of realisation (*Yamevaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyaḥ*). And thus will burst upon us, with a flash of inner meaning, the full import of the much misunderstood saying—"to him that hath more shall be given!" It is idle to deny that many a sojourner in this realm, with all their ardour to make a pilgrimage into the heart of *Āryāvarta*, have stopped at the mere outposts, admiring, like Mammon, the 'trodden gold' more than the 'vision beatific.' Critics, again, there have been whose interest in the Vedānta

* The following article is the introductory chapter in the author's forthcoming work, *An Introduction to a Systematic Study of the Vedānta*, as being the Sree-Gopal Basumallik Lectures for 1929.

¹ *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 151.

extends so far as it serves as the target of the charges, improvised *ad hoc* to meet the exigencies of the situation,—the charges, namely, of nihilism, acosmism, illusionism, solipsism, or even pantheism. Verily, they have their rewards, all and sundry! But, “*de profundis*” is the unanimous verdict of all such critics, whatever they may otherwise choose to think about its merits as a philosophical system.

As already premised, Max Müller’s statement is to be punctuated with forward reference to what it may, not improperly, imply. The phrase ‘native philosophy’ may, for aught we know, easily be paraphrased into the much too complacent assurance that we are all ‘born Vedāntists.’ If it means no more than that ideas of the Vedānta permeate and enliven the cultural atmosphere in a way in which those of other indigenous systems of thought do not, then the interpretation is clearly beyond challenge. Indeed, it is no senseless exaggeration to say that every Hindu is suckled at the breast of the Vedāntic *ethos*, but it is just possible to gloat upon a mere possibility with a placid pathetic contentment, and thus for ever remain a suckling in the realm of mature philosophic thinking. While it is true that of all persons it is the Hindu that has in him, *ceteris paribus*, the making of a true Vedāntist, it is none the less true that a mere potentiality is so often glorified into an actual possession, and thus rendered abortive. In the sphere of intellectual achievements—least of all, in that of philosophic pursuits—there is no established law of inheritance whereby one can claim to be a born legatee of a traditional faith; in fact, philosophic persuasion, like freedom, can never be made a gift of, it has always to be earned. It is on account of our sitting loose to this time-worn maxim—which, in its enunciation, approximates an empty platitude or truism and thus escapes notice—that we have come to discount an academic presentation, and bestow a philosophic consecration on stray musings and ramblings in Vedānta, bereft of a survival-value. The philosophic pilgrim’s progress lies in cutting straight across this age-

long accumulation of weeds, and journeying with resolute steps to the promised land, undeterred by the *ignis fatuus* of dilettantism. It is not thereby suggested that the Vedānta is the close preserve only of academic philosophy-mongers, but what is definitely repudiated is the incidence of dilettantism and desultory reading with which the field is already overgrown. This is, to a certain extent, inevitable; for, in reliance on faulty logic, people so often ascribe the popularity enjoyed by the Vedānta to the absence of the steel frame of a philosophical system, and, proceeding on that assumption, read Vedānta as literature. Very few people possess an adequate idea of the initial strain on everyday experience, and sustained hard thinking that the Vedānta entails as a rule. Green's dictum "that we are Hegelian, so to speak, with only a fraction of our thought—on the Sundays of 'speculation,' not on the weekdays of 'ordinary thought'" applies *mutatis mutandis* to our *de jure* claim in relation to Vedānta. Nevertheless it is a striking fact that immersed, as we are, in the common-sense valuations of our work-a-day life, we can in a moment rise to the sublime heights of the Vedānta, and breathe no less freely in the rarefied atmosphere thereof than we do on the plains.

Closely akin to these instances of Vedānta simplified, is its representation as an art of life, or as a practical science,—a science, so to speak, of mysticism, or even of magic,—making out its sole concern to be a *meditatio mortis* culminating in the prescript of a happy euthanasia for its devotee. Nor is it unusual to come across the presentation of Vedānta as a *Lebensanschauung* or a 'synoptic' view of life based on the varieties of religious experience—of mystical intuitions and ecstatic revelations. This clearly entails a breach in our psychic continuum, and thus calls for a transvaluation of all values of life, that confessedly break down in the face of these abnormal experiences, the distinction of 'subnormal' and 'supernormal' being altogether pointless in a psychological reference. While it is not, indeed, denied that the Vedānta, of all indigenous systems

of thought, has evidently a close bearing upon practice, the claims of practice in this regard can easily be overrated, and the character of Vedānta philosophy, as a whole and in detail, entirely misrepresented. Such a one-sided emphasis upon practice (*kriyā*) may not indeed crystallize as a definite philosophic creed of pragmatism ; but, then, the whole of Vedānta philosophy is a sustained protest against the truth-claim of practical considerations, against practice itself laying claim to paramount authority or constitutive validity. In substantiating the point one need not invoke the shades of Śaṅkara who has placed on record his concluding reflection on the point. Says he, "barring knowledge not even the faintest odour of activity can fittingly make its way into the Vedānta " (*Jñānamekam muktvā kriyāyā gandhamātrasyapyānupraveśa iha nopapadyate*).¹ What explains the vehemence and rigour of the anti-pragmatic attitude in Śaṅkara is his strict fidelity to the spirit of Protestantism in the sphere of philosophic thinking to which he stood pledged. Indeed, his mission stood for a principle and this he carried out by setting his face resolutely against the pragmatic abuses and aberrations of the Mīmāṃsaka school—specifically, by the restoration of reason to its rightful rank in respect of a centrality of reference, and by the repatriation of the purely theoretical impulse from its subservience to practical considerations. What Śaṅkara achieved for the Vedānta—an emancipation from its age-long thralldom to mere practice or art—is symptomatic of the function of philosophy itself. But that does, in no way, entail a divorce of philosophy from life or practice. In fact, the best way to sum up the relation of the two would be, as in the present case, to define the Vedānta or *Uttaramīmāṃsā* as the philosophy or theory of practice itself. It is a truism that life or practice precedes reflection upon, or criticism of life (*vicāra*, *mīmāṃsā*); or, as one Danish thinker, *i.e.*, Kierkegaard, expressed it, with the force of an epigram : "We live forwards, but understand backwards."

¹ *Commentary on Vedānta Sūtras*, I, 1, iv.

It would be, however, an entire misreading of the situation to lay exclusive emphasis on this aspect of theory, and characterise Indian philosophy, least of all the Vedānta, as purely intellectual and not moral, as being a matter of outlook merely. Besides the long discredited compartmental view of the mind, which such a characterisation is clearly suggestive of, one wonders if such a charge, and that a serious one, can have any the least pretence to scholarship, or accuracy for the matter of that, in the face of fully accredited facts regarding Indian philosophy. But the very breadth of the indictment is its redeeming feature; and, so far at least as the Vedānta is concerned, it falls wide of the mark. It would have been nearer the mark to affirm what the indictment purports to deny, and, on that count, to frame the charge of loading the dice in favour of the moral or the practical. Complaints have often been made, and not without justice, that Indian philosophy, far from evincing a studied unconcern for the values of life, has given undue prominence to the non-logical or moral values as the shaping force and directive agency of the theoretical impulse, which alone, in the opinion of these critics, should have been the informing principle of a philosophical system. By so doing, Indian philosophy, it is contended, has so often betrayed the intellectual trust reposed in it, and made a premature compromise with the commonsense valuations of life, and thus ended by making a religion of philosophy. No less an authority than Deussen, for example, condemned, in no uncertain terms, the Sāṃkhya philosophy, for its having traced the philosophic *επος* to practical or utilitarian considerations, and justified its *raison d'être* as a *remedium* merely of the three-fold misery of life (*duhkhatrayābhīghātājjijñāsā tadapaghātakehetau*, as Īśvarakṛṣṇa authoritatively announces it in the very first *kārikā*)¹ Here, Deussen evidently overstates the point, and his avowed sympathy with the Vedāntic point of view may have been largely responsible for it. Doubtless it is true that problems of Indian philosophy have been considerably

¹ Cf. *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 255.

influenced and shaped by practical considerations, that the roots of the philosophical impulse are discovered on closer inspection to be embedded deep down in the soil of life, but that fact does, in no way, justify an apotheosis of practice as the sole arbiter and determinant of philosophical truth. Life or practice may have, indeed, served as the basic foundation of all theory or speculation in India ; but the principle, on which the different systems of philosophy have proceeded, albeit unconsciously or instinctively, is that the foundation is not to be seen in the superstructure raised thereon. Metaphors apart, the conclusion is irresistible that pragmatism as a philosophical theory, with all its inherent ambiguities and eccentricities, has hardly found favour among the more notable or advanced sections of Indian thought. In a way, no doubt, the pragmatic method has been incorporated into all the recognised systems of Indian philosophy, the *Darśanas*, so far as an acknowledged harmony (*Samvāda*) between the cognitive and volitional aspects of our experience is accepted as one of the tests, if not the sole test, of certitude (*prāmānya*). Indeed, the power of an element of cognition to prompt an activity, in accord therewith, (*avisamvādi pravṛtṭijana-katvam*), is one of the undiscussed ultimate postulates of experience recognised in every system of Indian philosophy, worth the name. What affords a closer comparison is the principle of practical efficiency (*arthakriyākāritvam*), which is generally accepted as *one* of the factors of the existent (*sat*), though seldom as the sole factor thereof. The principle in operation answers exactly to what is now commonly acknowledged to be the only admissible thesis in the pragmatic contention—not the popular and misleading version of it that we have in the proposition ‘what works is true,’ but the more reasoned and acceptable formulation of it that we have in its obverse, namely, ‘what *does not* work is not true.’ This difference in formulation is not a matter of verbal quibbling merely, but argues a difference in principle as well—a point which hardly needs a fuller thrashing out in this context.

Accordingly, what the foregoing discussion brings into prominent relief is the utter inaptness of such epithets as 'intellectual' or 'moral' in their unqualified application to Indian philosophy. That is the standing vice of viewing Indian philosophy, as it were, *ab extra*. Roughly speaking, a man's philosophy is determined by his vital needs, both intellectual and moral. It is, to adapt a phrase of William James's in another reference, a 'total reaction' upon experience. In terms of scientific precision, they are but two complementary aspects of one completed circuit of consciousness. Even a tyro in psychology knows that the moral can hardly ever sit apart from the intellectual and *vice versa*, the relation between the two being one of perfect reciprocity. Thus, moral action has moral insight for its inevitable presupposition, while illuminative insight or theoretic vision is but incipient realisation of it in practice. In the hierarchy of spiritual values set up by the Vedānta, the intellectual and the moral, while enjoying perfect provincial autonomy,—a phrase more often sinned against than sinning—do yet retain their proper ranks as inseparable partners of a co-operative concern. Opinions may differ as to the position of the Vedānta regarding the status of intellectual values in the issue between intrinsic and instrumental values. But there is no gainsaying the point that the Vedānta has, all through, maintained a strict correlativity between the intellectual and the moral, between the theoretical and the practical, without the suggestion of a primacy or instrumentality on the part of either.

Such are the inevitable shortcomings of advance philosophic labellings with reference to the Vedānta. What these instructive errors and half-truths force into prominence is the need of a renewed effort in search after a $\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \sigma\tau\omega$ of the Vedānta—a sticking-place to which once this effort is screwed up it shall no longer fail. Neglecting differences of expression, the one fundamental note that seldom fails to greet the ear of the inquisitive and the alert—rising far above the babel of scholastic confusion and divided counsels—is that of full-fledged *autonomy of the*

Spirit. This is the message that sits enthroned in its majestic simplicity at the heart of the Vedānta, and has at all times its ready appeal for those that have ears to hear. There is hardly any serious student of the Vedānta but has felt the direct impact and edifying influence of the well-known passage of focal importance, where the mighty seer of old, bathed in the full-orbed splendour of the life-giving message, exclaims with an invocation to the Sun, as the very symbol in the world without of that greatness and sublimity which is the soul's all own. The passage in question is couched in words that bear quotation here *in extenso*: "Oh, thou all-sustaining, solitary, all-controlling Sun, descended from the Lord of all creatures, do restrain and centralise all thy streaks of light that I may envisage thy blissful countenance,—forsooth, I am the very Being that abides in thee" (*Pūṣannekarṣe yama sūryya prājāpatya byūha raśmīn samūhaṁ tejo yatte rūpam kalyāṇatamaṁ tatte paśyāmiṅyo'sārasau puruṣaḥ so'hamasmi—Īśā Upaniṣad, xvi*). Assuredly, this is a pregnant utterance of unique historic importance, charged with epoch-making significance for the history of Vedāntic thought and culture. But clearly, more is meant here than meets the ear; and it was reserved for the illustrious Ācāryya, Śaṅkara, to rise equal to the height of this great argument, and to give the exact bearings of the historic pronouncement. Perfectly in keeping with the underlying spirit of the utterance, Śaṅkara has voiced in unmistakable accents what was left unvoiced, but none the less clearly suggested. Avoiding alike the aberrations on the one hand of devotionism which imports a self-abasement up to the liminal intensity of a 'creature-consciousness' or a feeling of absolute dependence, and, on the other, of egoism which, by a misplaced emphasis, easily slips into that egotism, which is at the farthest remove from the attitude of worship, Śaṅkara brings to light the edifying implications of the cult of spiritual worship when he sums up his comments in the forceful words: "But, then, I do not beg of thee in the manner of a slave or a mendicant" (*kiṁca, aham na tu tvāṁ bhṛtyavadyāche*).

Cryptic and negative as it is in formulation, the statement is clearly symptomatic of a profound change in outlook—a change that may truly be said to serve as a landmark in the history of Vedic culture. Figuring as the dividing-line between the R̥gvedic and the Upaniṣadic age, the change in question bespeaks a momentous influence in the religious history of mankind—a spiritual renaissance in ancient India that compares, not unfavourably, with the no less significant transition from the bondage of the Leviticus unto freedom of the Gospels. What is specially noteworthy in this spiritual awakening is that there is no more the paralysing spectacle of the human worshipper being awed into submission—no more of coaxing and cajoling, petitioning and propitiating beings that are alike credited with benevolent as well as malevolent impulses. In place of stupefying admiration that thrives by working upon the baser instincts,—fear of retribution and hope of reward,—one has here that elevating trust in the spiritual dignity of man which is the best ministrations to religious worship. The cult of spiritual worship must necessarily be in a minor key where man shrinks into the comparatively insignificant position of a bare point on the circumference, bereft of the central importance he is by nature entitled to. On the contrary a cosmic expansion of the soul of the worshipper, an identification of it with the spirit behind this mighty frame of nature, is the surest way to kindle those higher emotions and aspirations that possess the specific flavour of worship. Such is, indeed, the meaning, plain and implied, of a ‘free man’s worship’—a phrase which, by a mere abuse of language, is made to typify, as in Russell, the uninspiring outlook of ‘a weary but unyielding Atlas’ with its faith pinned to the gospel of ‘unyielding despair.’¹ But, in point of fact, the gospel of unyielding despair,—if such there be one at all—should be more fittingly styled the gospel of the bond-slave rather than of the free man. It may have an ‘austere beauty’ to recommend itself; but its austerity turns

¹ *Mysticism and Logic and Other Essays*, p. 57.

out, on closer inspection, to be a mere ' sham heroism ' and its beauty only a borrowed glory. Indeed, the gospel of ' unyielding despair ' is but a melancholy mimicry of what man has, during the ages past, understood by religious faith and worship. For, what is exactly missing her is that Promethean spark that can, by a miracle, as it were, transform the gospel of ' unyielding despair ' into an evangel of elevating hope—a hope that has potency enough to re-create itself out of its own wreck. The free man, according to Sāṃkara does not confess to an indigence of this kind. He does not appear as one, craving a kind condescension, but as one asserting his birth-right with a neophyte's fervour and vehemence. This is what invests his pronouncement with an authority and importance all its own. It is all the more important in view of the complete change of front it evinces in the history of Vedic thought and culture. " Sāṃkara presents us " as also observes Prof. Rādhākrishnan,¹ " the true ideal of philosophy, which is not, so much knowledge as wisdom, not so much logical learning as spiritual freedom." It is however, a freedom that does not come within the range of the cheap criticism, namely, that it means nothing more than that there is freedom outside the prison-house—a gospel that ' comforts while it mocks ' those that lie imprisoned. It is, forsooth, a freedom that broods ' like the day, a master o'er a slave, A presence which is not to be put by '—a freedom that greets even those brows that languish behind the prison-bars, provided they would enter into a conscious participation in a birth-right that is eternally theirs. The orient light that once shone forth still shines undimmed with the passage of time that makes history. And the voice that once spoke, hushed as it is to eternal silence, still cries out from its own ashes : " Seek ye first this autonomy of the Spirit, and then all else shall be added unto you !"

With the Sāṃkarite exegesis on worship as the guide to conduct us through the ever-increasing volume of misstatements

¹ *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 447.

and half-truths, we are thus led to the vital spot where the heart of India beats. It is from such a vantage-ground that we are the better equipped for appraising the significance of the Vedānta system in its historic affiliations. Truly, then, we should be in a position to record the verdict that it is the focus at which is registered the repercussion of the divergent lines of Indian thought, and fully endorse the view of Vijñānabhikṣu, the Indian syncretist, that the Vedānta marks the third and the highest stadium in the evolution of Indian thought, the first two stadia being those of the Nyāya and Sāṃkhya respectively. According to this thinker, what is accomplished in the Nyāya stadium is the substantiation of the finite individual or *Jīva* as an entity distinct from the body, the senses, and the internal psychic apparatus, by way of a critique on naïve Naturalism that thoroughly demolishes the Chārvāka identification of the body with the soul. The Sāṃkhya stadium advances a step forward, and consolidates the critique of Experience in the form of *Viveka* or a discrimination between the principle of individuality or egoity on the one hand, and, on the other, the *Mahat* or the cosmic matter of experience and the primal source of all things, the *Prakṛti*. At the final and furthest reach of the same critique emerges the stadium of the Vedānta with its peculiar doctrine of *abheda* or non-difference between the self and the not-self, between the Sāṃkhya *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. Thus, starting from a logical atomism or pluralistic realism and passing through the logic of exclusion, the high-water mark of philosophical thought is reached at last in the logic of Comprehension, which is the specific organ of the Spiritualistic Monism or Rationalistic Absolutism the Vedānta stands for.

It is customary for every writer of a treatise on Vedānta philosophy to dwell at length on the etymological as well as the conventional meaning of the term 'Vedānta.' While it is true that no departure need be made in the present case from what looks like an established tradition, it is instructive

to note that much ingenuity has been, and can be, displayed in this direction. There is hardly any room for ingenuity in the mechanical carrying out of the meaning that readily follows from the etymology of the term 'Vedānta' (= *Veda* + *anta*, a compound of the two component words yielding by euphonic combination the term 'Vedānta' and meaning literally 'the end of the Vedas'). The literal rendering of the term 'Vedānta' has thus an obvious reference to the body of doctrines set forth in the concluding sections of the Vedas, otherwise known as the *Upaniṣads*. This, its primary reference is staked, however, not merely upon the etymology of the word, upon the external fact of its position or grouping, but based on internal evidences of a growing maturation, a continuous development of thought from the *Pūrva*-(earlier) to the *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā*, the earlier and the final part of the Vedas. Having regard to these last considerations, one would be justified in claiming a wider latitude than what is strictly sanctioned by a literal interpretation of the phrase 'end of the Vedas.' It is but common knowledge that the engrossing concern of the Vedas is with ritualistic practices and sacrificial cults—of prayer and worship, of penance and propitiation, and the like performances of everyday life. With the gradual abandonment of the nomadic existence of our Vedic ancestors, and the steady evolution of a natural, a social and a cultural *milieu*, there was brought into active play the theoretical impulse which had been engulfed in the satisfaction of the brute necessities. It is only illustrative of a universally accredited fact of human history that life or practice always anticipates a criticism or theory thereof, and as a question of principle it has its justification *a priori*. What is meant, in brief, is that the chronological priority in question has a logical counterpart in reality, and is no mere freak of historical accidents. It is instructive to compare the parallel change of emphasis that came about, in due course, but for different reasons,—a change emphasis from the merely chronological and

etymological meaning of the Aristotelian *μετὰ τὰ φυσικά* ("after the physics") to the logical and conventional sense invariably associated with the term 'metaphysics,' as understood at the present day. Accordingly, those who swear by the exclusively chronological aspect in the meaning of the term 'Vedānta' miss entirely the deeper, the more important, that is to say, the dynamic element in the fullness of its meaning. What lends countenance to the much-needed reorientation of the whole, and concentration on this aspect of the meaning, is the light that proceeds from the discovery of a radical affinity and perfect equivalence of meaning between the Sanskrit word '*anta*' and its English counterpart '*end*' (in the rendering of the term 'Vedānta' as the 'end of the Vedas'). Starting alike from the meaning of a 'last or extreme point' that readily follows from their common root, and following the dynamics of a meaning-particle through a variety of kindred and parallel meanings, the two converge towards what seems to be of central importance for both—namely the 'aim, purpose or essence,' as the moving spirit of the whole revealing itself by stages in a process, without surrendering its own integrity.

Indeed, the category of End, construed philosophically, means nothing but the insight that the end is not the final stage of a process that merely succeeds or supersedes its predecessors, but that it is the informing spirit of the whole, distilled, as it were, into its successive phases, all and sundry. It is by a figure of speech, therefore, that the 'End' or the moving spirit of the whole comes to signify the 'end' or limiting point ; for, it is only in the last term that is adequately revealed the nature of the principle which is operative throughout. In other words, the end is essentially a dynamic category ; accordingly, every phase in a process of growth or development is to be studied as much in the light of the whole process, as in that of its last term. Thus, the End, truly viewed, is a matter of what may be called progressive, and not merely catastrophic attainment—a matter of progressive realisation in the process as a whole and

not merely one of substantive existence descending as a *finale* on a sphere apparently complete by itself. Hence, the End in its interpretative function is as much operative at the very start or beginning as at the *de facto* end of anything. Verily, the first shall be the last and the last shall be the first! Thus alone is wisdom justified of all philosophical explanation, which in doing strict justice to the category of 'End' must necessarily look to the 'end' which serves in the double capacity of the 'last part' or term as well as the drive or *nisus* of the whole. This is precisely what the Aristotelian idea of τέλος or End imports on a judicious rendering of it. Therefore, it is not merely by a rhetorical device but by close-knit arguments that is secured the larger and more important sense of 'end' in the phrase 'the end of the Vedas.' Such is unmistakably the drift of the statement that occurs in one of the comparatively obscure *Upaniṣads*, called the *Muktikopaniṣad*, where *Rāmachandra*, as the very embodiment of the Supreme Spirit is represented in the rôle of the redeemer, inculcating on his devoted attendant, the *Māruti*, the gospel of redemption in words to the following effect: "A great multitude of Vedas proceeded as so many exhalations from Me, the all-pervasive being; verily like oil in the sesamum-seeds the Vedānta is securely lodged in the Veda." (*Niśvāsabhūtā me Viṣṇorvedā jātāḥ suvistarāḥ. Tīleṣu tailarav vede vedāntāḥ supraṭiṣṭhitāḥ*—Verse IV.) The analogy that the statement in question draws upon, in this regard, is at once forceful and instructive; it is clearly illustrative of the fuller meaning of the word "end" on which such vital issues are staked. Hence, it may be safely asserted that the Vedānta is the main objective and final aim, the cream and essence, the guiding spirit and shaping force, in a word, the *nisus formativus* of the Vedas.

That is one way of settling the connotation of the "Vedānta" so far as it is possible to do by way of a judicious concentration on the derivative meaning of the term "Vedānta." It may not have, confessedly, carried us very far, but it has most

certainly succeeded in the recovery of some stable ground or halting station for further advance in this direction—in the recovery, namely, of that dynamic sense of the term ‘Vedānta’ which was elicited in the course of our foregoing enquiry. The problem that now stares us in the face is that of a corresponding uncertainty in respect of what the Vedānta denotes or directly stands for. In view of the distracting varieties of commentaries—*Sūtras*, *Kārikās*, *Bhāṣyas*, *Anubhāṣyas*, *Vārttikas*, *Vṛttis*, *Tīkāś*, *Sāras*, *Samgrahas* and the like, alike claiming to constitute the literature of the Vedānta, a solution of this problem is all the more imperative. Now, the Vedānta, as the age-long tradition would have it, refers primarily to the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, and the *Brahmasūtras* (otherwise known as the *Vedāntasūtras* or *Śārīrakasūtras*, from the fact of their dealing with the embodied self or spirit), constituting in point of their authoritativeness what may be called the ‘canon’ of the Vedānta. It is this accredited trio that has acquired the designation of ‘the three institutes of the Vedānta’ (*prasthānatrayam*)—the *Upaniṣads* marking the institute of revealed knowledge (*Śruti-prasthānam*), the *Bhagavadgītā*, that of traditional knowledge (*Smṛtiprasthānam*), and the *Brahmasūtras* that of philosophical knowledge (*Nyāyaprasthānam*). The relation that subsists between these three *prasthānas* is one of organic inter-dependence yielding a perfect concord or harmony among the constituents of the Vedānta. But a rift in the lute is inevitable, if we choose to stress one or the other of the two of these—the *Upaniṣads* or the *Brahmasūtras* in their competing for recognition as the Vedānta *par excellence*. Accordingly, in sponsoring the view that the *Vedāntasūtras* ‘form the original authoritative work of the Vedānta,’ one would be only introducing an unhappy breach into the *entente cordiale*, and abetting a domestic quarrel among the members of the otherwise happy family, and thus undermining the family solidarity. Nor is it a view that can stand a closer scrutiny. The sole *raison d’être* of the *Sūtras* in question consists, as Śaṅkara clearly puts it, in

threading together the flower-like texts of the Vedānta (*Vedānta vākyakusumagrathanārthatvāt sūtrāṇām*),¹ these being no other than the texts of the Upaniṣads (*Upaniṣadvākyas*). Developing the point of this analogy, one would be justified in contending that the *Sūtras*, taken by themselves, have as much reality or substantiality, as the rosary has apart from the beads, or varying the analogy a little, the *sūtras* by themselves would be more or less in the position of a soul without a body as its manifesting agency. Those who make an apotheosis of the *Sūtras* would be prepared even for that contingency, but surely such a problematic functioning of the disembodied soul is a thing on which the Psychical Research Society has yet to impress its seal of authority. Even at the most modest computation, the minimum requirement of the case would be a transmissive organ, such as the human brain. Accordingly, the view that the Vedānta philosophy is the philosophy of the *Brahmasūtras* as its only authoritative source-book appears to be an initial misdirection, making the designation in the end a misnomer merely. It has neither the sanction of sane criticism nor of authoritative tradition. On the contrary, the view sponsored by Ācāryya Sadānanda in his *Vedāntasāra* appears to be at once the most reasonable and authoritative pronouncement on this debatable issue. To quote his very words, "it is forsooth, the *Upaniṣad* that is the measure or authoritative source-book of the Vedānta, the *Śārīrakasūtras* standing in a complementary or instrumental relation thereto (*Vedānto namo-paniṣatpramāṇam tadupakārīni śārīrakasūtrādīni ca*). Thus it may be safely concluded that the term 'Vedānta', in its primary or substantive sense, stands for the *Upaniṣads*, and, in its secondary or transitive application, for the *Śārīrakasūtras*.

Confessedly, it is not a conclusion universally accepted. Some are evidently in favour of giving an unlimited range to the term 'Vedānta' including within its scope every blessed

¹ Com. on Y.S.I. 1. i.

commentary and annotation, manual or monograph on the main findings of the Vedānta. Some, again, *e.g.*, Brahmānanda Saraswatī, more moderate in their claims, pick and choose from among the vast literature on the subject, and canonize the following five as they appeared more or less in apostolic succession : “The *Śārīraka Mīmāṃsā* in its four divisions (by Bādarāyaṇa), commentary or *Bhāṣya* on it (by Śaṅkara), a gloss on it, again, (named *Bhāmātī*) by Vācaspatimiśra, a commentary (on *Bhāmātī*), again called *Kalpataru* (by Amalānanda Yati) and finally a commentary (on the last named) called *Kalpataru-parimala* by Apyayadīkṣita, as constituting in their *ensemble* the *Vedāntaśāstra*” (*Vedāntaśāstreṭi śārīrakamīmāṃsā caturadhyāyītadbhāṣyatādīyatikāvācaspatyatādīyatikā kalpatarutādīyatikā parimalarūpagranthapañcaketyarthah*). It is here that the need of the *sūtra* makes itself acutely felt, and its importance recognised. Like the proverbial Ariadne’s thread, the *sūtras* of Indian thought provide a way of escape from the inevitable *impasse* to which one is driven in the bewildering mazes of commentaries and glossaries, *bhāṣyas* and *tīkāś* and the like. As is well-known, the *sūtra* form, proceeding upon the maxim that ‘brevity is the soul of wit,’ has pursued, with relentless consistency, this ideal of abbreviation and exercised such a rigorous economy in its formulation as would come readily within the purview of the classic caricature of the grammarian ‘as rejoicing in the economy of half a short vowel as much as he does on the birth of a son to him.’ As a matter of fact, the *sūtra* has been defined as ‘a short aphorism of minimum possible words, of unambiguous meaning, of the nature of epitome, possessing omniformity, unbroken continuity and flawlessness’ (*Svalpākṣarasamaṇdigdham sāravad viśvatomukham Astobhamanavadyam ca sūtram sūtravido viduḥ*). Although it is with a variant of the language employed here, that the commonly accepted definition of *sūtra* quoted by Vācaspati Miśra occurs in the *Bhāmātī*,¹ the construction that he puts upon the

¹ On Śaṅkara-bhāṣya, I, 1, i. .

word is eminently suggestive and important. “The *sūtra* is so called” writes Vācaspati, “because of its multivocal character” (*sūtrañca bahvarthasūcanādbhavati*).

It is exactly here, again, that lie at once the strength and weakness of the *sūtra*. The extreme terseness of the *sūtras*, which spells their congenital weakness, has its own historic justification. In the absence of present-day printing facilities, the entire mnemonic (*i.e.*, the *sūtra*) literature that had to be improvised under the controlling lead of oral tradition, could not but invoke a rigidly compact form despite the risk of obscurity and ambiguity. The same enforced necessity of abbreviation, that engenders this anæmic, helpless state of the *sūtras*, invents a remedy in the prescript of periodical infusion of new blood from concrete flesh-and-blood existence of commentaries and scholia. Thus embodied and vitalized the *sūtras* prove to be a tower of strength, and fountain-head of inspiration for the commentaries with which they appear in constant conjunction—by providing a mariner’s compass, as it were, to the individual commentators that might otherwise navigate in an uncharted sea without being ever brought to definite moorings. Hence, it is not merely from an historic necessity that the *sūtras* came into being, but the recognition of their need proceeds from a principle. They are mainly designed to arrest the rampant growth of unfettered free thinking (*niraṃkuśatarkāḥ*) that leads nowhere, and to stake out the limits beyond which such free thinking may not stray. That does not mean that the *sūtras* by themselves constitute the repository of all wisdom, dispensing with the necessity of individual commentaries. Adapting the words of an historian of European philosophy, one can observe that the *sūtras* ‘do not think themselves, but are thought by living spirits, which are something other and better than mere thought-machines—by spirits who live these thoughts, who fill them with personal warmth and passionately defend them.’ In fact every articulate system of philosophic thought has a well-marked individuality, and it is the individuality of a thinker’s ‘vision,’ *Weltanschauung*

or *darśanam*, meaning, among others, an intuition of the whole, that counts after all in a philosophical rendering of the world. There is, admittedly, in this recognition of the individuality of a philosophic thinker, the danger of the reign of a lawless individualism in the sphere of philosophic thinking. The remedy, however, lies not in obliterating or discounting altogether the individuality of the thinker or commentator, but in sublimating and maintaining it at a higher level. The way to achieve this lies in an advance through conquest of selfish prejudice or bias, if any, to that disinterested intellectual curiosity, which alone can appreciate or assimilate truth. That is why, among other pre-requisites, the renunciation of all self-centred interests or 'apathy towards enjoyment of the fruits of one's actions, whether here on earth or hereafter in the life to come' (*ihāmutraphalabhogavirāgaḥ*) is demanded of the student of the Vedānta. The change thus wrought in the soul of the philosophic inquirer bears testimony to 'the expulsive power of a higher affection.' In the absence of such higher affection or mastering enthusiasm for truth, there will spring up distracting varieties of polemics, leading men astray from the pursuit of truth. Such a mishap was foreshadowed by Śaṅkara, and the necessary safeguard provided for. "If men's inclinations," as he clearly laid down "were not regulated, establishment of truth would be impossible, on account of the endless diversity in their powers of apprehension" (*Kasyacit kvacittu pakṣapāte sati puruṣamativaiśyasya rupyena tatvāvyavasthānaprasaṅgāt*).¹

The strength or efficacy of the *sūtras* thus consists in its prescript of a chartered freedom, as against the possible abuse or license of free thinking. The *sūtra* form has the effect of pruning away the rapid accretion of rival commentaries and expositions, destitute of a survival-value. The temperamental bias of the Oriental mind against chronicling or conserving historical data and individual peculiarities or biographical details explains this natural predilection for the *sūtra* form. In a wider reference the same

¹ Com. on V. 8. II, 1 i.

tendency expresses itself in the instinctive preference, not for personal, but corporate immortality. The *sūtras*, accordingly, are professedly conservative—illustrating in a limited manner what we understand by ‘conservation of values.’ But it is this very conservation that has ensured the historic continuity and perpetuity of the doctrines of a particular school in defiance of the spoil of ages. “For the Western philosopher” writes¹ Dr. Urquhart with the added authority of one representing Western philosophy, “it is true that our little systems have their day and cease to be” whereas “in the Vedānta, as well as in other Indian philosophies, we may notice a remarkable unity of development more closely knit than in Western philosophy.” Indeed, the *élan vital* of Indian thought has, from time immemorial, carried forward the undying past into the living present which it interpenetrates, and, thus pressing on the frontiers of the unknown, created fresh channels for thought. Viewed thus, the *sūtra* form stands as the very symbol or formula of ‘creative evolution.’ That seems to be also the drift of Prof. Rādhākrishnan’s suggestive phrase—“the constructive conservatism of Indian thought.”

This innate conservatism of Indian thought,—which is symbolised by the *sūtra*—with its retrospective outlook towards antecedent conditions, does not, however, land us in sheer emptiness. The *sūtra* does not leave us, in the end, with a barren, abstract, colourless universal that rides roughshod over the particular. It is the universal in the particular and the particular as embosomed in the universal—or, to use the oft-repeated phrase ‘the concrete universal’—that is not merely the ‘secret’ of Hegel, but the ‘open conspiracy’ of the Real. The white light, that is apparently colourless, reveals itself on spectral analysis to be a harmonious blend of variegated colours. So does the *sūtra* justify its essential character as *viśvatomukham* emulating, in capacity and function, a myriad-minded personality.

¹ *The Vedānta and Modern Thought*, p. 9.

That is why the towering figures in the arena of Indian philosophy announce themselves as the mere exegetes or commentators (*bhāṣyakāras*) on the original *sūtras* and redeem, with the strictest fidelity, their initial pledge at every stage of their career, without surrendering in the least their rights of private judgment (*vicāra* or *mīmāṃsā*) or fettering their decision in any way. In the words of a distinguished Vedāntic scholar “exegetical interpretation here inevitably shades off into philosophic construction, and this need not involve any intellectual dishonesty.”¹ This is exactly the plea with which Śaṅkara enters upon his career. “For this reason” says he, “by way of enquiring into Brahman there is being undertaken an exegesis of the Vedānta texts, having for its materials arguments conformable thereto, and for its final end beatitude” (*tasmādbrahmajijñāsopanyāsa-mukhena vedāntavākyamīmāṃsā tadavirodhitatarkopakaraṇā niḥśreyasaprayojanā prastūyate*).² If the vocation of the philosopher is to be, in the language of Plato, “a spectator of all time and all existence,” he must have the eye to discern in time “the moving image of eternity.” This clearly reveals an attempt to take time seriously, and it is with reference to the *sūtras* in their constant conjunction with *bhāṣyas* or commentaries, that the philosophers of the Vedānta school have achieved a much-needed solution of the standing conflict between the timeless or unhistorical and the temporal or historical character of truths. If truths ‘wake to perish never,’ neither antiquity nor modernity can either add to, or detract from the validity of these. Accordingly, the feverish passion for antiquity, matched by an equally frenzied zeal for a comparative recency, that is generally displayed by scholars, both in the East and in the West, with regard to the historic emergence of Indian philosophy, and of the Vedānta *sūtras* in particular, seems to be altogether uncalled for, and what is more to the point, unphilosophical. What the

¹ K. C. Bhaṭṭācāryya, *Studies in Vedantism*, Introduction.

² Com. on Vedānta Sūtras, I. 1 i.

sūtras seek to emphasize is just this interplay of timelessness as well as historicity of truths—this dance of eternity before the footlights of time—and the guarantee that all our finite strivings after truth survive in the *sūtra*, ‘when eternity affirms the conception of an hour.’ The mission of the *sūtras* is to authenticate the fact of the immemorial past interpenetrating, and energising the present, and thus to justify the double rôle in which truth appears—ever constant, ever new. The uniformity or identity in question is more akin to the self-identity of a ‘continuant’ than to the bare identity of a ‘recurrent’ character, to adopt the phraseology popularised by Mr. Johnson in his framing of the issue concerning universality. In point of fact, all historically conditioned systems of philosophy, Indian or European,—whether determined by the *sūtras* or otherwise—appear, to the discerning student, to be not so many thoughts, but rhythms in thinking. Nothing serves as a more apt illustration of the case than the analogy of the Indian *rāga* with its structural invariability as conjoined to an infinite variety in composition.

In an intelligent survey of Indian thought, specifically, of Vedānta philosophy, two extremes are to be avoided. In the first place, in a region where philosophic construction has invariably ushered itself into existence by way of exegesis or scholium, the selection of a faithful and reliable commentator is too apt to become a question of first-rate importance and initial settlement. But such selection in spite of allowances being made for temperamental bias, for personal equation and the like, should never be made to wear the appearance of individual choice or arbitrary preference. When, for example, a statement is made to the effect that ‘the philosophy of Śaṅkara.....is the Vedānta *par excellence*,’¹ such advance labelling of the Vedānta comes perilously near the *ipse dixit* of a dogmatist or propagandist. Admittedly, there is some force in the contention that one is a

¹ P. N. Sen, *Philosophy of the Vedānta*, p. 6.

born Śaṃkarite or a born Rāmānujist, just as one is a born Platonist or a born Aristotelian. Nor need it be disputed altogether that a philosophic creed has, after all, its roots not so much in intellectual satisfaction as in the demands of the emotional and volitional sides of a man's nature. But, then, in a case like this no question of preferential treatment does or need arise. Commentators of the *Vedāntasūtras* there have been—and their number is a legion—such as Śrīkanṭha, Bhāskara, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Vallabha, Baladeva among others who have, by adopting a policy of pick-and-choose, of stressing a point here and dropping a point there, of straining and twisting the resources of logic, sought to cater to demands that are extra-philosophical, and thus win the day. But the great never stoop to conquer. They develop their peculiar thesis with a vertical and unrelenting consistency, regardless of the consequences such a procedure might have on collateral issues. The authoritative-ness of any of these commentaries on the *Vedāntasūtras* is not to be judged by the greatest common measure of agreement it affords among its rivals. The greatness of Śaṃkara, at least, does not lie there. He overrides others by the sheer force of his greatness—by the compelling greatness, in particular, of his logic of absolutism, or what is the same thing, his logic of comprehension. The whole host of other commentators exhibit in their interpretation what may be called thoughts of arrested development, and whether of the form of qualified monism (*viśiṣṭādvaita*) or of dualism (*dvaita*), they all point, by force of their unconscious logic, to *Advaita-Vedānta* of the Śaṃkarite type as their natural culmination. They are the people who make a premature compromise with findings that are not, in any sense, far-reaching or of foundational importance, and thus come under the category of those that have not felt the 'drive' or 'the arduousness of reality.' Indeed, there is nothing sacrosanct about any commentary, however august be the name associated with it as its author. Its claims to supremacy, if there be any, must be heard before the bar of individual reason; for, in the

republic of the Vedānta, we recognise no alien government except that of integral Experience as a self-legislative authority. From Authority to Freedom, from *Śruti* to *Anubhūti*, from Revelation to Experience in its integrity and back again—that is the systole and diastole of the life of the Vedānta. As it has been wisely observed,¹ the scriptural texts, such as those of the *Upaniṣads* are to be endlessly explained by the commentary of individual lives, and as placed in such a context, they acquire an individual meaning, awaiting, as it were, for their confirmation, the special testimony of each one of us. Thus is evidently secured that universality of appeal which the *Upaniṣads* can reasonably claim for themselves.

The other extreme to be avoided in a systematic rendering of the Vedānta, and of Indian thought in general, is that intemperate passion for historical scholarship which, instead of keeping within the legitimate bounds of Indology, has invaded the domain of Indian Philosophy. Some Histories of Indian Philosophy appear to have clearly succumbed to this temptation, and thus signally failed of their purpose, forfeiting eventually their title to this designation. In the matter of compiling a History of Philosophy, mere historical and even philological scholarship have undoubtedly their respective use. But they are made grotesque, if they are thrust into the forefront and made to do the duty of what a philosophic evaluation of thought-types primarily stands for. In a History of Philosophy it is not merely facts and events that we look for, but the underlying meaning and import of these, as they appear in their historic succession. The Baconian comparison of the respective functions of the 'ant' and the 'bee' has not, evidently, lost its force for us even to-day. Indeed, accumulation of facts is one thing, and illumination quite another; while many are the accumulators, only a few are torch-bearers. If, the proverbially good-souled ass, that was usually employed in the days of yore

¹ For example by Dr. Tagore in the Introduction to his '*Sādhana*.'

to carry the fuel with which fire was lighted, were suddenly to take it into his head in a fit of contagious logic, that he was the author and source of all illumination, he would, inspite of his specious argument from agreement in presence and in absence, be held up to ridicule. Surely the benevolent ass—may his tribe increase!—has rendered himself indispensable to us; but he has to be reminded pretty often of his station in life and the duties incidental thereto. It is Hegel, the typical philosopher of the Restoration, who has laid down in the clearest possible manner what he conceives to be the main objective of a History of Philosophy in the 'Introduction' to his own 'History of Philosophy.' Philosophy, as it has been well said is largely a question of proportion; and it is re-assuring to note that Hegel, steeped as he was in the historical *Weltanschauung*, with its pronounced leanings towards a philosophico-historical necessity, saw things in their proper perspective when he observed that "in thought, and particularly in speculative thought comprehension means something quite different from understanding the grammatical sense of the words alone, and also from understanding them in the region of ordinary conception only."¹ 'The authors of such histories' as are lacking in this 'comprehension' or 'knowledge of the matter itself about which so much ado has been made' may, in Hegel's opinion, 'be compared to animals which have listened to all the tones in some music, but to whose senses the unison, the harmony of their tones, has not penetrated'.²

To the ends of a systematic study of the Vedānta, such as is ours, the need and importance of 'comprehension,' in its philosophic sense, cannot possibly be overrated. It is all the more imperative, in view of the fact that we have not, with rare exceptions, learnt the art of pressing historical scholarship into the service of a philosophical study. In fact, there

¹ *History of Philosophy* (trans. E. S. Haldane), Vol. I, p. xvi.

² *Ibid.*

is hardly any consensus of opinion, among workers in this field, as to the scope and function of such scholarship; and the result is that through sheer loss of perspective we cannot see the wood for the trees. But, then, we must remember that it is we who, in our perversity, first raise the dust and then complain that we cannot see. A systematic study of the Vedānta is, therefore, our rallying-point; all other labellings and constructions of it are a matter of words only (*vācārambhaṇam*). Systems, it is true, have had their day; but a systematic study of the Vedānta is not 'Time's fool' nor has it, in any way, outlived its use. It may yet be suffered to enjoy the round of its days, ere the inevitable doom falls on it, pitiless and dark. Even then it may not be found impossible to explore a *niche* for it in the Valhalla of the Vedānta. So runs also the prophetic assurance :

“ What entered into thee
That was, is, and shall be
Time's wheel runs back or stops : Potter and clay endure”.

S. K. DAS

Private :

LETTERS OF MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

III¹

New Bengal Rent Act

10 SOUTH ST.,

PARK LANE

LONDON W.

April 11/79.

SIR

I am truly thankful for your information that the Select Committee have not pledged themselves to any part of the Bill—that they are waiting to consider the criticism of mofussil officers—and that the Governmt¹ will hardly attempt to hurry the Act thro' the Council.

I had previously made all the use I could of your very important information about the nature of the Bill itself : and had learnt that it was still under consideration here : or rather that it had not yet reached the stage of formal consideration : but that there still was ample time to secure for it full attention.

I do trust therefore that this Act will not pass without being modified to what it ought to be for affording full rights to the Ryot.

You will, I hope, kindly continue the valuable information which you have been so good as to give. And I shall hope to answer much more satisfactorily.

¹ The Editor's thanks are due to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A. of the Post-Graduate English Department, Calcutta University, for these letters written to his father, the late Mr. Prasannakumar Sen, Vakil and Attorney of the Calcutta High Court.

Thanking you again and again for your Regulations, your Calcutta Gazette, your remarks upon the Bill in it of which I made the greatest use and for your letters : and may God speed the cause !

In haste,
and under stress of constant
overwork & illness,
pray believe me
ever the Ryot's faithful servt
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

P. K. SEN, ESQ.

IV

Bengal Arrears of Rent Realization Bill

May 30/79

10, SOUTH STREET,
PARK LANE, W.
LONDON.

SIR

I am extremely indebted to you for sending me the petition, intended to be signed by the Ryots, against the provisions in Part 2 of the Bill under the head " Procedure for summary realizn of arrears of rent."

I rejoice very much that the Lt.-Governor, in accordance with the suggestion of the Select Committee, has postponed the further discussion of the Rent Bill till next session, —and has appointed a Commission for revising and amending the entire Rent Law.

How important this will be. May all good attend their labours !

I conclude that the gentlemen, whom you name as the members, are all good men for the purpose.

The petition dwells much upon the fact that, whereas the zamindar's rent is the same now as in 1793, the ryot's rent is from three to twenty-fold what it was in 1793 : [this is, I suppose, strictly correct?] and that, tho' the zemindar may have parted to middlemen with much of the difference between the rent paid by the ryot in 1793 & the much larger rent paid now, the fact that many are now fattenning on the ryot, whereas the Permanent Settlement destined one zemr (not to fatten but) to protect the Ryot, is no reason for collecting with extra severity these high rents.

In the long note, the petition shows that its observations (on the Regns. of 1799 and 1812) apply equally to provisions of Sections 3 & 4—

You concur in this?

Such observations as that any one, whether Zemr or Goma, who can assert falsely that a cultivator owes him rent, can sell off his property, etc : that the tenants can find no effectual security; and that petty officials can always be *bribed* to reject 'security' : that the Zemindar should not be judge in his own case, subject to only ineffective "restrictions," that false witness can always be had for a few annas a piece :

This, I suppose, *was* too true,

& *is* still too true ?

The Table in the " Indian Tribune " (which you are so good as to enclose,) is very important : *viz.*, the Table showing that, out of 1915 cases in which defence was entered, it failed only in 478. And this in the 24-Pergunnahs !

Certainly, if any " restrictions " are to be placed, on any party in rent suits, it is on the landlord plaintiff & not on the tenant defendt.

After the statements about the fraudulent magnifying of rent-claims and supporting them by false witness & forgery,

the challenge, which you say has not yet been taken up, is very striking.

As also that Part II of the Bengal Rent Bill will become “an engine of oppression in the hands of the corrupt ‘amla’ of the absentee Zemr.”

Alas! how does this evidence of corruption confirm the plan of putting natives—the thing we all so much desire—into Government situations and offices? That is what I think of continually. Can you devise the reform which will lessen this all but universal corruption? I ask it with the truest devotion to the cause.

Is it true that the Rent Leagues in Eastern Bengal have ceased to exist?

It is said that the prices of food are so very high now in Bengal as to make the necessities of life even beyond the reach of thousands:

When you are kind enough to write again, please mention how this is.

I assure you that I have not been idle in pressing attention to the Rent Bill at *this* end:

From want of time and strength, I am obliged to put off some further questions with which I had to trouble you till next mail.

Pray, believe me,
with many thanks,
ever your faithful servt.
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

LONDON. *June 20/79.*

SIR,

I am extremely indebted to you for sending me the 'supplement' to the 'Calcutta Gazette' of April 23: It is exceedingly important document, as showing what is *acknowledged* by Government.

The Secretary to Government of Bengal says that the *Zemindars* declare the amended Bill to be of little use to them: & it is they who asked for the Commission.

At this end at the India Office it comes to this: that, as the Bill lately before the Council has been wholly dropped, and the whole question referred *de novo* to a fresh Commission, nothing can be done till they have reported.

The men selected to form the new Commission are far from hostile to the Ryot: and I earnestly hope they will examine Ryots and ascertain what their actual condition is.

Some means must be devised for dealing with this land question compared with which all others put together must sink into insignificance.

At the same time, is it not to be feared that, in any re-adjustment, the *men of money* who command the lawyers, and the newspapers, and the native members of Council, will certainly not lose, & may not improbably gain?

The thing would be: that there should be lawyers—noble native gentlemen,—who, despising worldly advantage, and gain, should be at the service of the Ryot, the weaker interest: that there should be newspapers, fearlessly but with the utmost attention to accuracy of facts, to advocate his cause. And we may hope that the day will come when the native members of Council will not be only in the interest of the *Zemindar*.

In European countries, such things have been known as young men patiently working their way up to riches or at least to honour and influence—not for their own sakes but for the

sake of their poorer fellows, of the people's cause: till at last they were elected to representative political life, to high official post, or even to the Cabinet.

Disinterested political, not party principle—oh what a great, what a divine quality that is!

One hears much in India—I do not say it is at all peculiar to India—of the corruption, the exacting of petty bribes, by the petty native officials, from the people, the wretched cultivators, who are in their power.

[There is, I believe we may say, less & less & almost nothing of this in England now, tho' there is very much in Russia.]

What a glorious career for a band of young native gentlemen in India, not only to be quite inaccessible to every kind of corruption themselves—[*that*, no doubt, they are already] but to set their faces like a rock systematically against every kind of corruption, however small—& probably it is the small & universal taking of bribes which is the worst mischief—in the *petty native* officials—to use every means in their power, not passively but actively, to establish a *public native opinion* against bribery—a manly horror of it—to raise the small official out of the habit of 'buttering his palms,' of taking 'douceurs' from the poor.

What a glorious object!

It is impossible for English officials in India,—incorruptible themselves,—to check or even to know the bribe-taking of the peons,—the small Public Works Irrigation overseers, etc. from the poor. Only the native gentlemen could speak & work against this.

And may God speed them!

2. I had hoped to have gone into this most important Gazette—important as showing what is acknowledged by Government—by this mail. But I find time and strength wanting.

But I assure you that there is at last, at last, so powerful an interest awakening in England for the affairs of India as I

never expected to live to see. The Houses of Parliament now discuss India as if it were a *home* question, a vital and mortal question, *as it is*. This new public opinion in England only requires educating.

It requires *facts*.

I was exceedingly glad to see that you were circulating questions requiring facts for answers among your mofussil friends, and that you were going to collect information yourself.

That is what is wanted.

3. To return to the Commission on the Bengal Rent Law: would you not be inclined to hope for the *crystallizations* resulting from time to time the Ryot's holdings into property as has been the case in most European countries and in our own country in the instance of the copyholders?

I should hope for legislation to give the Ryots relief against illegal exactions in excess of the rent established by law. For while the cases in which undisputed rents are withheld are few, those in which illegal cesses etc. are exacted are very many. It was a terrible thing that, while the Zemindars are supported in every tittle of their legal rights, when it was shown by a Commission of indisputable authority that illegal exactions are habitually made, all special interference was forbidden, & the Ryots were left to their legal remedy.

At present, I suppose, a suit for rent or a suit for over-rent or exaction can only be brought as a regular civil action: the same as if it were to try a question of title: & such actions only come on in their turn: it may be a very slow & long turn. Should there not be a separate file for such, and a cheap and summary mode of trial—a case being stated for regular trial when a real question of title crops up. The summary jurisdiction would in all cases be confined to enforcing the rent previously paid & keeping down the levy by the Zemindar to that previous rent till it is legally enhanced. In Bengal and Behar no doubt the Zemindar's papers (in the absence of a public

accountant) have been, as you notice, thoroughly unreliable. But I have understood that the Road Cess returns have done much to obviate that difficulty. Is it not the case that the Ryots come trooping in, even in Mozufferpore, to obtain certified copies of the Zemindars' records of their own rents : & that they, the Ryots, will not then pay a rupee more than the amount? [I give them joy.] If the Zemindars fail to keep reliable accounts, so much the worse for them : they will lose the benefit of the summary jurisdiction.

I am obliged to leave off abruptly, I hope to write by next mail.

In the meantime, let me thank you for all your valuable information and trust that you will kindly send me more of what I expect to turn to good account, please God.

Pray believe me faithfully yours

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

P. K. SEN, ESQ.

KALINGA NAGARA

In the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Parts III and IV of 1929, Prof. B. C. Bhattacharya wrote an article with the title of "Kaliṅganagara and excavation at its present site." The author's aim in this article is to disprove the identification of the ancient Kaliṅganagara with modern Mukhalingam in the district of Ganjam and assert that the modern Kaliṅgapatam had the glory of having been the chief seat of the Kaliṅga sovereigns.

He started with the assumption that the Kaliṅganagara of the Hathigumpha inscription was the same as the seat of government of the Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga. Perhaps it is the similarity in the name that made him think that it was so. If so, the Kaliṅganagara mentioned in the Ramayana (II. 71. 17) also must have been the same town. But Mr. Bhattacharya did not think of it. The Kaliṅganagara of Ramayana was to the north-west of Ayodhya, the capital of the North Kosala and therefore cannot be brought South and identified with the Kaliṅgapatam. Similarly Khāravēla's Kaliṅganagara also cannot be said to have been located at the mouth of the Vamsadhāra river.

The Kaliṅga edicts of Aśoka tell us that the kingdom of Kaliṅga did not extend southwards beyond Barua on the Ganjam coast. (*Vide* Samāpa or Aśokan Kaliṅga, I.A., April and May, 1923.) Khāravēla's kingdom also lay within the same limits. How can it be assumed that Kaliṅgapatam had been the seat of government of a kingdom the southern limit of which did not go south of a town which is about fifty miles north of the mouth of the Vamsadhāra? It is of political advantage to locate the central government of a country within its political boundaries.

McCrindle in his translation of Ptolemy's Ancient India said thus with regard to the identification of Tosali, the town

where Aśoka located the central government of his newly conquered province. Tosali, called a metropolis, has become of great importance, since recent archæological discoveries have led to the finding of the name in the Aśokan inscriptions on the Dāuli rock. Vestiges of a larger city have been discovered not far from the site of the monument, and there can be no doubt that the Tosali of the inscription was the capital in Aśoka's time of the province of Orissa and continued to be so till at least the time of Ptolemy.

Mr. Jawaswal who made a special study of the Hathigumpha inscription says as follows regarding the identification of the capital of Khāravēla. "Several times the capital of Kaliṅga is mentioned in the inscription either as the *Kaliṅga capital* or as the *capital*; but nowhere its name is given. There are, however, indications that the capital must have been near the site of the inscription. One of the buildings which Khāravēla built was on the river *Prachi*. This is a small river near modern Bhuvanēśvara and not very far from Dhauli and Hathigumpha. Dhauli where the Tosali inscription of Aśoka is found is in the neighbourhood. Dhauli itself, as pointed out to me by Mr. Haraprasada Sastri, philologically stands for Tosali. Tosali was also the provincial capital under Aśoka. We would be justified in accepting that the capital of Khāravēla was Tosali in whose neighbourhood the Hathigumpha cave and the *Prachi* are to be found. From the inscription it is evident that Khāravēla continued the old capital of the Kaliṅga Kings and that he did not found a new one. He mentions the old buildings of the former kings." In a footnote the same scholar shows that the Kaliṅga in the later centuries was to the south of the Tel river and that, therefore, the capital of Khāravēla could not have been beyond the Tel. (J.B. & O.R.S., Dec., 1917, p. 440ff.)

In the same journal it is stated that the capital of the Aira rulers of Kaliṅga—Khāravēla was one of them—had been located near the Khaṇḍagiri is corroborated by an old MS. in old Oriya

characters which exists in the Indian Museum. The MS. says, "The Airas of Kosala removed their capital to the Khandagiri at Ekaprastāra." Then the author of that article says, "It is to be noticed that the capital of Kalinga before Aśoka and after the Nandas is called *Parthali* (by Megasthenes) which corresponds with the *Prasthara* of our MS. By its location in the Khandagiri, it seems to have been identical with Dhauli (Tosali).

All these evidences to identify the capital of Khāravēla with Tosali did not furnish Mr. Bhattacharya with so strong an argument as the destruction of buildings caused by a hurricane in the time of Khāravēla, and the discovery of large bricks and foundations of old buildings and of gold coins near Kaliṅgapatam. If these things alone unsupported by documentary evidence can furnish us with the clue for identification or location of the capital of Kalinga, then every place in the southern part of the Ganjam district can claim to be such.

The statement that Khāravēla repaired the buildings in his capital destroyed by a hurricane showed that that capital was located in a storm area; the havoc caused by the cyclone of 1924 in and around Kaliṅgapatam made Mr. Bhattacharya think that this Kaliṅgapatam, being also exposed to storms, was the Kalīṅganagara of Khāravēla. What a fragile support! Can one storm of a year assist us to confirm the identity? A reference to the Climatological Atlas of India by Eliot shows that, during the twenty-five years from 1877-1901, not less than 81 storms blew in Orissa and that, in the months of June, July, August and September of each year. Whereas, on the south Ganjam coast, during the same period of twenty-five years, only 8 storms occurred and that, only in the months of August and September. This does not give even one storm a year; while three storms a year on the average, blew in the area in which Khāravēla's capital was located. The valley of the Mahānadi is more exposed to storms and cyclones than the lower valley of the Vamsadhāra. Dhauli near which lie the remains of Tosali is

situated in the lower valley of the Mahānadi. Consequently the storm referred to in the Hathigumpha cave inscriptions must have been one of those that frequently visit the Orissan coast.

With regard to the presence of the relics of ancient buildings, it has already been shown that near Dauli exist the vestiges of a large city. Large bricks and foundations of buildings are found in several places between Vizianagram in the south and Mahēndragiri in the north. Mukhalingam which lies within this area possesses such relics, but only they have not yet been explored. This is one of the ancient places that had not yet been subjected to the inspection of an excavator; nor did any archæologist pay a visit to see what art has been hidden in that corner of the Ganjam District. The plan and structure of the temple, the torana gateways leading to the temple and the sculptures built into the walls, prove that the temple is as old as the Buddhist structures of Saranath, Amaravati or Baruhut. Each panel narrates an episode in the history of Kalinga or a moral story from the Saivite tradition. But these sculptures have not yet been studied by scholars of Archæology and stories depicted therein have been forgotten by the ordinary run of mankind who visit the place as religious devotees. The priests of the temple dupe these men who are already intoxicated with religious fervour, with stories which bear no relation to the actors shown in the sculpture. With unbiassed minds these sculptures have to be studied; it is only then that the episodes in the history of ancient Kalinga can be understood.

The small gold pieces said to have been found in Kalingapatam are also found in and around Mukhalingam, in Siripuram, a village about 4 miles to the north-west of Chicacole and in the open country now shown as the site of the fort of the demon Dantavakra. These coins are popularly known as the Nandichinnams (a *chinnam* is one thirtieth of a tola). In the Kshētramāhātmyam of Mukhalingam, it is stated that when the king of Kalinga felt too poor to build the temple, the god appeared to

him in his dreams and told him that it would, on the next day, rain gold coins within a radius of ten miles.

सर्वेषामपि लिङ्गानां देवतायतनानि वै
 भविष्यन्ति कथं स्वल्पं वित्तमाब्जीयमक्षयम् ॥
 इतिचिन्तापरीतस्य राज्ञः स्वप्ने महेश्वरः ।
 एवं सत्कृपया देवः प्रसन्नः कथयिष्यति ॥
 सर्वलिङ्गाञ्चिते तस्मिन् पञ्चक्रोशे महेश्वरः ।
 श्वः प्रभाते चतुर्गुञ्जप्रमाणैर्विन्दुभिर्वृता ॥
 मत्प्रभावात्स्वर्णवृष्टिस्स्यात्सप्तवटिकावधिः ।
 इत्युक्तान्तर्हिते देवे प्रबुद्धा धरणीपतिः ॥
 तथैव तेन सर्वेण स्वर्णवृष्टिं प्रवर्षिताम् ॥

It is immaterial here to discuss whether the story of this gold rain is true or not. But it cannot be denied that this story must have been founded on the fact that these coins were picked up from the earth in and around the Kshētram. Even now it is popularly believed that these gold pieces are exposed to view after a heavy shower of rain. So this finding of these pieces of gold seems to have been known to the people from many centuries ago.

Thus Mukhalingam possesses not only those features which the learned Professor has demanded for the identification of Kaliṅganagara, but also more. There is the documentary support to justify its claim. The Vizagapatam copper plate grant of Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva dated in Saka 1040, states that the capital of Kamarnava II was Nagara, where he built a temple to a liṅga called Madhukeśa. There is the Madhukeśvara temple and to the north of Mukhalingam and joined to it is the village now known as Nagari-Katakam. This was the Kaliṅgā-nagara from the time of Kamarnava II. Can Prof. Bhattachari show any such evidence in favour of Kaliṅgā-patam?

Mr. Bhattachari thought the Nagara in Kaliṅganagara to be a proper noun and argued that the expressions like *Kaliṅgāvaninagara* do not mean Kaliṅgānagara. Such expressions as *Kaliṅgāvani Nagara*, *Kaliṅga-dēsa Nagara* and *Sakala Kaliṅgāvani Nagara* which are found in the inscriptions existing in the temple of Mukhaliṅgam do not mean the Nagara in the country of Kaliṅgā as understood by the author. Let us study the inscriptions in which these expressions are found and what they signify.

Kaliṅgāvani Nagara is mentioned in inscription No. 1035 of Vol IV of South Indian Inscriptions. The donor of the gift was an inhabitant of Bhendigrama and was the minister of Sri Vikrama Dhārūnīpati. Is it not necessary for a foreigner and minister of the ruler of a different state to mention the locality of the capital of Kaliṅga?

No. 1036 is the record of a gift by an inhabitant of Vijayapura and second minister of Sri Vikrama Gaṅgēśvara. Therefore the locality in which god Madhukeśa was, is defined as the capital (nagara) of the country of Kaliṅga (Kaliṅga-deśa).

An inhabitant of Drākshārama records a gift (No. 1101) to Madhukeśa in the capital (nagara) of the Tri-Kaliṅgāvani. All these three are the records of persons from countries different from Kaliṅga. They have to state clearly the country or kingdom of which it is the capital.

There are instances in which the inhabitants of districts other than the one in which the capital was located, mentioned the district in which the place of Madhukeśa was situated, *e.g.*, No. 1046 states that the god Madhukeśa was in the district of the capital (Nagarāna Vīti). The records of those that lived in and around the capital simply mention that the god was present in the capital (Nagarāna). They did not think it necessary to define the position of that capital because it was their own native place. Similarly Hathigumpha cave inscription affords us with instances where *Nagara* is used by itself.

L.5.....Kadāpayati nagarim.

L.6.....Sata [m?] oghātilām Tanasuliya-vālā panādim Nagaram pavesayati.

The lord of the kingdom himself speaks and therefore he did not think it necessary to say 'the capital of the Kaliṅgā.' In the above extracts *Nagara* means Kaliṅgāvani-nagara or Kaliṅga-deśa-nagara.

In spite of these glaring examples the learned author pronounces that *Nagara* in the inscriptions of the Mukhaliṅgeśvara temple is a proper name and therefore cannot mean the capital. He also challenges Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, if he can show any instance where a proper name is so split. In the above extracts it has been shown that *nagara* is not used as a proper name. It is used as a common noun in all those records. In this sense, *nagara* is also used in the *Ramayana* :

Bālakāṇḍa, canto I. 3. ततः खलङ्कृतं राजा नगरे प्रविवेश ह ।

11. क्रियतां नगरं सर्वं क्षिप्रमेव खलङ्कृतम् ।

In the *Pātāla-khanda* of *Padma Purāṇa* (chapter 53) *nagara* is used in this sense :

सर्वान् वीरान्ध्रे स्थाप्य ययौ खनगरम्प्रति ।

Several instances from the epic and the *Purāṇas* can be quoted to prove that the word *nagara* signified only the residence of the king and it was used as a common noun. The *Ramayana* shows that it signified the pile of buildings in which the king, his family members and his personal servants lived. Compare the verse 3 above with the one which intimates the entry of Daśaratha and his followers after Sīta's marriage :

प्रविवेश गृहं राजा हिमवत्सदृशं पुनः ।

Here गृहं corresponds to नगरम् in verse 3 above. This is not the only instance ; many are the places in which either *nagara* or *grha* or *pitr-grha* is employed to denote the royal residential buildings of the Kosala kings. This is the real significance of the word *nagara*. Even in modern days, the word, in the Oriya

zamindari places, is used to denote the residential palace of the zamindar, who is considered by his people as their king.

This *nagara* has a significance different from that of *pura*. Sabdakalpadruma gives it thus: *Bahu-grāmīya-vyavahāra-sthānam puram, tatra pradhānabhūtam nagaram*. From this it is clear that the abode of the lord of a group of villages is called a *nagara* while the metropolis of that group is known as *pura*. In the Ramayana such distinction is shown. Instances where *nagara* is used to denote the royal abode have already been shown. The significance of *pura* is brought out in canto 5 of Bālakāṇḍa. In canto 68 the following verses show that *pura* includes the royal dwellings as well as those of townsmen :

जनकेन समादिष्टा दूतास्ते क्लान्तवाहनाः ।

विरात्रमुषिता मार्गे तेऽयोध्यां प्राविशन्पुरीम् ॥

राज्ञो भवनमासाद्य द्वारस्थानिदमब्रुवन् ।

The messengers having entered the *pura* of Ayodhya, approached the king's palace and spoke thus to the gate-keepers. Similarly, in canto 31 of Kishkindha Kāṇḍa :

16. तामपश्यद्बलाकीर्णं हरिराजमहापुरीम् ।

दुग्मिच्छाकुशार्दूलः किष्किन्धां गिरिसङ्कटे ॥

21. ततस्सुग्रीवभवनम्विश्य हरिपुङ्गवाः ।

23. ततः सचिवसन्दिष्टा हरयोऽरोमहर्षणाः ।

गिरिकुञ्जरमेघाभा नगर्यान्निर्ययुस्तदा ॥

The word नगर्यात् in the last verse means the same thing as सुग्रीवभवन(ात्) in verse 21. Thus that *Nagara* is a part of *pura* is clear. *Nagara* signifies only the royal palace while *pura* is the town in which the royal palaces are included.

With regard to *pattana*, I am not aware of its use anywhere in the Ramayana. The word seems to have come into use in times subsequent to those of Valmiki. I think it is a word having its origin in the Dravidian languages. So far as I know, there is not a place whose name ends with 'pattana.'

The only exception is Patna ; even that was originally called Pātali-putra. In Southern India many place names have endings in *pattana*. From the geographical position of those places, it can be observed that every one of them has the protection of the sea or a river. When Mr. B. V. Krishnarao had said that the seaport towns are generally called *pattanas*, the learned professor took objection and challenged if Mr. Krishnarao show how Srirangapatam, though unconnected with the sea is called so. Srirangapatam is protected on all sides by the river Cauvery and was, during the time of Haider and Tippu Sultan, used as a place of retreat for safety, when hard pressed by their enemies. It is a 'jala-durgam' as are all the seaport towns. Mr. Krishnarao by seaports, must have meant the *jala-durgams*. Since the origin of *pattana* is subsequent to that of *Nagara* or *pura*, it cannot be presumed that Kaliṅgāpattana has been in existence from historic times. Moreover I cannot see any reason why the *nagara* of Kaliṅga-nagara was changed to *pattana*, if Kaliṅga-nagara and Kaliṅga-pattana were one and the same. Can Mr. Bhattacharya show me another instance where *nagara* is replaced by *pattana*?

From the above discussion we learn that the Kaliṅga-nagara of Khāravēla was near Dhauli in Orissa. That was in the 2nd century before the birth of Christ. From the time of the Ganga king, Kāmārṇava II the Kaliṅga-nagara was located in the site where Mukhaliṅgam and Nagarikatakam now stand. This Kāmārṇava ascended the throne in *cir.* A. D. 761. Where was this Kaliṅganagara during the period between the 2nd century B. C. and the 8th century A. D.

No records have yet shed light on the history of Kaliṅga from the 2nd century B. C. till the conquest of it by Samudragupta. Leaving that period alone, we can, with the help of records and of literature locate the capital and see how it was changed from place to place from time to time. The Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva dated Saka 1040, tells us that Kāmārṇava I had his seat at Jantāvura.

1.49.....tasya cha-āpahasita Surendrapuram Jantāvura
50-n-nāma nagari rājya-dhāny-āsīt. (I.A., May, 1889.)

The Ganjam plates of Prithivivarmadeva (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 198) spells the name as (read as Ja [no?] ra) जन्तौवुर (from the ink impressions supplied to me by the Superintendent, Madras Museum). It is spelt as Jayantyāpura in the Simhapura Copper plate grant of the Kadamba King Dharmkedi (Q. J. A. R. S., Vol. III, parts 2, 3 & 4, pp. 171 ff.).

It is this Jayantyāpura that has been wrongly identified, both by Mr. Krishnarao and his critic, with Mukhaliṅgam which is also called by the name of Jayanti, Jayanti-pura or Jayantinagara. The following extracts from the Kshetramāhātmya gives us the correct name :

तस्य क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्यं जयन्त्याख्यस्य मे वद ।

जयन्तीक्षेत्रमाहात्म्यं क्षमः को वात्र वर्णितुम् ॥

तथा कलिङ्गदेशे तु जयन्तीनगरम्भूने ।

यतः पश्यन्ति सर्वेशं जयन्तीनगरेश्वरम् ।

जयन्तीनगरस्थानात्तोर्थानि मुनिसत्तम ।

जयन्तीनामकं क्षेत्रमाजगाम यदृच्छया ।

These are taken from the chapter which closes with the colophon 'iti śrī skāṇḍha-purāṇē uttara-khaṇḍē Jayantī Kshētramahātmyē chaturdho-adhyāyah.' The difference between this name of Mukhaliṅgam and that of the metropolis of Kāmārṇava I is so very marked in spelling that one cannot be mistaken for the other.

From a strategical point of view also, Jantāvura, the capital of Kāmārṇava I cannot be located so far south as Mukhaliṅgam. If we study how Kāmārṇava I came to possess the kingdom of Kaliṅga, we can understand where he could have had his capital. He first got up the Mahēndra hill, worshipped the God Gokarna there and then descending down into the plains, defeated Śabarāditya. The Mahēndra hill was as important to him as the plain country. He must care

to protect both. His seat of government must be in such a position as to command both the hill and the plain. He possessed the kingdom of Kalinga in *cir.* A.D. 700, a time when the whole country was undergoing disintegration consequent on the influx of the Huns and the dislocation of the hill-tribes such as the Savaras from their homes in the Vindhya mountains. These Savaras rushed into hills of Kalinga and even ventured into the plain country. It was therefore necessary for the sovereign of the country to guard the hills. The Mahendra hill had been always considered as a stronger place of retreat and of defence than their residence in the plains. It was, therefore, necessary to have the capital of Kāmarnava I as close to this Mahendra hill fort as possible.

This dual residence of the Kalinga Kings seems to have existed even in the time of Samudragupta. In the Allahabad pillar inscription, his conquest of Kalinga is mentioned in the expression '*Mahendragiri-Kautturaka*' which means the country of which Mahendragiri and Kottura were the capitals. This is an example of the very old custom of naming a kingdom by its capital. Both the Mahendra and Kottura were the keys of the kingdom. Yet, the former appears to have been a more invulnerable place and therefore seems to have been the chief centre of attack of the hostile armies. King Raghu is said to have, as soon as he entered the kingdom of Kalinga, concentrated all his forces on the Mahendra. (Raghuvamśa, Canto 4, 39.)

स प्रतापं महेन्द्रस्य मूर्ध्नि तीक्ष्णं न्यवेशयत् ।

अङ्गुष्ठं हिरदस्यैव यन्ता गम्भीरवेदिनः ॥

The comparison between Mahendra and the elephant that does not mind the pain caused by the deep thrust of the goad, shows how strong the fort had been; however forcible the siege might be, the enemy could effect nothing. The next verse tells us that the king of Kalinga, (hearing the siege) marched to its relief. So he must have been somewhere out

of his hill-residence. Naturally inference will be that he was in his metropolis in the plains, Kottura. Had it been Mukha-liṅgam, he could not have so readily marched to its relief. That this Kottura was in the vicinity of Mahēndra is certain and it has been identified with the modern village of Kottura near Barua, a port of importance even in the time of Ptolemy. (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 284, Note 2 —Kottur.) Kāmārṇava I, who had first to secure the possession of the hill fortress and then obtain the whole country of Kaliṅga must have naturally had his metropolis in the vicinity of Kottura the capital of his predecessors, so that he might watch both the hills and the plain.

Statements from the copper plate grants of the Ganga kings of the middle ages conform to this evidence. It has been shown above that Jayantyā-pura is mentioned in the Simhapura copper plate grant of Dharmakhedi. This donor is said to have been the governor of the district called Pancha-pātra in the kingdom of Kaliṅga. This *Vishaya* is also mentioned in the Mandasa copper plate grant of Anantavarmadeva (Madras Ep. Report, 1918, App. A. No. 12 and part II p. 139, para. 17) and it states that the Panchapātra Vishaya was a part of the Pancha Vishaya of which a Dharmakhēdi of the Kadamba family was the lord (mahāmandalesvara). It is also stated that the object of the grant was located in Mahēndrabhoga which must have certainly formed a part of the district under the control of the donor. This Mahēndrabhoga must be the country around the sacred hill of the Kaliṅga.

This Panchavishaya is again mentioned in the Parlakimidi copperplategrant of Vajrahastadeva. (Ep. Ind., Vol. III, pp. 220 ff.) Srimad Dāraparaja, the beloved son of Śri Chola-Kamādiraja, the lord of the district intimates the inhabitants of Laṅka-kona that the village of Hossaṇḍi was granted to one Kāmādi as a dowry. Consequently, this Laṅka-kona district was a part, like Mahēndrabhoga, of the Panchavishaya. In Juradah zamindari of the Ganjam district there is a village called Laṅka

(19° 4½ N. Lat. 84°47 E. Long., Indian Atlas sheet No. 108). The place-names mentioned in the grant are similar to the names of those found in this part of the district.

These two lead us to identify the Panchavishaya with the region of the Kaliṅga between 18°50' and 19°50' N. Lat. For this tract of land, the metropolis must be in a place which commands the whole region and especially the mountains, for it was from the west that the Kaliṅgas ever expected their enemies. Jantāvura must have occupied such a position.

Jallantra near Barua in the district of Ganjam was once the seat of a zamindari and it contains many ancient relics. (Sewell's Lists, Vol. I, p. 5.) The name of the town appears to be a modification of the old Jantāvura and it is near the Mahēndra hill. Though the Kaliṅga rulers prior to Kāmār-nava II had their seat of government in the plain country, yet they seem to depend mostly on the strength and security of their hill fortress. The invulnerability of the fort has been adapted into a simile by Kalidasa.

In describing the King of Kaliṅga, Sunanda, the hand-maid of Indumati, said that, in prowess he was as great as the mountain Mahēndra. Incidentally, she mentioned that Hemāngada was the lord of both the hills and the sea (meaning the coastal plain) (Ragh. canto 5, verse 54). This leads us to conclude that the Kaliṅga kings prior to *cir.* A.D. 800 had two seats of government—one on the sea-coast and one on the hills. In verse 56 of the canto 5 of Raghuvamśa, the poet emphasises the dual seat of the kings of Kaliṅga :

यमात्मनः सञ्चनि सन्निकृष्टो मन्द्रध्वनि-त्याजित-यामतूर्यः ।

प्रासाद-वातायन-दृश्यवीचिः प्रबोधयत्यर्णव एव सुप्तम् ॥

The sea can be seen from the windows of the palace. Unless it had been on the beach itself, it is not possible to see the waves from the windows. The inmates of houses built on the beach need not go to the upper stories of their dwellings to see the rolling waves. Since it is said that the sea can be

looked at from the windows of the palace, it can be observed that the royal palace of Hemāṅgada was not on the beach. In any other place in the town, it is not possible to have a look at the sea, unless the palace is located on a high-land. This is a fact which must have been experienced by all who live in sea-port towns. Kalidasa himself says that Hemāṅgada was the lord of Mahēndra. It is but natural that the lord should reside within his dominion. The hill is so very high that the sea can be clearly seen from its top though the distance of it from the sea is 16 miles.

“The mountain is about 16 miles from the sea and lies exposed to the sea-breeze, the nearest port being Bāruva, which can be seen from the bangalow. (Ganjam Dist. Manual, p. 40.)

During the calm hours of the night the rolling of the billows is heard, deprived of the harshness which is experienced on the beach. It is this soft rolling sound that is described by the poet as the music that is played to intimate the morning hours.

Now it is clear that Hemāṅgada's palace was located on the summit of the Mahēndra hill. The copper plate grants describe the capital of the early Ganga kings to be ‘Sarva-rtu-sukha-ramaṇīya.’ This quality aptly suits to its position on the hill. Again Kalidasa comes to our succour to determine the climate on the hill. That the betel leaves and cocoanut palms grow abundantly on the Mahendra hill (*ibid*, verse 42) shows that the climate was salubrious in all seasons. Even in these days the climate is the same. It was once proposed to make a sanatorium of it by the Calcutta Government. Its height (4000 ft.), its vicinity to the sea and unhindered exposure to the sea-breezes are enough factors to keep its climate pleasant in all seasons.

That the kings of Kaliṅga had two seats is intimated both in the Raghuvamśam and the Daśakumāracharitam. When Kalidasa made Sunanda say,

अनेन सार्धं विहराम्बराग्नेस्तौरेषु तालीवनमर्मरेषु ।

he had at heart the custom of retiring into the forest to celebrate the vernal festival. It is also apparent that, in the time of Kalidasa there existed a big forest along the coast of Kalinga. King Raghu, after leaving the Mahēndra fort marched his armies through a forest of fruit bearing *pūgas* (*ibid*, 45).

Dandin, in his *Daśakumāracharitam* says that the king of Kalinga, with his harem and townsmen, had retired to the forest on the sea-side and that while he had been fully engrossed with the enjoyment of vernal pleasures, he was carried away by Jaya Sinha, the Andhra king, who had come there over the sea. In this we are informed of the custom that was prevalent in Kalinga that the whole town used to retire into the forest to celebrate the vernal festival. But the poet who took upon himself to depict the emotion of love did not care to say even a word of what the townsmen had been doing when their sovereign was slyly carried away by an enemy. Can we imagine that the Kalinga men remained imbecile, without striking even one blow to defend their king? They must all have been engaged somewhere and watching that helpless condition of their king, the Andhra sovereign pounced on him and carried him away even before the men returned to the place. Where they had been and what they had been doing are not narrated by the poet and we have to supply that omission from other sources.

The custom of the observance of the vernal festival still in vogue in the Agency tracts of the Vizagapatam district gives us a full information regarding it. Under the name of 'chaitra parvam' the festival is religiously carried on in every village during the month of Chaitra, the first month of the Spring season. All able-bodied men of each village go for a hunt in the neighbouring forest and remain in it until they bag one or more animals. If they return home without killing any animal, the women in the village throw dung-water and dishonour them; the wives disregard their husbands. During the absence of the men in the forest, the women—both married and unmarried, maids and matrons—at home decorate their bodies with flowers

and dyes extracted from forest products and spend their time in frolic, song and dance. The song which is specially sung during this time is a duet between a man and a woman. It is extempore and both man and woman express love in fine harmonious words full of poetry. To give a full idea of this song which, I hear, is heard in no other part of India, requires a separate paper.

When the women of the village are informed that their men have bagged some wild animals, all of them proceed to the precincts of the forest where the carcasses have been brought. They then form a procession; the carcasses are borne on the shoulders of some men; the women sing and dance before the carcasses which are all decorated with garlands of flowers and bunches of leaves; while some men beat drums in front of the dancing women. Thus they bring the carcasses into the village and place them in front of the headman's house. The women then dance round the dead animals keeping time to the drum beaten by the men. After some time the animals are skinned and the flesh, if edible, is shared amongst all the villagers; if not, the skins and the skulls are preserved as trophies in the village.

This festival is found sculptured on the topmost *torana* slab of the entrance to the Asthana-maṇḍapa of the Mukhaliṅgēśvara temple. A bear, a sombar, and a deer are shown carried on men's shoulders; in front of them are shown the drummers and the dancers; this whole procession is shown to move towards the king who sits at the right hand end of the slab; here he sits on his throne surrounded by his courtiers and amidst all his royal grandeur. We have already seen that the temple was built during the time of Kāmārṇava II, *cir.* A.D. 830. The above described sculpture must have been formed to describe a custom then in vogue in Kaliṅga. This festival must have been in the country even some centuries before the temple was built. Dandin seems to have been aware of it; Kalidasa knows it. This must have been in the country of Kaliṅga even before the time of Kalidasa.

When Dandin said that the Andhra king lay in ambush and carried away the Kalinga king, he had in his mind that all the men of Kalinga were absent in the forest on hunting expedition. This phase of the festival did not find place in his narrative because the central theme of it was love. The poet employed in his story such of the Kalinga customs as would help the main theme of his tale.

From the above discussion we learn that the custom of celebrating the vernal festival existed in ancient Kalinga and it is still found in the sub-stratum of society inhabiting the jungles and hills of the Jeypore zamindari of the Vizagapatam district.

Since the vernal festival was celebrated with so much zeal and fervour, the kings of Kalinga must have had a residence in the vicinity of the forest which in those days (*cir.* A.D. 400) existed on the coast. Thus the poets also indirectly intimate of the two residences of the Kalinga kings. The copper plate inscriptions of the early Ganga kings vouchsafe this statement. Of all the plates yet known there is only one (Chicacole grant of Indravarma dated 146th year. I.A. Vol. XII, p. 143) which is dated on the 15th day of Chaitra. The date being the middle day of the month, the vernal festival must have been in full swing. The king then resided in his coastal palace and that is the reason why the Kalinga nagara (the royal residence of Kalinga king) is described to have been embraced by the arms of the bellows of the sea (*jaladhijala-taraṅga karapallavāliṅgita*). The Atchutāpuram plates of Indravarma (Ep. Ind., Vol. III) were granted on the 30th day of Chaitra when festival must have been finished. The king, with all his retinue must have returned to his residence on the Mahēndra hill. So the document does not state that the Kalinganagara was on the sea coast. The other documents of Kalinga sovereigns bear dates in the months other than Chaitra and therefore there was no need of the royalty to sojourn in their coastal home. These grants were all made when the kings lived in their residence on the hill. These grants show us another custom of the Kalinga

kings. Whenever the king, at the time of the grant, happen to be in a place other than the two 'nagaras' the place is simply mentioned by its name preceded by 'vijaya' *e.g.*, Vijaya-Dantapurat (Purli Plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, No. 27).

If the description of the Kalinganagara given in each of these copper plate grants is studied carefully, it is found that it is a true picture of the city as it existed at the time of the charter. For fear of occupying more space, I desist from quoting examples to justify the above statements. The readers and such of those that are interested in the ancient history of Kalinga may study those charters and verify the statement made above.

I may be allowed to conclude this paper with a summary of all the above discussion.

1. The capital city (Kalinga-nagara) of Khāravēla was Tosali near Dhauli.

2. From the time of Samudragupta till the time of Kāmārṇava I (*cir.* A. D. 347 to *cir.* A.D. 700) the Kalinga sovereign maintained two royal residences, one on the hill of Mahēndra where their family god, Gokarna, was installed; and the other was Kottura on the sea side to which they resorted to celebrate the vernal festival.

3. Kāmārṇava I also maintained these two, but he changed the coastal residence to Jayantyapura which in modern times has become Jallantra.

4. Kāmārṇava II (*cir.* A. D. 880) changed his seat to Nagara (modern Nagarikaṭakam) and there he built the temple to Madhukēśa. From the time till the Ganga kings possessed Orissa, this Nagara remained to be the chief seat of their government.

5. Neither documents nor literature support the identification of Kalingapatam with the Kalinganagara of any period. The arguments advanced by Mr. Bhattacharya are not strong enough to disprove the more authentic evidences in support of the identification of Kalinganagara which merely meant the royal residence of the Kalinga kings.

JOHN GALSWORTHY

As a Dramatist.

As many as twenty-five years separate Galsworthy's earliest play, *The Silver Box*, in the first of his six volumes of published plays from the latest, *The Fugitive*. During this time momentous things had happened in the contemporary English theatre. On the heels of those very Victorian dramatists, Sir Arthur Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones, came a new batch of British dramatists headed by Bernard Shaw and Galsworthy, and in the rear Noel Coward and Frederick Lonsdale trailing on to the present day. John Galsworthy was practically an unknown author, when Harley Granville-Barker in collaboration with Mr. Vedrenne produced at the Court Theatre on the 25th September, 1906, *The Silver Box*. Unknown in this sense that Galsworthy had then published just two or three books over a pseudonym and brought out the first part of his *Forsyte Saga* and another volume called *The Island Pharisees*, the last two being the only books to which he had signed his name. It is common knowledge that the Granville-Barker-Vedrenne enterprise at the Court Theatre was the making of Bernard Shaw, and of this enterprise Galsworthy must think gratefully as also the beginning of his own dramatic career. Galsworthy was then nearly forty. It is doubtful if he could have established his reputation if he had not surrendered himself to the efflorescence of the English repertory theatre movement of his time. He marched side by side with the young "dramatists of revolt,"—Granville-Barker, St. John Hankin, Elizabeth Barker, Stanley Houghton and Githa Sowerby.

Nearly thirty plays including six short one-actors in less than thirty years is certainly a substantial contribution from a writer, who is also the author of that vast prose-epic, *The Forsyte Saga*, with its sequels and sequences and over a dozen

other big novels. Some of the dramatists of revolt, such as St. John Hankin and Stanely Houghton are dead, but Shaw and Galsworthy are still alive and as very much alive as Noel Coward and Frederick Lonsdale. In certain quarters Galsworthy is often considered to be a bit old-fashioned, but he is by no means a back number. A new play or the revival of an old play of his would still be a big box-office attraction in England. The reason is simple. Galsworthy is quintessentially English. Moreover, his plays exhibit a set of most distinctive and individual characteristics, emanating from a consistent scheme of certain well-defined ideas. Galsworthy's range of interest spreads over a diversified area—modern social and economic life, touching family relationships as in *Joy* or *Family Man*; the causes and results of social degradation as in *Justice* or *Fugitive*; moral and legal injustice as in *Silver Box* or *Loyalties*; class or caste feeling as in *Strife*; and the tragedy of idealism and romanticism as in *The Mob* (most appropriately written on the eve of the world war). Even on a cursory view of these slices of Galsworthy's dramatic pictures one would be instantly struck by his qualities of complete detachment of outlook, analytical technique, humanitarian sympathy and judicious irony. In an article entitled *Some Platitudes Concerning Drama* (Fortnightly Review, December, 1909), Galsworthy attempted to set forth his own views on the drama and its future. He said that the drama of the future would flow down two distinctly different channels—one of naturalism, "faithful to the seething and multiple life around us, such as some are inclined to term photography," and the second, that of a kind of poetic drama, "incarnating through its phantasy and symbolism all the deepest aspirations, yearnings, doubts and mysterious strivings of the human spirit." He thinks that these two forms are inherent in the "awakened humanity in the conscience of our time," but "between these two forms," he warns us, "there must be no crude unions—they are too far apart." Galsworthy himself has written plays of the first kind almost to the entire

exclusion of the second. It would have been surprising if he had not. Being a follower of Ibsen, he could not but have been on the side of the naturalistic, realistic, and photographic drama of the modern age.

The question has often arisen, and not without justification, whether Galsworthy is better as a playwright than as a novelist. Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith is one of the few English critics who have rated him more highly as a dramatist, arguing that his characters, being types rather than individuals, add to the value of his plays on the stage. Galsworthy's pre-occupation with type-characters is, however, only limited to modern society, the emphasis being shifted from play to play, from the general to the particular, from the community to the family. *The Skin Game* contrasts a typical parvenu and a typical country gentleman; *A Family Man* glorifies the beauties of domestic life; *The Foundations* implies the contrast of the slum and the parlour and *The Forest* that of civilization and primitive life. In *Escape* and *The Fugitive* we come across his favourite type of conundrum, an escaped convict, a victim of social injustice. *Justice* is a protest against the denial of the privilege of divorce to the poor and against the severity of English prison administration. Undoubtedly, his sympathies are at bottom with the oppressed and the outcast, but in every play, as Mr. Ashley Dukes has said, Galsworthy is always anxious to show "with patent regularity that there are two sides to every question." This impartiality, rather a rare virtue in a writer, comes from Galsworthy's unerring sense of sincerity, absorbing his whole nature and dominating all his thoughts. Sometimes, Galsworthy stretches his dramatic impartiality so far as to approach almost a total impersonality of feeling. "Let me try to eliminate bias," he writes (*Another Sheaf*, page 12), "and see the whole thing as should an umpire... Let me have no temperament for the time being... Only from an impersonal point of view, if there be such a thing, am I going to get even approximately at the truth." This principle has made most of Galsworthy's plays

inconclusive. There is no clear solution, no finality. Although, at times, he has to deal with mutually opposed and violently conflicting types, he holds the balance absolutely even till the curtain falls. In this respect there is the greatest of differences between Shaw and Galsworthy. Shaw has absolutely no doubt in his mind as to the solution of the problem he is attacking and also as to its remedies. But Galsworthy only reveals a situation, diagnoses its troubles, and then leaves it at that, suggesting no remedy. This is also the reason of a generally pessimistic ending to most of his plays; and, as a matter of fact, not one of them is hopeful. In spite of the essential humanity of the situations and the questions with which he deals, and in spite of all his sympathy and impartiality, a certain element of abstractness enters into his dramatic work, which is seldom to be noticed in his fiction. There is no doubt that drama, being a more concentrated and plastic medium, gives him scope for the analysis of human types, but the present age is perhaps more interested in problems of the individual and of personality rather than abstractive types. Galsworthy's besetting weakness is a certain flatness in the personages of the drama, minor as well as major. They do not seem to grow within the action of the play. They remain practically the same in the end as they were in the beginning. So, with all his humanitarianism and judiciousness in his drama, he is unable to give his audience the impression of an ever-moving, growing, changing life. If Galsworthy were not highly skilled in the mechanics of play-making, Heaven knows what would have happened to most of his plays.

Galsworthy is a master craftsman, at least so far as character-construction goes. He beautifully balances his groups, each composed of various types, all combining in giving collective expression to the view-point of the group as a whole. Galsworthy says, "The dramatist's license, in fact, ends with his design. In conception alone he is free. He may take what character or group of characters he chooses, see them with what eye, knit

them into what idea, within the limits of his temperament; but once taken, seen and knitted, he is bound to treat them like a gentleman, with the tenderest consideration of their main springs. Take care of character; action and dialogue will take care of themselves." Obviously, formal symmetry of design is Galsworthy's favourite dramatic device. To him, again, the principal function of a play is moral and its aim is essentially expository. He says, "Drama must be shaped so as to have a spire of meaning. Every grouping of life and character has its inherent moral; and the business of the dramatist is so to pose the group as to bring that moral poignantly to the light of day." In this expository business generally three courses are open to a playwright: he may discuss popular or accepted views; he may elucidate his own views, "the more if they are the opposite of what the public wishes to have placed before it, presenting them so that the audience may swallow them like powder in a spoonful of jam;" or he may explain, "no cut-and-dried codes, but the phenomena of life and character, selected and combined, but not distorted by the dramatist's outlook, set down without fear, favour and prejudice, leaving the public to draw such poor moral as nature may afford." Apparently, the third course is the one Galsworthy has adopted. Because it combines happily with his temperament, detached and sympathetic, and his special predilection for character-interpretation. In this respect he is very much like Bernard Shaw, but with a little difference, not so much of intention as of individual method. Shaw proclaims his gospels rather emphatically and aggressively, and spills them over his prefaces unabashedly and audaciously; but Galsworthy is a much quieter, softer, mellower apostle, who holds the moral of his play in solution, as it were, and takes good care that it does not get the better of his artistic sense. Galsworthy lacks the incomparable satirical gifts of Shaw, but his characters do not protest too much. They are not just ventriloquial reproductions of himself, as Shaw's. Further, Galsworthy does not always feel disposed to mock and

deride, like Shaw. He prefers to be disinterestedly aloof. By nature he is a shy man, and has refused to go out of his sphere at any time of his life. He is not a preacher. He is an artist, but most certainly having something worthwhile to say. And the moral that he tries to interpret is more or less an integral part of his entire dramatic frame-work; it doesn't proceed from any one part of it, nor is it conveyed by propagandist speeches of any one character. He says (*Another Sheaf*, page 88), "It is not the artist's business to preach. His business is to portray, but portray truly he cannot, if he is devoid of the insight which comes from instinctive sympathy.....an instinctive craving to identify himself with the experience of others." This principle is one to which Galsworthy has been more faithful than most writers, whose theories seldom show any relation to their own practice. Galsworthy is a sincere artist. This artistic sincerity alone, if not anything else, is bound to save much of his work from oblivion, even when some of his more loudly proclaiming competitors are forgotten.

Consequently, uninspiring though Galsworthy's plays are, they are, nevertheless, strong and vital, and absolutely free from dialectical fire-works on the one hand and taint of the theatre on the other. In them no situations are faked and no characters falsified. They are one and all photographic, to use his own phrase. As a result, his plays have a directness of appeal not to be found in the work of any other living dramatist in England. His style is straight-forward, economical, and clear-cut, without the crackling smartness of Bernard Shaw or paroxysmal cleverness of Noel Coward. It is neat and condensed, such as can only come from long self-discipline and apprenticeship. His style wins without arresting, and persuades without ever having challenged. No doubt, his plays are apt to give an outside appearance of being too matter-of-fact, too unadorned; but his characters are so sharply defined that in dialogue and action they live convincingly in the mind's eye of the audience. Galsworthy is quite typical of the modern age in the sense that his vision

is scientific. He is unwilling to draw a sentimental veil over whatever is ugly in present day social life. He sees men and women bound by class limitations, the poor by ignorance and want, the rich by prejudice and prudery, and he can suggest no remedy except more sympathy, more sweetness, more light. In his absolute freedom from aggressive self-assertion and overstatement, in his simplicity of technique and skilful economy of material, Galsworthy remains the most polished dramatic artist of the modern age.

P. GUHA-THAKURIA

THE FOOL MONARCH

A fattened ox, stroug in the loin
A government that bellows its power.
They moan
There is a fool in the tower.

Lamb-like the herd render
To the fates,
Who is mighty they surrender,
They know not what's written on the slates.

The caller and his trumpet
Echoes on the mount.
Hail the one to leade the stampede.
Onward, forward, we are on the hunt.

On the far horizon a shout
Hurray, Hurray!
We got them by the throat,
We are coming with our fray.

Who is there on that tour
Why the fool who made the stag.
Who moans but his own in the bower,
They waved a fool's rag.

E. PARKAR

WESTERN INFLUENCE IN ORIYA LITERATURE¹

The contact of Orissa with the west is not of recent date; her geographical position made her coast a vantage-ground for trade-seeking invaders; we need not dwell on any ancient or mediaeval accounts of the contact between Orissa and the west but may point, in modern times, to the Portuguese who, coming up from Madras along the coast, founded an establishment at Pipli, which they utilised as a prosperous slave market, for residence, and also as a church (Our Lady of Rosary). The Portuguese had another settlement at Balasore where also they built a church. These settlements flourished in the middle of the 17th century and from that period up to the 19th century the political turmoils stirred the life of the times and that made it impossible for western culture to act upon the inhabitants of the province. These settlers had perhaps then very little culture to give, busy as they must have been in stabilising their own position and recruited as they were mainly from a class of people not conspicuous for intellectual culture. The result of these 150 years' stay and sway of the Portuguese is to be found, among other things, in the vocabulary of the Oriya language in which 34 words have been traced to a Portuguese origin by Mr. J. J. A. Campos in his account of the rise and decline of the Portuguese power in Bengal. It was only in the first years of the 19th century that the English came into power in Orissa and so they could not, until towards the end of the century when they were well-established, set in motion forces which turned the current of Orissan thought, and along with it Orissan literature, in a distinct channel, to indicate which is the aim of this paper.

¹ This paper was read at the Oriya Section of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna, December, 1930.

It is interesting to observe that the British influence, once it had begun, was made to spread in a systematic way and with thoroughness. This is true of all India. A system of education by which the minds while in a plastic condition may feed on English literature, western philosophy, European history, and may receive practical lessons in democracy into giving up all notions of caste, at least for the period of training in schools and colleges; the printing press and the newspapers which have helped in linking the country, however slightly, both to its ancient traditions and its present environment and thus promoted a solidarity which has greatly contributed to the growth of nationality; movements, religious, social and political, which have passed over India causing numerous changes in the shades of thought and ways of living; an administration which levelled barriers through its courts of law and code of procedure, criminal and civil, uniform throughout the provinces; the mere fact that neighbouring provinces are affected by the influence;—all these served as channels opening up the new currents through the hills and dales of Orissa and bringing about changes in mentality which in turn would be, as they actually have been, reflected in the literature of the country.

What has been the result in literature? Let us detail some of the changes. First, in prose forms: for the consolidation of prose, grammars and dictionaries are necessary; and western attempts laid the foundation. The first grammar of the Oriya language¹ was written by Rev. A. Sutton and published in 1831. To the author of this pioneer attempt it came as a discovery that “the Oriya language was a distinct, and an original one.” The printing press in Orissa had come into being along with the initiation of active propaganda by the Baptist Mission of England and Rev. Mr. Sutton was a member of the Mission. The difference between the traditional *kosa*, in which a string of synonyms was given as in the *Geetabhidhan* of Upendra Bhanja

¹ Rev. A. Sutton : An Introductory Grammar of the Oriya language, Calcutta, 1831.

authorship (which must be a doubtful matter), and between the new type which gives different uses of the same word. with illustrative references, as in Jagannath Rao's *Utkal Abhidhan*,¹ must be put down as due to English and Bengali models, which Mr. Rao acknowledges in the preface. It may be noted that Rev. Sutton had followed his Oriya Grammar with an Oriya Dictionary in 1841 and this book was published in three volumes in Cuttack. Mr. Sutton was aware of the importance of his own work and wrote : " A compiler of dictionaries is a kind of pioneer in literature." W. C. Lacy, Rev. W. Miller, and H. C. B. Hallam are other names worth recording by those who wish to trace western influence in Oriya, in the making of modern Oriya language and literature. Like many other Indian Vernaculars, more or less, modern Oriya prose has been largely due to western models and necessities of life and civil administration, and the different prose forms—the novel, the essay, the newspaper, etc.—are directly or indirectly traceable to English influence. Such a work as *Bibāsinī* or *Māmu* was impossible in the past, before the days of British influence, not only with regard to the critical, satirical attitude towards life, but also in point of prose style. The whole world of prose—and it is not a small world either—is due directly or indirectly to similar works in English prose.

Let us now turn to verse forms. The major portion of Oriya verse is even to-day quite classical or traditional in diction and style, but while this is true of the poetry of Radhanath Ray, one of the three pioneers in modern Oriya literature, how much has been the influence of the west on him in the matter of literary forms and in a new literary sense which, passing out from him, forms a rich contribution to modern Oriya literature ! *Mahā-yātrā*, incomplete in 9 cantos or *sargas*, is in blank verse, and though the preface written by a friend of the poet's asserts that

there is nothing strange in the medium but that the Sanskrit poetry has many models to show the way to blank verse, we must put that down to the bias of patriotism. The western influence in it has been acknowledged by Mr. Rao in that same preface. Again, the book is an epic, an epic fragment which, in tone and composition, is something new, not familiar to the language,—it is in perfect consonance with the influence of Milton and other westerners, filtrating through the writings of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, to whom Radhanath had served an apprenticeship in literature. The address of homage which begins the book, the patriotic motive, the romance of history,—all these new features are traceable to western influence. Again, the few fragments on the plan of *The Birangana Kavya* which are to be found in his writings, as *Yudhiṣṭhiramka prati Vyās* or *Satī prati satī-drohi patir ukti* are also new forms animated by a new spirit. The reader of Radhanath's writings cannot help noticing that he was widely read in Scott and Byron or their Bengali admirers who popularised their methods through Bengali literature. Madhusudan Rao, the literary comrade of Radhanath, in spite of his deep admiration for things of the land, had also been influenced by the west, *e.g.*, in his sonnets and elegies,—forms new to Oriya. It remained for succeeding writers to continue in their line and to adopt or acclimatise the new forms whose newness has now worn off with use.

Similarly with regard to drama: the old *yatras* which had charmed by the stories of Rama and Sita were no longer to please the changed spirit of the people. Both in subject and in technique there had been much of a change. The dramatists of the new age were busy satirising the follies of the times. S^j. Ramsankar Ray is a suitable example, being the leader of the new school. It is interesting to note the different attempts at finding suitable terms for the English expressions *scene* and *act*. Writers like Harihar Rath, Mrityunjay Rath and Ramsankar Ray sometimes use *Anka* and *Abhinay*, sometimes *Drishya* and

Anka, in order to convey the distinction, and the student is reminded of similar attempts in Bengali literature.

It is still an open question how far Oriya literature received western influence directly, and how far through the medium of Bengali. The close connection between the two countries, the establishment of one University for both, and many other ways of interaction make it probable that Oriya was influenced through Bengali. Even many of the words cited by Mr. Campos referred to above are common to Bengali and Oriya, and it would be an interesting problem for the philologist to answer—"Which of the two sets, Bengali and Oriya, first adopted these words from the Portuguese?" The comparative delay of the influence is explained by the medium of Bengali, which could not work and did not, till the seventies. There could not have been any talks of cultural interchange so long as the baneful results of the dire famine of 1867 raged through the province, when rice sold at 10 to 12 seers per rupee¹ and made 15,000 children helpless and destitute, in the city of Cuttack alone, and over which there had been a debate, deserving better publicity, in the House of Commons on August 2, 1867. The great pioneer of modern Oriya literature was Radhanath Ray, whose *Lekhavalī* was written in Bengali and under the influence of Michael Madhusudan. The mere fact that Babu Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay, a mentor in matters literary and miscellaneous, took up the rôle of Mr. Drinkwater Bethune to the young poet and induced him to write in Oriya shows the part played by Bengali literature in the make-up of Radhanath. The Oriya poet himself complained that the literature of his country had been too much under the shadow of the Bengali literature, which was very much to be deplored. He complained that not to speak of the Bengali literature, but even the Hindi literature was marching ahead, while Oriya was in a static condition. Bengali had been a help in bringing within the

¹ Indian Mirror, July 15, 1867.

scope of the Oriya, a wealth of information, but at the sacrifice of his distinctiveness.

*Not to speak of Bengali literature, even Hindi literature is developing so fast that it is no exaggeration to speak of Oriya literature in comparison as inert like a clod..... It is true that our knowledge has advanced through the cultivation of Bengali literature, but our originality has suffered a good deal.*¹

Speaking of modern times, it is a common experience to come across specimens of Oriya literature composed under the influence of Bengali, and thus exhibiting traces of western influence in form and temper.

It is, however, apparent that there has been less, far less, of western influence in Oriya than in Bengali. It has been neither so deep nor so extensive. And there are reasons for it. Among others it may be suggested that the centre of distribution of the influence has been Calcutta, the seat of the University, the seat of the Provincial Government and the centre of commerce. Cultural confusion has been nowhere so great as in Bengal, as may be seen on reference to the Census figures for 1921 : in Bengal 339 males per ten thousand (of age 5 and up) are literate in English, while the number of Bihar and Orissa is only 78. The force applied at the centre becomes attenuated a great deal as it passes on to the peri-pheri, and the physical inaccessibility of Orissa has also helped in preserving her literature, as it has her architecture, intact, her indigenous culture uncontaminated, and who knows if that is not one of the reasons why there is no artistic renaissance in Orissa as there is in Bengal?

PRIYARANJAN SEN

¹ Paper read at the 1st annual meeting of the *Utkal Sahitya Samaj*.

FINANCIAL PROPOSALS IN THE SIMON REPORT— AN ESTIMATE

The financial proposals embodied in the Simon Report, do not seem to have evoked the criticism, which the other proposals have. The Commissioners "accept and fully endorse the general principles of his scheme" and as such they are as much a part of the Simon Report, as the other proposals. When the Pre-Reforms financial system was abolished, and a clear cut separation of resources, was effected between the financial-resources of the Central and the Provincial Governments, it was expected that provincial autonomy would be made a reality. The old doctrine of separation of financial resources, has however passed away, as an article of faith since the War.

During the Post-Reforms period, it has become evident that provincial authority become a myth because of provincial financial stringency. Residuary provinces of taxation, being rested in the Central and not in the Provincial Governments, the provinces were not in a position to impose additional taxation. In fact, Land Revenue actually declined in certain provinces, mainly due to its inelasticity, through legislative impediments. Sir W. Layton rejects the scheme of federal subsidies for provincial services, such a scheme is at variance with the widely held view that the political evolution of India requires the development of as large a class of persons, engaged in public work and accustomed to public responsibilities. The actual set of recommendations, made in the Simon Report, may be classified, under the following headings :—

(1) That the provinces should be given $\frac{1}{2}$ of the collection of income tax on personal incomes, which will meet the claims of industrial provinces, like Bombay and Bengal.

(2) That the provinces should be empowered to levy additional taxes, like tax on agricultural incomes.

adequate system of taxation for Provinces has to be devised. If this is found impossible, a more satisfactory system of grants would have to be introduced. It is significant that both in Canada and Australia, where conditions are more or less similar to our provinces, *per capita* grants have proved to be unworkable. Special grants have been given to certain provinces as well as a grant fixed per head of the population. The *per capita* system would mean ever-increasing payments to the state, whose population was growing fast, possibly because of the development of secondary industries, but the payment to other states, having great developmental problems to solve and vast territories to administer, would not increase to the same extent.

M. K. MUNUSWAMI

GOODNIGHT EDELE !

Dry those tears, Dear Love, and smile
Although we part now for a while,
It is 'goodnight' and not 'farewell'
At dawn we meet again, Edele !

This brief hour goes, Time bids us part
Once more lie closely on my heart,
On the hill, the clanging Convent bell
Calls thee home, Divine Edele !

I too am sad at leaving you
But I shall be here in the early dew
O ! I love you more than lips might tell
And you are mine for aye Edele !

LELAND J. BERRY

THE CRISIS OF ISLAM ¹

Hardly any of the great religions penetrate as Islam does the whole life of its professors, individuals as well as communities, down to the smallest particular. As the Islamic church in the time of its founder and the first Caliphs bore the form of a state, (and this unity of church and state, in idea at least, persists up to the present time), the religion clothed its requirements in the garb of a law. The work of centuries developed this Islamic law into a powerful structure casuistically governing with the utmost exactness all spheres of human business and activities. This whole law, therefore, comes under the consecration of religion, since, in conception, state and church are one. There was perhaps a strength in this so long as the law was young, alive and meeting the requirements of the time. But yet it was so only in a restricted sense, for even during its development it was really never exclusive and unlimited in power; it was not a creation of the state and its members, but a creation of the theologians. And finally when the conviction arose that the later centuries were subject to the first age of Islam,—that, in fact, the decisions laid down by the recognised fathers of the Golden Age were binding upon the Islamic community for all time, then that very religious consecration of the law which gathered the whole of life within its confines became a danger and threatened to put a stop to all progress.

People were unconscious of this danger, nor did it become acute so long as the Islamic world stood at the zenith of culture. This was essentially the case in the Middle Ages. Even the life of the Christian of the Middle Ages is similarly, if not so completely, under the dominion of the church from the cradle to the grave. There was a Western culture and civilisation which was Christian, just as there was an Islamic civilisation and

¹ Translated from the German of Dr. Richard Hartmann.

culture, and both, in spite of the contrast of creed, stood comparatively near each other as essentially connected, and built up on the basis of Hellenistic civilisation. While, then, in the West a restriction of the religious element to its narrower sphere and a secularisation of life were the results of the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, and the Western Christian civilisation of the Middle Ages was replaced by a new civilisation based chiefly upon the national element, the world of Islam stood still in the tracks of its mediaeval Islamic civilisation which appeared to be fixed and ordained by the religion. This was why the gulf between East and West first became unbridgeable: Orient and Occident spoke two different tongues; and that state of things has persisted till the present day.

It has been shown by the course of history that the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages was not equal to that of the modern West,—and shown most drastically, in the realm of politics. We need not here describe the ever-increasing political retrogression of the Islamic world in most recent times. We all know how, last of the independent states in the world of Islam, only the sick man of the Bosphorus was left, thanks to a few paltry loans to Western civilisation. At the end of the Great War even Turkey seemed to be completely marked off the list of independent states.

For a long time the world of Islam faced uncomprehendingly the slow decay which had attacked its power. Reverses, indeed, were opportunely regarded as timely punishments, all the more certain to be followed by a change of fortune. And when this change never came, then the misfortune which had overtaken the Islamic world was taken to be an omen of the approach of the end of the universe and awakened hopes of the coming of the Mahdi. But in the end the lessons of history were too eloquent and opened the eyes even of the Muslims to the inferiority of the Mediaeval Islamic civilisation to that of the modern West. But what is the result? The world of Islam to-day stands at a decisive turning-point: it is in the midst of a crisis. Has

Islam, which seems essentially bound up with that civilisation, played its part out? Is it doomed in the long run to go on pitifully pining away? Or is Islam as a religion compatible with modern progress? Is it separable from the civilisation of the Middle Ages to which we attach its name? Is it capable of development! Upon the answer to this question depends the permanency of Islam as a religion, and in a certain sense also the political and economic future of the Muslim nations.

Islam's incapability of a real reform, its inaccessibility to all progress, has been an almost unshakable dogma of Western thought. It may have been spread not merely in Christian Mission circles, which certainly often had but a very inadequate idea of Islam. Even a religious historian of the rank of E. Renan declared Islam as hostile to all science. In later times, too, a practical politician like Lord Cromer, with a knowledge of the Islamic world, was moved to express the severe judgment that a reformed Islam would be Islam no longer.

It certainly cannot be denied that there are serious grounds for the belief in the hostility of Islam to progress and its incompatibility with modern thought. However we are not concerned here with those general and therefore somewhat intangible impulses and moods of the Muslim masses which many observers in the East have claimed to establish,—such as the much-quoted fatalism, which, so far as it actually exists, has its roots perhaps more in the race and the climate than in the religion, or the wide-spread sense of superiority which is given to the Muslims by the consciousness of a revelation which builds upon Jewry and Christendom and supersedes them. Such qualities may certainly be a checking force, yet at most they are not characteristic traits of the religion, but results of it. Just as much would it miss the point of the question if we were here to speak of certain excrescences of national Islam which owe their existence to a compromise of the orthodox doctrine with deep-rooted animism and other primitive ideas. Every religious community, every evolutionary phase of a religious community

is to be judged primarily according to its recognised principles. In a special sense is this the case with a religion like Islam, in which these fundamental principles are elaborated with the utmost clearness and are even to-day regarded by the great and still solid majority as binding.

It hardly needs to be further insisted upon to-day that, in order to understand historial Islam, we must not hark back simply and directly to the founder of the religion so far as we historically know him. If we might do that, then matters would be comparatively simple. For there can be no doubt that the Muhammad of history who was not merely a prophet but also a statesman, was, after all, extremely wordly-wise, and suited himself to circumstances. The well-known answer which, according to tradition, he made to the question of a Bedouin,—“ Shall I tie up my camel, or let her stray and trust to God?” “ Tie her up and trust to God!” is, of course, not historical verbatim, but is not without inward truth, and this sound inheritance could not be quite lost even in the later development and establishment of Islam.

But historical Islam does not admit an arbitrary appeal to the prophet of history as valid without something more. The orthodox Sunnite Islam is the product of a long and changeful development. In the days of the prophet, Islam was a simple faith and a straightforward rule of life. It was only the speedy spread of Islam over regions more advanced in culture than was its birthplace that necessitated the establishment of a perfected system of dogma and ethics. This was effected by a clever adjustment with the mental equipment of the dwellers in the lands captured and taken over into Islam. The dogma, indeed, after severe and varying struggles, was finally reduced to a few doctrines in the meaning and interpretation of which, moreover, a pretty free scope was retained. But, as already stated, just because the Islamic church came at once into being as a state, the regulation of life, the ethics, or—more correctly let us say—the law, goes all the more into the smallest detail. The

structure of Islamic law, majestic in its way, and with a culture both religious and political, which from the very start lays claim to unchangeable validity, was finished with about the end of the 3rd (9th) century.

If, among the *Uṣūl al Fikḥ*, or Foundations of Law, not only the material sources of tradition, (i.e., Koran and Sunna) and Judgment by Analogy, but also *Ijmā'* (i.e., *consensus doctorum*, the agreement of all scholars of any age) be recognised as a just principle then a certain possibility of development seems guaranteed. In point of fact, in the end, through *Ijmā'* many a usage which seemed not at all compatible with Islam, or scarcely so, became subsequently legalised. But the action of the *Ijmā'* is always directed backwards, not forwards, it can bestow its recognition upon an accomplished fact, but it cannot be a pioneer of progress. Indeed on the other hand, this principle, by the rule that an *Ijmā'*, once made, is binding on posterity, has in practice an obstructive effect. If we also take into account that according to the authoritative view doctrine and law, from the moment of the stoppage of development, may no longer be drawn straight from the material sources; that the doorway of the *Ijtihād*, the free research in these sources, has ever since then been closed; that the method of valuation and interpretation of the original sources also,—including the differences between the four schools of law recognised as orthodox, the *Madḥabs*,—are fixed once for all by that *Ijmā'*, we see indeed that this system of law prepares the greatest difficulties for any further free development. The difficulty lies not so much in adjustment with freshly emerging problems of human life; with these the well-versed jurist who knows how to use his instrument to suit his purposes—and the Muslim lawyer understands that quite as well as the Western one—always makes an amicable arrangement: the difficulty lies rather in the fact that a judgment which has once been made can never be revoked.

Moreover, as regards the phenomenon of the primacy of the religious element, characteristic not merely of Islam but especially of the Middle Ages ; in the subordination of all human relationships to the sphere of religion, as already indicated, the whole Eastern civilisation of the Middle Ages is now in a certain sense religiously consecrated and perpetuated by the astonishing extension of the Islamic law. Consequently the whole of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages seems to have become taboo. In point of fact indeed the word Islam means for us not merely a religion in the strict sense, but this civilisation as well, and it is precisely this ambiguity of the word that is chiefly to blame for so many obscurities in the system of Islam which are everywhere met with. The very fact of the connection of religion and civilisation is the reason why the Islamic world for long opposed so absolutely the impetuous advance of Western civilisation. Certainly it was possible to take over a few European technicalities—which actually did take place in early times and more frequently later, but these elements could not be blended into a new unity with Oriental civilisation. They still remained foreign bodies adhering to the outside of the organism of Islamic civilisation.

Is, then, the question of the capability of the development of Islam in the direction of modern progress fully answered,—and that in the negative? It might appear so, nay, in strict consistency with the above-mentioned general orthodox doctrine it ought to be so. And yet it is not. Prominent Western scholars have already often asserted the possibility of the evolution of Islam, and to-day we are becoming able to say that the possibility which they asserted has begun to grow into a serious reality. If that takes place it is certainly not without a definite rupture with the fixed system with which we have hitherto been acquainted. But just at the very point where it does take place there is already a cleft at least slightly indicated.

Strange as it may sound, the road to Islamic Modernism was indicated and prepared by the most reactionary movement

of the whole of orthodox Islam. Even though the rigid system of the Uṣūl al-Fikh already described is undoubtedly the accepted orthodox one, there have always been single individuals who took the religion very seriously and who from this point of view were not willing to be deprived of the right of Ijtihād. The surrender of the Ijtihād to the Taklīd, the blind adherence to the old authorities and the rigid thralldom to one of the four Madhhab^s or schools of law, seemed to them to be unworthy and unendurable. And in this claim, consciously or not, there was at the same time a limitation of the carrying out of the strict principle of the Ijmā', the *consensus doctorum*. Thus even a man of such outstanding importance and recognised by orthodoxy as the Imām al-Ghazālī, in the 11th century, claimed for himself the right of Ijtihād. And, to name but a few, later on not only the powerful Ḥanbalite, Ibn Taimiyya (14th century), but also the prolific writer Jalāl ud-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (15th century), who was Shāfi'ite, did the same. On the other hand, of the arguments which the modern Muslims bring forward against the general recognition of the principle of the Ijmā', there is at least so much to be conceded, that the exact definition of Ijmā', whether consensus of the Companions of the Prophet, or consensus of Medina, or precisely what, was long a matter of dispute until finally the broadest comprehension of the term prevailed. But above all the great theologians of the one of the four orthodox sects most faithful to the Sunna, that of the Ḥanbalites, fought hard for the Ijtihād against the Taklīd, in the interests of fidelity to the Sunna. Ibn Taimiyya, already mentioned (1263-1328) and his disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya (1292-1356), in this same struggle, declared bitter warfare upon numerous Bid'a's—"innovations"—as well as reverence for holy things in any form. And from their way of thought there arose in the course of the 18th century in Arabia the Wahhābi Puritanism which at the beginning of the 19th century even took possession of the Holy Cities, banned all innovations,—including even the notable one of the use of tobacco and coffee,—and did not spare even the

worship of relics which flourished in the Holy Cities. The doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the originator of this movement, may be said to be exactly identical with those of Ibn Taimiyya. He seeks to revive the Islam of Muḥammad and his Companions and does not understand people being unwilling to allow him direct and complete recourse to the Koran and the Sunna. And even when he safeguards himself from the reproach of not recognising the Ijmā', he in reality limits its power so strictly that properly speaking it is no longer compatible with the doctrine of the church. Even the most of the Bid'a's which he mercilessly opposed, and indeed flatly termed "unbeliefs" were actually admitted by the church through the Ijmā'. At the height of the disputes even men like Ibn Taimiyya and the Wahhābis also, when Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt took up the fight against them, were accused of heresy by their adversaries. Strictly speaking, they actually did, according to the prevailing doctrine, tear to shreds the uniting bond of the Islamic community and placed themselves outside the church. On the other side, however, the Wahhābis only take their place on the extreme right wing of the Hanbalites, the harshest of the four recognised Madhhabas. And as in course of time Ibn Taimiyya was judged more leniently, many good Muslims, after the disappearance of the Wahhābi danger, did not draw the final conclusions concerning the Arab iconoclasts.

The effect of the Wahhābi movement was not at an end with the overthrow of its political power and the destruction of its capital Dar'iyya in Nejd in 1818. Its doctrine has been maintained in the interior of Arabia until the present day. In 1924 the Wahhābi kingdom again united within itself the greater part of the peninsula. Its great political leader, 'Abd al-Azīz ibn Sa'ūd, is to-day again recognised master of the Holy Cities. Even though the Wahhābi entry there was far from being so rude as it was 100 years before, and though they certainly do not take up an attitude of blind opposition to the technical progress of modern times, still they have not abandoned

their religious doctrines. There is no question now-a-days of a heresy charge by the church against Wakhābis. But there is another thing more important for us. Early in the 19th century the Wakhābi movement encroached upon other Islamic lands,—India chiefly, and Egypt also. But particularly its call for a return to the real original Islam and for a renouncement of the later innovations and the subtleties of the Fukahā has acted as an exhortation to join it, upon earnest Muslims far beyond the circle of its actual adherents,—men who would have nothing to do with the Wakhābis' enmity to progress. It is precisely because of this that Wakhābism has become of the greatest significance for the later reform movement, and hence must not be overlooked here, even though we may not be everywhere able to show the connecting lines with sufficient clearness.

At the head of nearly all the more recent reform movements there stands a personality which has certainly nothing to do with Wakhābism. This is the man whom Goldziher rightly terms "one of the most remarkable figures of Islam in the 19th century, Jemāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897). He was at once philosopher, author, orator and journalist, but more than anything else, a politician." So he is described by E. G. Browne in his monumental work "The Persian Revolution." Jemāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, whom an adventurous career brought from Afghanistan through the whole of the Islamic world, to Europe, and possibly even America, is generally considered—and no doubt justly so—as the father of the Pan-Islamic idea, in which the idea is not to be regarded as equivalent to a direct transition into practical politics as 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II tried to make it. He was certainly in the first place the prophet of a political combination of the Muslims against Western Imperialism, but at the same time he was deeply imbued with the feeling of the need of a regeneration of the Islamic world by the introduction of less rigid regulations and by breaking with the prevailing traditionalism. As Jemāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī wrote comparatively little except journalistic productions with a pronounced political

tendency, which were certainly uncommonly effective for that sort of literature, it is difficult to be just to his personality and its influence upon the future,—an influence which can hardly be over-estimated. In spite of the stir which he excited even in the West, the process of his inward development is hardly quite clear and intelligible, and perhaps never will be. We neither know the sources of his great flow of positive suggestions, nor does his work result in a precise formula. His power in personally teaching and suggesting was greater than his power as an author. So we must judge him mainly by the fruits which he brought to maturity. And here it is indisputable that certain of his disciples who are among the greatest supporters and most influential representatives of Islamic Modernism acknowledge that they are indebted to him for their best work.

When Jemāl ad-Dīn came before the public, voices had already been raised here and there in British India advocating, though plainly apologetically, vigorous reforms within Islam. We do not exactly know how far Jemāl ad-Dīn is connected with the beginnings of the Indian movement at its rise or later. Both tendencies meet as they operate, and to-day, at any rate, Jemāl ad-Dīn stands as the great pioneer even for the young Indians. The ground was prepared in India at the beginning of the 19th century by certain national movements which were influenced more or less by the Arab Wahhābism, and in fact almost exactly coincided with it. But it is not these severely puritanical mass-movements which have given the lead to the Indian trend towards reform. Indian Modernism proceeds from a small highly-educated class, but the agreement of many of its demands with the views of the Wahhābis is perhaps to be explained by the coinciding impulse which radiated from the Arab centre. The current of Indian reform has grown to an intellectual force in earlier times through men like, for instance, Sayyid Aḥmed Khān, the founder of the High School of Aligarh (d. 1898), and more recently through men like Amīr ‘Alī and S. Khudā Bukhsh. These Indians are deeply impressed

by the fact which is plainly showing itself, especially in their native country, that it is to their own serious detriment that the Muslims shut themselves off from western civilisation. Unlike Jemāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, they are, as a rule, not directly recruited from politicians. They really regard the overlordship of England in India as necessary and therefore at present desirable. Nor is it primarily religious aspects that have elicited their zeal. They have learned the value of western civilisation and are so deeply impressed by the backwardness of Muslim circles, that as good Muslims,—for so they consider themselves—they feel the urgent need to make it plain that genuine Islam is in no wise opposed to modern civilisation nay, that in reality it is the only religion really friendly to culture and progress. The *genuine* Islam,—there is the rub! For they cannot deny that the Islam hitherto prevalent hinders true progress in many ways. That is the result, they say, of the fact that independent research into the original sources of the religion—Ijtihād—was forbidden, and people have submitted in blind Taklid to the Ijmā' of a bygone stage of culture, by which measures necessitated by current events were given the value of perpetually valid laws, and the views of later generations were put on an equality with the revelation of the Prophet. Even the unquestioning acceptance of the contents of the Hadith or tradition, so heterogenous and varying in value, is definitely refused. On the other hand, the sublimity of the Koran is given the greatest prominence. The Indian reformers thought—not always with historical accuracy—that they could appeal to the Mu'tazilites, who were of course represented as liberal thinkers, as the patterns and precursors of the new reformed Islam, and even for a time, with this notion, gave themselves the name of New Mu'tazilites. With great diligence and penetration they sought to prove by a sensible and practical interpretation of the Koran, and also, in so far as it coincided with their own ideas, by the use of the Hadith, that the genuine Islam made an absolute demand for the cultivation of science

and could not clash with its results at all. The result, indeed, was the picture of an original Islam much idealised. The mode of interpretation is frequently a rationalism which to us to-day is somewhat unusually exacting, however possible it was in western theology 100 years before. If the methods which Islamic modernism made temporary use of—and in fact still frequently employs—may not always stand strict historical criticism, still it would have been a mistake to belittle the brave struggle of these men over problems which they have so much at heart. The essential thing is not the method but the aim. And clearly this is nothing else than the setting free of the religion of Islam from the fetters of the “Islamic” civilisation of the middle ages. What wonder is it that the first steps towards realising this astonishingly bold project, amounting in fact to a denial of the much-vaunted Islamic law, are not yet being made with the security which only long practice usually gives to the impartial critic, but here and there seem to be impeded by a quite comprehensible piety? But at the same time the ground for clearer historical understanding is already broken by the expression of the idea that regulations of the Prophet, made necessary by current events, could not possibly claim to be perpetually valid. Indeed, even these initial weaknesses are being at last overcome and the step “from rationalistic apologetics to a perception of the history of religion” is being accomplished at least gradually.

Arising from very different motives, Islamic Modernism in Egypt arrives at very similar results often by the same paths. In Egypt, which for centuries possessed, in the world-famous Azhar University, the most important centre of Islamic learning, though its system had long been obsolete and was ever growing more rigid, the reform movement is inseparably bound up with the name of Muḥammed ‘Abduh, the most enthusiastic and outstanding personal disciple of Jemāl ad-Dīn Afghānī. Muḥammed ‘Abduh, as student and young lecturer in Theology passed through long and severe spiritual crises before the striking

personality of Jemāl ad-Dīn, while the latter was staying in Egypt, showed him the path he was henceforth to tread. Later still, this path led him through many inward and outward struggles, and, indeed,—in connection with the 'Arābi movement—brought upon him a fairly long term of banishment from Egypt, until at last, as Rector of the Azhar University and as Mufti of Egypt, he gained the highest public recognition and the greatest influence, though he still was, even more than ever, an object of the bitterest hostility to the strictly orthodox circles. Even though, throughout his development, there is the suggestion of a distinct tinge of the Egyptian course of reform,—Muḥammed 'Abduh was a zealous champion against western influence, it is on the other hand best characterised by the name given to it by Goldziher,—a cultured Wahnābism. As a matter of fact, with the factors mentioned, sufficient hypotheses for Muḥammed 'Abduh's reformed theology are plain, and there is no need whatever to take for granted his dependence upon Indian Modernism for which we have no sure facts to go upon. The name "cultured Wahnābism," coined by Goldziher, does not imply that this movement came direct from Wahnābism, but only that, like the latter, in contra-distinction to the Indian culture movement, it is governed by a religious or theological motive, by the tendency to do away with abuses which corrupted the religion of Islam and rendered it obsolete. But there will hardly be any doubt that this movement is indirectly but essentially produced by the far-reaching stimulus given by Arab puritanism. It is that religious and theological motive which produces Muḥammed 'Abduh and his school, which has its scientific organ in the newspaper *al-Manār* run by the Syrian Shaikh Rashīd Ridā and whose aim is to combat the Madhnāb system founded upon the Ijmā' and the Taklīd, and to demand the freedom of Ijtihād based upon the Koran and the authentic Sunna. The deeply religious personality of Muḥammed 'Abduh, who had himself gone through the school of Sufism, postulates that the reformed Islam of Egypt, as

opposed to that of the Indian Modernists, is remarkable for a decidedly more conservative spirit, and sounds a more passionate and pious note. But since belief in the sublimity of the revelation is coupled with the no less firm conviction that science and religion, properly understood, cannot come into conflict at all,—that they are sisters,—this spirit does not deter Muḥammed ‘Abduh from accommodating himself, with the utmost freedom, to the requirements of scientific progress. Indeed, occasionally the blunt pronouncement is made that in a possible conflict between reason and tradition the former should be followed, or even that the requirements of the common good and the circumstances of the time are to be considered in preference to an explicit text. The subtleties of the *Fukahā* are rejected by Muḥammed ‘Abduh and his school, and in place of the old faulty *Ijmā’*, a new one arrived at by *Ijtihād* from the original sources, and meeting present-day conditions, is required. In this way, like the Wahhābis, by appeal to the great Ḥanbalite, Ibn Taimiyya, we come to the rejection of the worship of saints and all sorts of other superstitious abuses. But at the same time, and differing from the latter in following al-Ghazālī, we come to the attempt to make the religion of the law deeper and more ethical, and further, in the firm conviction of the unsurpassability of the true Islam untouched by the change of ages, terminating in the endeavour to make the religion suit every real advance of development.

(*To be continued*)

T. H. WEIR

PLURALISTIC ATTACK ON THE CLASSIC CONCEPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY

Introduction

Society is dynamic, so too the scientific theories devised to explain social phenomena and relationships. We need not therefore be surprised to find that the classic theory of sovereignty of the state which has held the field for more than three centuries with slight modifications in form to suit the varying demands of different ages is being challenged by a new school of political thought, we mean, the Pluralists as they have come to be known. Unlike the anarchists or the Syndicalists the Pluralists do not challenge the state as such, but their attack is directed against the sovereignty or that attribute of the state which clothes it with legal omniscience, the authority to pervade every sphere of social life of man and to compel obedience to whatever it declares as "law" irrespective of contents. This, they say, is taking an exaggerated view of the importance of state and is hardly consistent with the developments in the complex political and economic relationships of the present-day world. The theory may have played its part in a state of society threatened with disruption and tired of anarchy and chaos resulting from a conflict of jurisdiction between competing authorities in the middle ages; but in the present day world with its crying economic and social problem demanding a decentralised and federal social structure to solve them satisfactorily such a theory is hopelessly out of place. Facts have already given the lie to the theory. Hence they say, a new theory of state and sovereignty is necessary to square with modern developments in social organisation. Their position in politics is analogous to that of Realists in literature. They want to bridge over the gulf between the metaphysical

abstraction of political theory and the realities of actual life in society and to present political theory in terms of social and political facts of the present day.

Historical Background

The classic theory—or let us say the monistic theory of sovereignty—dates back to the latter part of the sixteen century when it was expounded by the famous French publicist Bodin who defined the state as an association of families and their common possessions, governed by a supreme power and by reason and sovereignty as “Supreme power over citizens and subjects unrestrained by laws.” His theory may thus be described as “nothing but a demand for the unified organisation of authority within the community in order to provide the necessary basis for a system of legal order, the answer of an advancing civilisation to the unbearable legal confusion of the middle ages”—a confusion arising from the ceaseless conflict between the competing authorities, *viz.*, the emperor, the church, the monarch and the baron. It laid the foundation of the national state on the basis of a strong national monarchy. The theory was later developed by Hugo Grotius and Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century, Rousseau in the eighteenth century and Austin in the nineteenth. By the time Rousseau handled the theory the national state became an accomplished fact under the influence of strong autocratic monarchs. So while keeping intact the nature of the state and contents of sovereignty he shifted its seat from the monarch to the people. Austin approached the problem of sovereignty from a new angle, that is, from the standpoint of a jurist and attempted a clarification of thought, by dispelling the mist of confused ideas that came to hang round the theory of sovereignty with the progress of democracy leavened by the doctrine of Rousseau. Unlimited authority of sovereign power came to be questioned as being incompatible with the postulates of democracy. Austin

did a service to political thought by clearly distinguishing between the legal aspect of sovereignty from its political aspect and defined juristic sovereign as the ultimate human superior or a determinate human organ for drawing the line between what is law and what is not law without any reference to the political or factual considerations that influence the sovereign in such determination of legal norms. From the legal standpoint at least the state came to be the supreme organisation within the community, and an essential institution of society supplying in its capacity as an exclusive agency of law an indispensable means whereby men having common and competing interests can live together rationally.

Throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth some new tendencies in political thought combined to raise the pretensions of the state to portentous dimensions and tended to make it sit like an octopus on the life of individuals and associations. Pluralistic thought came by way of protest and reaction against this process of the exaltation of the state to giddy heights. Among these we may mention—the idealist school of German philosophy led by Kant, Hegel, Fichte and others and also the Oxford school in England headed by Green, Bradley and Bosanquet, the socialistic theory, and the optimistic theory of the Benthamites who pinned their faith in social reform through legislation. All these acted in the same direction, *viz.*, extending the horizon of the state and making it the pre-eminent organisation is society. But at the same time a new development in the economic sphere was coming to the fore in the wake of the Industrial revolution. Powerful economic groups came to be formed to protect the interests of the producers, the consumers as well as the capitalists. The state had to confront these powerful economic groups and the problem arose how to fit them into the social polity without impairing the pre-eminence of the state. The industrial revolution had also another very far-reaching consequence in opening up closer intercourse between nations by the development of international

commerce and facilities of inter-communication. This had the effect of widening the horizon of men's sympathies beyond the boundaries of the national state. Social grouping came to be based on interests rather than on territory. The labourers of England came to perceive greater community of interests with those of Russia or India rather than with the intellectual classes in their own country and their allegiance to the state came to compete with their allegiance to the Third International. Thus forces were at work in the new era ushered in by the Industrial Revolution which seemed to run counter to the sovereignty of the national state. On the other hand the theories noticed above had their repercussions in practical politics which precipitated the challenge that was imminent. Under the influence of these theories the state came to grow into a veritable Leviathan extending its long arms and bringing within its ambits every sphere of human life and activity till it threatened to crush the personality of citizens. This gave rise to a searching of hearts among sociologists and political philosophers.

Has the state any divine right to pre-eminence among all other social groups and is such pre-eminence in the best interest of society? Is there any such thing as the general will? Has not general will come, in fact, to be identical with the will of the powers that be? Is not passive submission to the laws of the state which are, in other words, the dispensation of a handful of men temporarily in authority—a surrender of human personality and as such detrimental to the true interests of society? Is the state competent to provide by its laws for the varied needs and the conflicting interests of the complex social organisation of to-day? These are the questions that agitated the mind of a certain section of political philosophers who set about reconstructing the theory of the nature of the state which they deemed, was called for by the new forces acting in the present day society. This school of political thinkers has come to be known as the Pluralists.

The Pluralistic Position.—The precursors of the pluralistic school are a group of writers who laid emphasis on the personality of the corporations within the state each of these being marked by a group consciousness among their members. The names of these writers deserving mention in these connection are Otto V. Gierke, F. W. Maitland, M. J. Paul Boncour, Emile Durkheim, Dr. J. N. Tiggis. The central idea and the common feature in the discussions of all these writers who enlarge on the social value of the purposive associations is that in "present age the state is confronted not only by unassociated individuals but also by other associations evolving independently, fulfilling essential social ends, eliciting individual loyalties, better adapted than the state, through their special membership, their special forms of organisation and means of action for serving various social needs. Few, however, of these authors can be regarded as having clearly reached the pluralistic goal of non-sovereign state." This opened up a new vista of thought and furnished a convenient starting point for the pluralistic attacks on the classic theory of sovereignty and the reconstruction of a new theory of state more consonant with the complex structure of modern society. As Laski observes, "The state is only one of the associations to which the individual happens to belong, and you must give it exactly the pre-eminence and no more to which on the particular occasion of conflict its possibly superior moral claim will entitle it. In my view it does not attempt to take that pre-eminence by force, it wins it by consent." ("Studies in Problem of Sovereignty," p. 19.) They deny the abstract and metaphysical character imputed to the state by the classic school and view it from the standpoint of the pragmatist as simply one of the many organs of society with a distinct end in view, *viz.*, the co-ordination and harmonization of the other purposive groups, run by ordinary human beings with all the failings and frailties that flesh is heir to. As such, theoretically it is neither feasible nor desirable that it should control all interests of man and dominate every sphere of human life and

activity. As a matter of fact the state has failed miserably in the task of adjustment of the conflicting and varied interests in society with all its omniscience and absolutism. So they would rewrite the theory of sovereignty of the state specially in its relation to other social groups and to law, as also in its relation to other states from the standpoint of the pragmatist—so much as to its critical side. In its practical and constructive side it has borne fruit in the various proletarian movements for decentralisation of social control on a federal basis—either functional or territorial in character, *viz.*, syndicalism, guild, Socialism, Bolshevism, etc.

Let us now discuss the attitude of the pluralists to the relation of the state to law. All pluralists dispute the exclusive claim of the state or some sovereign organisation within the state to make laws binding on all individuals and associations within its jurisdiction. To put it in a nutshell—the will of the state, if only expressed through properly constituted channels cannot pass as law. It must face the competing wills of other social groups and in order to receive the compliance of individuals it must prove its superior moral value over the dicta of other rival organisations to which the individuals happen to belong. The validity of law is not dependent on its source as the monist holds but on the nature of its contents, or the end it serves, on its evaluation by the individual and his voluntary acceptance on the basis of evaluation of the rules issued by rival groups. The criterion employed in such evaluation is, of course, the end proposed to be promoted by such competing dicta. Law emerges, therefore, through the Darwinian process of the survival of the fittest, the judgment of the individual being the sole arbiter of fitness from the standpoint of social and moral values and the state is only one of the competitors in the field. Du Guitt and Krabbe even go to suggest that the state far from being the author of, and as such, above laws, is itself bound by law. Law according to Du Guitt means all rules of conduct binding on men living in society irrespective of their

political relations. The obligations involved in land do not arise from the fact that they are decreed by some organised authority but are imposed by the conditions of social life, by the fact that men must live in society and in order to survive must follow certain rules of conduct. This is called by Du Guit "social solidarity." Men must be guided in their behaviour by the ends of social solidarity and not by certain artificial rules created by a public authority.

The position of Krabbe is a little different from that of Du Guit. According to him also law is not purely subjective, its legal character depending on its source. Something else is necessary to give legal validity to certain rules of conducts. This something else is, in his view, "men's feeling or sense of right." But Krabbe is conscious that there is no universally accepted criterion of right or wrong, it is always relative. He is not disposed to leave it to each individual like Laski, for that would lead to disruption of society and anarchy. "The purpose of a community can be realised only if there is a single legal-rule,"¹ he says. But how is this unity of legal rule to be secured? Here he seems almost to come back to the monistic position. In the absence of anything better he accepts the principle of majority as determining the rule of conduct to be accepted as law in community; only the legislative organ should be so organised as to reflect the sense of the right of the majority of the people both qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

He observes : "If the sense of right of the members of a community differs regarding the rules to be followed, those rules possess a higher value which are desired as rules of law by a majority of members (assuming a qualitative equality in the sense of right of the members) since there cannot be a single rule except by recognising the principle of the majority, the communal life which controls our consciousness and makes the sense

¹ John Dickson, "A working theory of Sovereignty," *Pol. Science, Quarterly*, Vol. XLII,

of right effective in us, carries with it the obligation to govern our conduct according to the rules approved by the majority.”²

Laski's Position.—Laski's attitude on this point is more critical than constructive. He is more concerned with demonstrating the insufficiency of the juristic theory to meet real situations in modern society rather than giving some constructive suggestion as to the criterion of legal conduct in modern community as has been furnished by Du Guit or Krabbe. He challenges the pretensions of the state to passive obedience to its commands or laws on the part of the individual citizen on historical, rational and moral grounds and calls upon the individual to take an Athanasius attitude towards the laws of the state. Laws of the state as such have no superior claim to recognition except when they prove their worth to the individual by comparison with rules affecting the same interest prescribed by other associations to which he belongs. The individual is thus faced with rival sets of rules on every subject emanating from different organisations and is to make his choice among them in the light of his own knowledge and conscience. But what is to happen when the choice of one conflicts with that of others, or what criterion is to guide the individual in his choice? To these questions Laski gives us no satisfactory answer.

As he observes—

“The history of societies fatally contradicts the view that in a crisis only the state will have power of compulsion. What of certain miners in South Wales? What of certain unionists in Ulster? Of militant suffragists? Did not to them the wills of certain groups other than the state conflict with it and prove more intense in their demand? Such *marginal cases* will in all probability be rare but there is no sort of guarantee that they will not occur.”

² A History of Political Theories, recent times, p. 93. Merriam and Barnes.

“Then it will be protested if you justify resistance to the state. You deny that each state must possess a legally determinate superior whose will is certain of acceptance. But it is surely evident that no such instrument does exist. We have nowhere the assurance that any rule of conduct can be enforced. For that rule will depend for its validity upon the opinion of the members of the state and they may belong to other groups to which such rules may be obnoxious.”³

In his “Grammar of Politics,” he assails the classic theory of sovereignty in all its threefold aspect—as an incident in the process of historical evolution, as a theory of law “making of right merely the expression of a particular will without reference to what that will contains,” and finally as a theory of political organisation insisting on the existing within every social order of “some single centre of ultimate reference, some power that is able to resolve disputes by saying a last word that will be obeyed.”

Historically its bankruptcy has been proved, he holds, by the historical school led by Maine and others as it fails to square with facts in ancient communities and even in many oriental countries at the present day. Laski goes a step further and says that even in western civilisation it is useless if we are not disposed to ignore plain facts. It arose in response to the demand of a unified social order to supplant the chaos and anarchy of the mediaeval European society, but now it is a spent force with fresh economic and political developments. Sovereignty as conceived in the classic theory, nowhere exists at present as a political fact, nor is it any longer morally justifiable in the present state of human civilisation.

“From the political angle” he says “such a view as will be argued, is of dubious correctness in fact, and it is at least probable that it has dangerous moral consequences. It will be here argued that it would be of lasting benefit to political science if

³ Krabbe, *Modern Idea of State*, p. 74.

the whole concept of sovereignty were surrendered. That, in fact, with which we are dealing is power; and what is important in the nature of power is the end it seeks to serve and the way in which it serves that end. These are both questions of evidence which are related to, but independent of, the rights that are born of legal structure. **** The problem before us has become, because of the unified interests of mankind, that of bending the modern state to the interests of humanity. The dogmas we use to that end are relatively of little import so long as we are assured that the end is truly served.'''⁴

As a theory of political organisation the theory of sovereignty, in his opinion, has also become hopelessly inadequate with the broadening of the horizon of human interests in every field of activity. National state organised on the basis of sovereignty no longer suffices to realise the highest ends of human existence. Society has become federal in character. It has activities of which the nature interests every member of the society ; it has activities also that are primarily specific in their incidence. General activities of the first kind belong to the state, though that does not imply an identical form of organisation. Activities of the second kind interest the state only in so far as their results bear upon the rest of the community.

Specific interests require specific organisations crossing the boundaries of the national state and ramifying through every part of the world with control of the state limited only to such part of their activities as has bearing on the general interests. The interests of the Welsh miners are more akin to those of India than to the interests of the English Railway-men and as such would be best promoted by a world federation of miners than by the British Parliament. But even in the sphere of the general interests of the community the state should no longer exercise exclusive jurisdiction in view of the closer bond of international co-operation and fellowship which is reflected in the

growth of a body of international regulations which are or must be effective in the international community as municipal law in the state, if civilisation is not doomed. It is no use brushing aside this cold fact to keep up the integrity of the theory of state sovereignty by saying that they are voluntary self-imposed limitations. There is already a tendency towards the growth of an international organisation which is to back up the system of international regulations with sanctions similar in character though not in form to those behind the municipal laws. Thus a new international order is looming on the horizon of world-politics in which the national state with unified legal control is fast becoming out of place. Pending the growth of a full-fledged international organisation of the type of Dante's universal Empire there would be intervening stages in which legal control is to be partitioned between the state and international organisation on the basis of the nature of the interests affected. In short, the pluralists stand for a theory of divided sovereignty and divided allegiance in the sphere of international relationships.

Thus Laski observes, "Internationally, it is not difficult to conceive the organisation of an allegiance which reaches beyond the limits of the the state.....When state sovereignty in international affairs was recognised, there was no authority existent to which that type of control might be entrusted. It is at least arguable now that an authority predominant over states may be conceived to which is entrusted the regulation of those affairs of more than national interest. That is clear in the case of War.....Wherever, in short, the interests of a unified and interdependent world seem to demand an international code of conduct, the corporate organisation of that standard and its corporate application, are at least conceivable. *It involves at any rate on the international side, the abolition of state sovereignty.* It sees the state simply as a unit in a society of states, the will of which would then be set by a process in which it would have no final say. It even implies, as the

acceptance of this doctrine grows, a duty on the part of the individual citizen of a recalcitrant state to look beyond the emotional penumbra of patriotism to the issue of conflict." He would thus reconstruct the theory of political obligation on a new basis, *viz.*, the fact of world interdependence and the recognition of society as "a complex of functions none of which is limited by the concept of final allegiance to a given state." "In a creative civilisation", he says, "what is important is not the historical accident of separate states but the fact of world-interdependence.....The real obligation of obedience is to the total interests of our fellowmen." ⁵ It is, he believes, in the acceptance of this new international order that the solution of the problem of world peace lies. Thus he observes, "Once we realise that the well-being of the world is, in all large issues, one and indivisible, the co-ordinate determination of them is the primary condition of social peace. * * Exclusive sovereignty of states in relation to other states is dangerous both morally and materially. Common life of the great society must be regulated by an international fellowship—common and concerted decision of men." ⁶

Critical Examination of the Pluralistic Position

So far we have surveyed the circumstances that led to the rise of the pluralistic school and also attempted to explain the pluralistic position in all its aspects. In doing so we have naturally laid special emphasis on the views of Prof. Laski as being the latest exponent of the theory and the most vigorous opponent of the monistic theory. Now we shall try to see how far there is real conflict between the points of view of these two rival schools of thought and what contribution this new school has made to recent political thought. We shall begin by examining their attitude towards the relation of state to law.

⁵ *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty*, Laski, p. 12.

⁶ *Grammar of Politics*, pp. 44-45.

The classic or jurisdic school believes in one and only one source of legal control within a community inhabiting a distinct geographical unit marked off from other such units. A rule of conduct cannot be accepted as a law within the community, however just or expedient or desirable it may be until and unless it is formally pronounced by the ultimate law-making organ within the community and when a rule is formally laid down by this authority there is only one attitude for the individual to take that of meek submission, willing if possible, under protest, if not. Disobedience to law may be perfectly moral but certainly not legal. It is a challenge to the existing social order—be it good, bad or indifferent—and must be punished if that order is to be maintained. What the law is and what the law should be,—they insist on keeping these questions quite distinct issues. They start with the hypothesis that a legal order is preferable to anarchy and as the only alternative to legal order is anarchy it is better to put up with even a tyrant than go back to a state of nature. After accepting one supreme law-making authority the next problem and perhaps the more important one is to see that it be so circumstanced as to ensure the making of good law only. This is essentially a problem of organisation. But before that it is necessary that there should be one and only one authority for distinguishing between what is and what is not law.

In opposition to this subjective conception of law the pluralists put forward an objective one. Law is not law simply because it emanates from one particular source rather than another but rather because it contributes to a social purpose. Its claim to obedience lies not in its form but in its object of view. Du Guit and Krabbe lay down their own standards—‘social solidarity’ and ‘men’s sense of right’ respectively—by reference to which the legality of a rule of conduct is to be tested and even the state is not above these standards. But the question arises who is to be the judge as to whether a rule conforms to these standards. Krabbe being more practical

insists on the unity of legal rule and accepts the principle of decision by majority. But others seem to make the individuals and associations affected by the law the judge as to its validity and obedience conditional on this judgment in each particular case. The thing is, the Pluralists in their zeal for moral and ethical considerations which are by no means unimportant completely ignore the social and political implications of the attitude they advocate. Human nature being what it is, whatever the philosophical anarchists say to the contrary, there can be only two alternative conditions in society—a system of legal order or a régime of anarchy. Pluralists would be hardly favour the latter alternative, for unlike anarchists they are not for abolishing all social control but merely for changing its character. But if anarchy is to be averted we cannot do without sovereignty in the legal sense that is a single ultimate law declaring and law-enforcing agency. The pre-supposition of a system of legal order in the existence of a body of uniform and easily ascertainable general rules producing like decisions in like cases unless there is a single final source of law or say, an organ for ultimate reference in case of conflict between rival codes we cannot have that uniformity so essential to a condition of peace and harmony. This does not imply that there can be only one authority within the state to evolve rules of conduct for the whole community on all conceivable topics. On the other hand every particular social group has a distinct function or mission and is best competent to shape the rules to be followed by its members for the satisfactory performance of its function. These rules will form part of the code of civic conduct, although non-legal in their character but when these come into conflict with similar rules issued by some other association it is for the state to step in to adjust the differences and to strike a compromise consistent with the larger interests the community as a whole and at the same time satisfying the competitive demands of the associations as far as practicable. The rules that finally emerge in such a case are legal rules.

But legal rules ordinarily supplement the non-legal rules existing side by side and operating within limited areas of human interest; they supplant the latter only when the common welfare of the community demands it. It is for the sovereign to determine the occasion, scope and also the solution of such demand. As one writer has very ably pointed out, "Juristically it makes little difference what particular organisation is recognised as having ultimate law-making authority, so long as *one and only* one such organisation is recognised within the community in order that all the rules entitled to be called laws may form a harmonious and unified system.***The study of sources of other non-legal rules is an important part of politics but there is no reason to confuse it with the specific problem to which the term sovereignty is conveniently applied." 7

Then it is not suggested by the political monist that law has no reference to any other consideration—social, political or ethical—than the will of the sovereign. The sovereign does not create laws *ex nihilo* but out of the materials already in the community—a complexus of opinions, prejudices, habits and customs and desires, etc. As a matter of fact a law cannot pass current as such in the community for a long time unless it be based on these materials either by becoming a dead letter or by provoking universal resistance. The point of the monist is that within a community there can be only one agency for creating uniform code of conduct out of these materials. "The legal sovereign is the ultimate source of law not in the sense of being an uncaused cause or an unmotivated author, but in the sense that only that which passes through it has the force of law and only after having passed through it received its stamp of validity. The important thing is that it is his act which entitles them to be called laws, which puts on them the stamp and genuine hallmark of law, although some men or many men have insisted all along that they should be law and have even called them law.

7 Laksi, *Grammar of Politics*, p. 48.

The Sovereign is thus an organ of final choice.'' The question may be raised—what is the citizen to do if the sovereign systematically flouts popular opinions, desires and judgments and arbitrarily imposes its will? Ordinarily the citizen's duty lies in bringing pressure to bear upon the sovereign to change such laws within the legal order, to effect a re-organisation of the sovereign organ in such a way as to make it responsive to popular demands but if reform is absolutely impossible with the maintenance of legal order a revolution with a consequent plunge into anarchy may be advocated in the last resort. But this is only a counsel of despair and should be adopted only when other peaceful and constitutional methods fail with a full consciousness of the consequences of a state of anarchy, and only with a view to establishing a better régime of law. A régime of law may not be without its blemishes but it is certainly more conducive to the promotion of the ends of human existence than a sustained state of anarchy. Hence although sovereignty is not taken as an inseparable incident of man's life in society—occasional breaks being quite possible and sometimes justifiable—yet it is a sort of working hypothesis in orderly life in society. Sovereignty in the legal sense and a condition of peace and harmony ordinarily go together, although not approximating to an ideal condition. As the writer quoted above puts it, "It (sovereignty) is simply a key-element in a pattern of possible organisation to which actual practice may or may not conform but which remains the only type or organisation capable of sustaining what we mean by a régime of law. It is true that even an organisation built on the lines of the pattern always function perfectly as it is supposed to do so." ⁸ In the complex social structure of the present day with interests of different individuals and groups so much interlocked if we do not accept a legal order with a single supreme law-making authority we offer people an inducement to take the law each in his own hand and throw

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 66.

the door open to disorder and anarchy. The Pluralists like Laski by advocating the inculcation of an Athanasian attitude on the part of the individual citizen are simply working up to that end. The analogy of natural selection in the physical world proves to be quite false when applied to social categories. There is no certainty that the rightful cause will in the long run prevail. The question of obedience to laws even when they do not square with one's personal predilections or sense of right or justice raises, therefore, a far more important issue than the question of agreement or disagreement in a particular case between the state's law and the dictates of conscience and reason, it involves the larger issue of the desirability of maintaining public authority and consequently civil society itself. There are certainly limitations and dangers of a system of positive law however perfectly the machinery of law-making may be fashioned but to abandon it because of these is to invite many such systems with all similar defects and absence of peace and order to boot. We cannot expect to have the cake of order without having to pay the price of obedience to some common authority and when we cannot in any case do without such control, one tyrant is preferable to many.

In the light of the discussion above it will appear that there is no real contradiction involved in the attitude of the pluralists and the classical school on the question of the relation of law to state. Each of them lays special emphasis on one aspect of law—the classical school on its formal and subjective aspect and the pluralistic school on its political and objective aspect. Even conceding all that the pluralist means by law we need not refute the truth of the classic theory. There is no objection to there being a multiplicity of sources of law provided that before they can be enforced they must receive the hall-mark of approval of the state. The political monist lays emphasis on the importance of keeping the idea of law distinct from other kinds of rules and imperatives which have influence on human conduct and relations but in doing so he does not necessarily rule them out.

What he insists upon is that they can assume a compulsive and universal character only from one ultimate authority in the community. It is by a combination of these theories that we attain to a true philosophy of law. Then alone we understand that law is not simply a formal command of a metaphysical abstraction called the legal sovereign but it is the expression of the ethos or the inner self of the community.

Let us now examine the pluralistic attitude to the question of the relation of state to other purposive groups—political, economic or religious. We begin with the propounders of the historical and legal theory of corporations like Otto V. Gierke and Maitland who believe in the real personality of such groups and thus serve as the precursors of the pluralistic theory of non-sovereign state. Although conceding autonomy to the various groups where their special interests are concerned they would retain reserve powers in the state for effecting a co-ordination among the groups and deciding questions where common interests are concerned. But the point is who is to draw the line between special interests and common interests, who is to determine the scope of the powers of the various corporations and the state? If it be the state we come back to the monistic position, for the political monist does not want more than this that the state should determine the limit of its own competence and that of other groups and individuals. One might answer that the authority of settling jurisdiction between the state and other groups may be given to an impartial tribunal, but the question arises who is to appoint the judges and who is to lay down rules for the guidance of the judges in such cases. We come back again to some ultimate controlling authority that is, to a “legal sovereign.” In a word, the whole position of these writers—that the evolution of self-conscious corporations with distinct social ends and serving specific social needs calls for a re-statement of the theory of state in its relation to such groups, that they are entitled to a status somewhat more exalted than that of isolated

individuals is untenable. We cannot give them such a special position without undermining the fabric of social order. All that can be done in recognition of their importance to society is to give them full internal autonomy, to provide them with every opportunity for self-expression so far as is compatible with similar opportunity for other groups and individuals, the state ordinarily remaining in the back-ground and interposing as an arbiter only when there is a clash of interests. In other words the state stands essentially in the same relationship with the individual and the group. The individual has also his sphere of autonomy, opportunity of self-expression granted by the state. If any difference in treatment is to be made between the individual and the group in view of their special importance in social economy it is only one of degree and not of kind.

Let us now consider the position of the more advanced Pluralists such as Du Guitt, Krabbe, Laski and others. They do not believe in the much vaunted general will of state or its inherent divinity as postulated by the Hegelians. They approach the state from the realistic standpoint and take it as it is and as it acts through its governmental machinery in every day life. The will of the state is but the will of a small coterie of persons who happen for the time being to hold the reins of government. Hence it has no morally superior claim to the allegiance of individuals who are affiliated to a number of such associations. The state must win allegiance by consent and not by force. Every individual is subject to competing loyalties and the state cannot expect to absorb his whole loyalty. The duty of the individual where his loyalty to some association comes into conflict with his loyalty to the state is to take up an Athanasius attitude, "to undertake a ceaseless examination of its moral foundations" and to make his choice from moral and social consideration. In one word they deny the comprehensive and compulsive character of the state. If, for instance, the demand of state

run counter to the demand of, say, the church or the trade union or any other association, the individual need not blindly comply with the demands of state but should do so only if it appears to him that such compliance is socially beneficial and morally justifiable. It is, they hold, by releasing individuals and groups from the compulsive authority of state that they can be made to contribute most to social welfare which is the end of social organisation. Practically speaking it comes to this that they install sovereignty of the individual in the place of sovereignty of the state, for the final choice rests with the individuals. In doing so the pluralists in spite of their zeal for facing facts as they are, take a rather exaggerated view of the intellectual and moral capacities of the average citizen which is hardly warranted by actual experience. If such perfection as they obviously assume could be attributed to an average citizen then the *raison d'être* of the state as well as any form of social control would altogether vanish. This is exactly the position of the anarchists but the pluralists are not ready to go so far and accept the logical conclusion of their argument. They would retain the state for discharging a specific function—that of bringing about a social co-ordination although depriving it of the coercive authority necessary for satisfactorily performing the function. They would have the cake of social harmony without paying the price of organisation in the shape of authority.

It cannot, of course, be denied that man is a creature of competing loyalties and that associations are competing for enlisting the loyalties of individuals. It should at the same time be remembered that as the interest of all individuals and associations within the community do not always run parallel there is every likelihood of conflict and dead-lock. It would simply aggravate difficulties if in such crisis individuals are left to help themselves in the light of their reason and conscience. No two persons would possibly come to the same conclusion on the same question in the absence of any

uniform principle to guide them, with the result that there would be further strife and disorder. This clearly points to the need of an organisation for preventing such conflict as also adjusting them when they arise and if its decisions are at all to be effective in the present state of human civilization it must be given authority over all within the community. But to admit the indispensableness of such an organisation is not to ignore the usefulness of all other associations or to deny them free scope of self-expression within their proper sphere, not to declare the innate moral superiority and infallibility of the decisions of such an organisation, nor to deny the individual the moral right of questioning its decisions and even of disobeying it in an extreme case. The traditional theory of sovereignty of the state is not incompatible with any of these concessions. The thing is, we are here faced with two alternative methods of social organisation—one with a central organisation with co-ordinating authority among other groups and the custody of the common interests with organised coercion as one of its means of action, and the other with simply a number of functional or professional groups with voluntary membership, state being one of these with the functional of co-ordinating but lacking the coercive authority to enforce its decisions. Neither of these, of course, is, without its blemishes and can lay claim to perfection—no institution of human device ever can. So in making our choice between these we should be guided not so much by the feelings of each in particular cases as by their possibilities for good or evil of the community, in the aggregate. The question is not whether the command of the state is entitled to obedience even when it is, in some particular case, in clear conflict with all accepted standard of justice or social expediency. The fundamental question rather is—whether the organisation of society on the basis of one central organ with coercive authority to enforce its commands is *on the whole* more conducive to the ends of justice and social welfare than organisation on any other basis and if so, whether such an organisation

is possible where individuals and associations habitually claim the right to judge the validity of the decisions of that organ in the light of their own conception of what is right and proper. It is only under such an organisation that individuals and associations can hope to enjoy real freedom for self-expression or at least feel secure as to the degree of freedom they are entitled to, which it is the avowed purpose of the Pluralists to secure by releasing them from state control. The state may, of course, make errors and blunders or even perversely make unwarranted inroads on the proper spheres of associations and individuals but the attempt to devise safeguards or remedies against such evils will be easier and more likely to be successful under this system than in the other, —sources of danger being reduced to one only. It is not inconceivable so to organise the mechanism of state, within the frame-work of the traditional theory of sovereignty, as to make over the management of special interests to special groups through their expert knowledge, at the same time avoiding the conflicts resulting from uncontrolled authority of such groups. Thus the demands of the Pluralists may be satisfied within the frame-work of the traditional theory with organisation of the state on proper lines.

The Pluralist have however made valuable contributions to political thought in emphasizing the importance of social groups in the community, in drawing attention to the aspect of consent implied in the idea of sovereignty and the moral limitations on the exercise of sovereignty or in short in raising a timely protest against the rigid legalism of the Austinian theory. Pluralism has also served as a wholesome reaction against the idealisation and idolization of the state, against the dogma of the idealist-ethical school that the state is an end in itself having a code of morality of its own. But recognising all these valuable contributions of the Pluralists we need not repudiate the classical theory. As Gettel observes, “It is quite possible for the state to recognise moral obligations to limit the scope of its activities and to reorganize its internal organization along the lines of local

decentralization and representation of group interests without the loss of its ultimate legal sovereignty. In every independent society there must be a single organization of supreme legal control. Both a sound political theory and the actual facts of modern social life find this authority in the state. This does not mean that it need rest in a single or centralized organ nor in the particular form of governmental system that now exists.”⁹ Properly understood the traditional theory stands for unity amidst diversity and not for flat uniformity and it further states that real diversity is possible only on the basis of unity.

Conclusion

In conclusion it may be pointed out that some form of social control is indispensable for realising the highest ends of human civilisation for the highest development of personality of every individual. The controversy between the monist and the pluralists centres round the best method of organising social control for these purposes; the monists believe in centralisation while the pluralists in decentralisation. Both these points of view can be happily reconciled by giving due recognition to the federal character of society by a process of delegation of authority from certain convenient centres which are to be located within territorial units historically carved out by various social forces. Both history and reason bear testimony to the fact that order and harmony, so essential for progress are out of the question without a centre of authority within a community. Our present social organisation is based on the recognition of this fact which is embodied in the classical theory of sovereignty and we should not court a change in the present system unless we are perfectly convinced that it would be a change for the better so far as ends of human civilisation are concerned.

AKSHAYKUMAR GHOSHAL

⁹ Gettel, *History of Political Thought*, p. 469.

RAINBOW OF LOVE

I.

Sigh of Love.

A song, all strange, descends on heart,
A grove, uncared and wild,
The song—the ray of earliest morn,
Of deepest dark the child.
In silence heart forgets herself,
The song's not sound but life.
The light of song makes all else dark
And sweetens bitterest strife.
The song makes all that's done undone
And all undone is done,
The seen unseen, the known unknown,
And death and life but one.
I swear I see the song is I,
Of will-formed Love, the joyous sigh.

II.

Pet of Love.

Ah! all I do, by thought is strung
In garland men call Time;
The garland ne'er begins nor ends
In discord nor in rhyme—
Of act and thought, Oh, make me free,
To live in love's eternity;
To live in love kills act and thought,
Though all be present all's forgot.

III.

Slave of Love.

I slave of self
 For power and pelf.
 My heart, plague-rotten,
 Sweet love forgotten.
 What hopest thou to gain?
 Thy life is vain and vain.
 Oh! slave of love thou be
 And live in love, free, free.

IV.

Beauty in Love.

Can beauty be that I not love!
 Apart the twain ne'er be.
 What magic makes love, beauty one
 For heart, not eye, to see!
 O beauty thou art ne'er unloved
 Nor love unbeauty be.
 Oh! beauty, love, the names but two—
 This is but Truth's master key
 Beauty, Joy within, above,
 Call her beauty call her love.
 Beauty, love must ever endure—
 Truth to mind, to life the cure.

V.

Life in Love.

The mother turns her angry face
Upon her wayward child.
His stream of tears in anguish'd cry
Sees her face sweet, mild.
O Love, thine angry face is turned
Upon the heart, hate-blind.
Repentant tears wash clean the heart
With joy of love to find,
O Love, thou ever mother be
To lull the heart to ecstasy.
Away from Thee may die all joy !
With heart turned Thee-ward, pain?—
sweet joy.

VI.

Death in Love.

Oh ! let me never crave for life,
If life desires not me.
Oh ! let me live uncounted years
To die in love heart free.
Love is not this life of breath
Love embraceth all in death.
Death in love? Its bare desire
Makes many one in cool love-fire.

VII.

Finale.

Oh ! end this life, oh where art Thou ?
Oh, Lord of love and life !
Oh kill me, kill me, in thyself
And end this life-love strife.

Reviews

The Industrial Efficiency of India—By Rajanikanta Das, M.Sc., Ph.D., published by P. S. King and son, Ltd., pp. 212, 1930.

It is often stated that "India is the eighth biggest industrial country in this world." There are others who persistently decry the old-fashioned and time-honoured methods of industrial organisation and equipment and opine that India's industrial efficiency is consequently very low. The information necessary for a comprehensive study of the industrial efficiency of the workers is arranged in this monograph. Though the different chapters are based on magazine contributions, the author has set forth the causes of our industrial inefficiency and suggests remedies for the same.

At the outset the author does not recognise that there is no distinct class of industrial labour as yet. Living on pure wages alone is a novelty except in big cities. Agriculturists and handicraftsmen abound in any number and many an employer finds it difficult to secure a *permanent and continuous* set of workers who settle down and break their connection with their ancestral land. No doubt, this has tended to remove the vital canker, *viz.*, industrial unemployment from our society. Industrial inefficiency is therefore the result of the peculiar system.

Lacking an efficient labour organisation no attention worth the name has been paid to the problem of securing efficiency on the part of the industrial workers. This stands in great contrast with the environmental conditions existing elsewhere and to institute a comparison under such conditions is totally odious. To say that India wastes two-third of her land, labour and capital resources and is only one-third efficient as other industrial countries has no definite and precise meaning. The institution of a Board of National Efficiency is the remedy suggested to conduct research experiments and bring about greater efficiency on the part of the different workers. The conservation of health, the development of physique, the rearing of A class people alone, real social regeneration tending to the uplift of individual character, business honesty, social equality, improvements in political organisation, the conducting of constructive research, the rationalising of the methods of industrial production including agriculture, the use of new technique of industrialisation in arts, crafts, and cottage industries, better organisation of capital

resources, and the development of enterprise on the part of the *entrepreneurs* would regenerate the industrial life of the country and the details of the Board of Efficiency are outlined in the final chapter.

With plentiful supply of raw materials and an immense potential internal market India is bound to forge ahead as a great industrial nation if the needed motive power and efficiency of her manual and intellectual workers are secured. Without first ensuring a permanent and trainable class of workers, the question of improving labour efficiency cannot be seriously thought of. In India there is "Labour, labour everywhere, nor any one to work." Educational improvements in home conditions, etc., of this trainable class would solve the problem. This is the crux of the problem. Without achieving this there is no meaning of improving the efficiency of the workers.

Even as regards the estimate of labourers' work (p. 50) we have seen estimates of Indian labourers' efficiency which compare very favourably with the Western workers in spite of all drawbacks and different methods of organisation. The following well-known statement gives a different view altogether: "The four looms and four weavers in Madras produce more per hour than the four looms and one woman weaver in Lancashire."

Another outrageous statement is the bland remark that "the revival of Khaddar might be said to be only a palliative measure for solving India's under-employment." He adds the significant remark that "patriotism based on uneconomic production cannot last long." The best solution for the country is to bring about a flourishing cotton mill industry and the charka production at the same time. Protection to khaddar can only be rendered in the shape of patriotism and in no other way. If that were to be done, it means success and the statement that "time devoted to the production of the khaddar might be utilised for the production of goods of much higher value" (p. 148) was perhaps written in a unguarded moment. The charka is meant for the rural folk and for the non-crop period of the year. There is no other secondary occupation, so cheap and economical as the khaddar industry. It is curious that he himself admits this on p. 193 of his book.

In spite of these apparent contradictions, the book is an eminently readable one and will be of more than ordinary value to all employers who can guide their activity on the lines chalked out by the author.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Bombay—To-day and To-morrow,—Edited by Clifford Maushardt and published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay.

The book contains a series of lectures delivered by eight eminent citizens of Bombay, each master in his own sphere of activity. The object in view is to bring into closer touch the different communities that live together in that big city, to show inter-relation of its various interests, to promote mutual understanding and to create an appreciation of the value of higher life and unity amongst its citizens.

Such a combination of masterly mind in a book form is undoubtedly a great achievement at a time when it is of supreme importance to create a better understanding amongst the heterogenous members of a big city.

The introduction from the supreme-head of the province, whose duty has been to study the activities of the city life in their various aspects, is in itself a great utility and novelty, specially so when it has come from the masterly pen of His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, well known for his great administrative qualifications.

The work on the whole is a very successful attempt to present to the Indian minds in general the utility of such a work. It will no doubt be appreciated if other cities, specially Calcutta, the great city of the British Empire, make an attempt on a similar line.

M. K. SHIRAZI

The Fight for Peace—By Devere Allen, Editor, *The World Tomorrow* (Published by The Macmillan Company, 1930).

This book is comprehensive, uncompromising and diversely useful as a literary contribution to the peace movement. The author draws heavily on other and earlier workers in the field, but he has brought together the materials of war and peace and of the persistent attacks upon the war system as has no other previous writer.

Mr. Allen finds a two-fold justification for his book: (1) the lack of any comprehensive guide for the pacifist efforts to reconstruct international relations; and (2) the urgency of discovering some way of blocking another world war which would destroy the race. The great majority of the historical literature from Herodotus to Shotwell has been devoted to wars and military activities. Pacifism has a long and honorable history which has gone all but unchronicled. Professor M. E. Curti was the first American historian to consider American pacifism a worthy subject for

serious historical research and his book on early American peace efforts is barely dry from the presses. Mr. Allen gives us the whole literature of the field canvassed, intelligently selected, well digested, and presented in a logical, convincing fashion.

This book by Devere Allen deserves to rank with the contributions of such writers as Henry George, the Webbs, Devine, Thomas Mott Osborne, Havelock Ellis and other leaders in the campaign for human progress and civic decency.

While the historical background of the problem of peace is amply set forth, it is introduced primarily to give perspective and clarity to the analysis of current issues. The author comes to grips at all points with the knotty problems that face the world in the year 1930.

One of the best chapters in the book is that in which the author puts the quietus on the perennial argument that it is hopeless to try to end war because man is by nature bellicose and that human nature will always defeat the pacifist.

Especially wholesome is the direct and implied rebuke to some of the more recent and flossy internationalists who contemptuously high-hat the traditional pacifism and place all their eggs in the single basket of legal rules and prohibitions. Yet Mr. Allen does not deny the necessity of new techniques in the pacifist campaign against war. So he discusses such new developments as the general strike against war, Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation and the like.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Canal Irrigation in the Punjab—By Paul W. Paustian, Colombia University Press, New York, 1930, pp. 175, price 3 Dollars.

Dr. Paustian has brought a vast amount of knowledge to bear upon this economic enquiry concerning the effects of canal irrigation on the people of the Punjab. Four years' stay in the province has enabled the author to make a first-hand study of the economic and social conditions of the people of the canal colonies of the province. Besides being a detailed historical survey of the canal irrigation policy from 1847 to 1927, the financial and economic implications of the policy are carefully considered. Part One, being purely a historical sketch (where undue prominence is attached to the British initiative) can be glossed over by the general reader. An area, of roughly 11,157,624 acres has been reclaimed from the desert as a result of the beneficent service of canal irrigation. How the early obstacles, such as salt silting, have been overcome by the Engineers are also referred to in this part.

It is part Two, consisting of VII chapters that concerns itself with the effects of irrigation on the density and distribution of population in the province. The main effect of the policy was to increase the area available for cultivation and as the corresponding growth of population was slower it led to the building up of the basis of economic prosperity of the canal colonies. He is careful enough to recognise that the pressure of the population on the soil will be felt in the near future. The real solution of the population problem would have to be reached some day or other and the irrigation policy can only be looked upon as a mere passing benefit and not a permanent remedy for the population problem. Due to the traditional methods employed the yield per acre is not so high as one would expect from an irrigated area. Lack of fertilisation of the fields by new manures the paucity of modern agricultural implements and the relatively small holdings are responsible for the low output. The last chapter speaks of the specific forms of revenue arising out of the irrigation policy and the profits arising out of the irrigation schemes.

While the capital cost of canal construction in the province amounted to Rs. 32,16,47,494 the return from the Irrigation Department yielded a net surplus over and above the operating and maintaining expenses of the canals (no less than Rs. 58,27,01,089) *i.e.*, Rs. 26,00,53,595 over and above capital costs, interest charges and operating expenses. It would have been more interesting if the author had discussed the necessity of a dual extension of railways and irrigation which would undoubtedly have heightened the gains to the population. The author frankly admits that the charges are indeed high when compared with the standard of living of the people but he attempts to find an apology, as it were, for this policy in mentioning the indirect benefits accruing to the people in the growth of cities and towns providing employment to the people and enlarging the sources of taxable income—a welcome benefit to the Government at the same time.

While the general interpretation of this important study is conceived and executed in a scientific manner still the oft-repeated attempts to justify the rule of the alien people smack more of a missionary zeal rather than that of the judgment of an impartial student of economics. The following apologetic statement would prove our remark. "It is thus probable that the cost of irrigation to the people of the Punjab is not unreasonably high if the very profitableness of the irrigation schemes will perpetuate the Pax Britannica for the future." Throughout the object seems to be to preach to the people about the necessity of continuing to co-operate with the British in the economic development of our potential

resources. Every intelligent student of Indian economics realises the necessity to co-operate with Western Science, initiative, capital and engineering skill to increase the economic progress of the country.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Open Door and the Mandates System—By Benjamin Gerig, with a foreword by W. E. Rappard—Member of the Permanent Mandates Commission—published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. pp. 236.

Colonialism and Preferential Tariff have been fruitful sources of war as the industrial nations tend to covet the self-same areas for the sake of raw materials. If all colonies, like the mandatory areas, are open to all nationalities and if exclusive 'spheres of influence' 'financial protectorates' and 'special interests' are cast aside, the way to lasting and permanent peace tends to become established. No nation must attempt to become economically self-sufficient for an attempt to do so leads to war and the cessation of commercial hostilities is essential for international peace. Recognising the whole world as one economic unit this economic interdependence has to be recognised. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the great thinker, truly asserts that "mankind is a great partnership and the aim of all nations should be to act fairly for the welfare of its neighbours."

A co-operative economic federation of free states and mankind is needed instead of the present aggressive nations and the intensely patriotic citizen who soon becomes lashed to fury or rage when he hears of an insult to his flag or his co-citizen. A carrying out of this policy means that Great Britain must give up Imperial Preference and throw open her colonies to the other nations. So also France and the other colony holding powers must follow suit. The inter-nationalising of territories, as was first attempted in China in 1900, under the world-famous doctrine known as the Hay doctrine has been rightly extended to the new mandatory areas by the League of Nations. Freedom, equality and equity in economic relations, rights and opportunities for all nations in the mandatory areas undoubtedly constitute the natural and necessary basis of international harmony, security and peace. This can be secured only out of moral education and a prompt realisation of the fact that "God and Nature have not given these countries to certain nations alone." They are entrusted to them for the common benefit of the whole mankind. The permanent Mandates Commission seeks indeed to achieve the impossible feat of one

nation imposing its own economic organisation, administrative policy and cultural outfit over another nation or people.

A lucid historical and descriptive statement of the early colonial history and the slow evolution of the doctrine of the open door otherwise known as economic equality in the matter of concessions, land tenures, mining rights, fiscal regime and customs regulations is given out in the first part of the book (pp. 1 to 106). The mandates system first originated by President Woodrow Wilson in the fifth of his famous fourteen points, assumed a legal shape under the authority of the League of Nations. Though much cannot be said of the success of this new device of solving a somewhat old economic problem, yet the machinery and procedure of the Permanent Mandates Commission are admirably conceived and being loyally executed. Mandatory administration, specially the development of the territorial settlements in the interest and benefits of the population concerned undoubtedly needs great improvement but precedents have already become so very many that an "international mandatory law is slowly evolving though it is in an incipient stage now. These undoubtedly tend to influence the administration of colonies by the Empire Countries and the "new trusteeship" idea which is being so enthusiastically taught by economists and being partially carried into effect by the Mandatory powers is bound to drive out the last vestiges of old imperialism.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Vedanta or The Science of Reality.—By K. A. Krishna Swami Aiyar, B.A., with a foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan;—Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. *Price Rs. 10 only.*

It is a work of great erudition and research. It is undoubtedly one of the most important works upon the subject which has yet been written in the English language. It reflects great credit on the industry and deep thought of the author. It is divided into 25 chapters of closely written matter and it is not possible in a short notice to give an adequate account. The most salient points are here noticed.

Waking, dream and sleep—these three states taken into consideration would enable us to obtain the true nature of Life. We should not, as we usually do, subordinate the states of dream and sleep to the waking states. People regard the world as something permanent extending to the past and future, and Life, as of a few years. But in Vedanta, the

world is connected with our waking; it is not independent of waking consciousness,—it comes and goes with our waking. We should not cut it off from our waking and not to be presented as *an entity by itself* for our contemplation. We perceive the world with our sense organ, but dream and sleep we cannot perceive—we know them by intuition immediately; they are subsequently thrown into the forms of our Intellect. These are three independent states distinct from one another—Pure consciousness is the *witness* of them all and their basis or substratum.

The pure consciousness retains its integrity yet manifests as Ego and Non-Ego. In the waking and dream states, it also retains its purity. Thus, no world can exist apart from Pure Consciousness and intellectual separation would make it unreal. The Ego and Non-Ego are correlatives in the two states, but dissolve in sleep into undifferentiated unity from which they originate ; and hence pure consciousness is all reality—सर्व्व खल्विदं ब्रह्म . The pure consciousness is not therefore static, for it means persistence unchanged in time, but pure consciousness is behind time. It creates forms without forfeiting any power, which is infinite. It freely creates and in association with Māyā (माया) it is clothed with attributes, i.e., we do not know how it creates—how transcendental becomes empirical. Manifestation of world is preceded by metaphysical process beyond human understanding. The term *Māyā* signifies this.

That something persists unchanged in the midst of changing states involves the idea of time, hence as pure consciousness in sleep transcends time-series, it cannot be said either as changed or unchanged. Dream and waking both contain Ego and Non-ego—subject and object. It is a fact in Life that the supra-empirical entity—Pure consciousness—retains its integrity and yet seems as the basis of manifestation,—although to intellect the same thing cannot be conceived as possessed of two contradictory nature—changing and changeless.

The world perceived in waking is confined to that state and must not be severed from it. It should not be taken as existing independently from the perceiving mind. Does it persist when we sleep? Can we perceive it in any other state? Hence the world and waking state go together and come together. Did the world exist before living beings came into it—before any one perceiving it? Its reply is—it is due to *memory* which thinks the world as identical with the world of pre-sleep. But memory is unreliable. It is of past and we have dead representation only—not the world exactly faithful to the original.

We ought not to restrict ourselves to any of the three states, otherwise only a partial view of the reality would be obtained and not the

whole view, for which we are to view one state in the other states. When this is done, the reality which manifests itself without losing its integrity may be known which is a combination of subject and object; for the whole idea cannot be arrived at without combining subject and object.

In the view of one state only, the subject is the self and its object is the state and hence combination is not possible here. This is also the case when the object is regarded as independent existence from the perceiving subject which is unreal, for the world apart from the perceiving mind is unreal. Hence our view must be extended to the dream and sleep also and should not be restricted to the waking alone. This way we would obtain the view of the whole reality. When I say that I dreamt, I identify myself with dream-soul and appropriate all that I beheld in dream. But I am awake, I am altogether a different individual. Hence the point of identity is a deeper element—the Brahma that underlies both. When I remember now a past dream that I had, the two I's are identified although they are altogether different. The point of identity is reached by laying aside all the differentia between the dreaming and the waking individuals, till only P. C. remained. Thus we would escape splitting up reality, and taking the world as real or unreal and each is therefore metaphysically equated to each. Each of these being self-contained expression of reality, we have the whole of reality before us. For, the world is as real as the mind as long as that state lasts. When the state disappears, the soul moves to the next state and finds a new world. Each of the waking and dreaming states being an aspect of reality, the reality is fully presented in each. In dream, we find a new body, new sense than those of waking state, and hence the self is independent of that body, etc. Reality ceases to be reality taken piece-meal.

Māyā presents to human mind reality broken up into subject and object. *Māyā* veils the Reality from us by presenting a world of plurality, but it has given us also a mind by culture of which we may transcend its limits. Causality is restricted to waking as a manifestation, in which we cannot overstep its limit which is a faculty of division, multiplicity. But there is intuition—which is another shape of reality. By this we realise the oneness of all existence, though intellect to which it is presented becomes subject to laws of causality. World is not independent of the reality and hence it is essentially *identical* with it. Reality has the power to assume a differentiated form of world without undergoing modification. This is *Māyā*. It presents to human mind Reality broken into subject and object and into plurality of world.

The empirical nature is adapted to the forms of our intellect—time, space, causality. They are meant for each other. The conclusion of the author is thus expressed: “The world of relations is real and objects within it react upon each other; but compared with the transcendental reality, which it essentially is, it is as if it were not. Progress is unendingly possible in the imperfect state which alone can admit of it, while from the higher point of view it is unmeaning.”

More than 150 pages of the book is devoted to a criticism of points from Western Philosophy bearing on Vedanta. The criticism of Hegel is most effective, and the author passes in review almost all the Western philosophical systems and we recommend this portion of the work particularly to the attention of our students and teachers as well, and it will, we doubt not, repay a very careful study. Very few writers could, we think, have handled such problems with so much conspicuous ability. We offer our hearty welcome to this fine work and we only regret that we are handicapped for want of space from doing full justice to the subjects treated in the work with so much enthusiasm and such deep penetration. The Introduction appended to the book is a very pleasing reading and the observations embodied therein are thought-provoking.

K. SASTRI

Vedanta-Syamantaka of Radhadamodara—Edited with an introduction and notes by Prof. Umeshchandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., B.L., of the Dacca University. Published from the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt.

It is a well-known treatise belonging to the Bengal Vaishnava School of Vedanta. Visnu represents in the work Brahman of the Vedantists and it possesses, inseparable from it, its creative power looked upon as Vishnu's consort, from which this world has come out. The editor of the book has with great ability given us an idea of its philosophy—subdividing the topics into six chapters which successively deal with the *Pramanas* of which the author admits only three, including the rest of the *Pramanas* in one or other of those three enumerated and explained by him. The source of knowledge of the ultimate truth is the *Sruti*, as both the perception and inference are liable to error and uncertainty. But adhering to *Sruti* and admitting it to be the principal source of knowledge, the author of the *Syamantaka* quotes *Puranas* to establish the idea of the form of Visnu. The *Prameyas* are five and they are—Iswara, Jiva, Prakriti Kala and Karma. Iswara or Hari is the highest personal being possessing attributes—knowledge and bliss, Hari has got a form, but this

form is of the same essence as consciousness. His form or body is therefore not material. He has infinite number of attributes and cannot be qualified by these; He is thus an undifferentiated unity. The author holds like the Madhvites, the theory of *Visesha*. By means of this *Visesha*, the attributes of Vishnu are inseparable and yet are distinguishable in thought. His consort is His Power—distinguishable as *ह्लादिनी* and *संवित् शक्ति*—and yet not different from each other. They are the same and yet not the same. From this peculiar fact, the whole philosophical theory has taken the name of *अचिन्त्य-मेदामेद-वाद*. The Highest Reality is looked upon as agent and enjoyer (*कर्त्ता* and *भोक्ता*). Purusha is therefore not, like the Sankhya idea, an inactive principle. The individual souls are regarded as *अणु*—atomic, yet they are indivisible consciousness which constitute their eternal attribute. They are the parts (*अंश*) of the Highest being. Even in Mukti, the distinction between the Jiva and Iswara will stand; they are similar in nature, not identical. Jiva, the author holds, is not different from Brahman. The non-difference cannot, he argues, be either different from, or identical with, Brahman. The world is real in the author's view. He refutes the *Adhyasa-vada* of the Advaitins. The evolutes of Prakriti are not essentially different from the latter. The collection and the units constituting it are not fundamentally different. Thus none of the evolutes are realities other than their common matrix—Prakriti. Thus also, the effects are not different from their cause of which the former are mere states. But the Prakriti being one of the powers belonging to God, it differs in this respect from the Sankhya Prakriti which is an independent reality. Our Karma can be removed by knowledge; *bhakti*, in the view of the author, is a form of knowledge.

The book has been neatly got up with different readings noted at the foot of each page. The types used are distinct and clear. Evidently the editor has spared no pains to make the book a readable, handy, little volume, beautifully bound.

K. SASTRI

Ourselves

THE LATE DR. M. N. BANERJEE, C.I.E.

In the death, on the 15th of January, 1931, at the age of 75, of Dr. M. N. Banerjee, C.I.E., B.A., M.R.C.S. (London), Principal of Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta, (from 1916 to 1922), and for two decades President of its Managing Committee, and a Fellow of the Calcutta University, who also ably served its Syndicate, Bengal has lost an educationist of great eminence and the medical profession a leading physician of this city. The establishment of a non-official first-grade Medical College in Calcutta to the infinite benefit of Bengali students was largely due to the untiring efforts and sagacity of Dr. Banerjee whose services to the cause of suffering humanity were recognised by the Government and will be gratefully remembered by his countrymen. He did excellent work also as a member of the Calcutta Medical Club and the Indian Medical Association. We record our appreciation of his worth and deep sense of sorrow at his death.

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SIR C. V. RAMAN.

In welcoming back in our midst our renowned colleague of the Science College, Calcutta University, after his return from his continental tour in connection with the award to him of the Nobel Prize, we sincerely offer the great Indian Scientist, Sir Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S., N.L., our warmest congratulations and greetings. We are legitimately proud of his glorious achievements but more so of his intimate connection with the Post-Graduate Department of Science of the Calcutta University, of

which the prestige has been considerably raised by his wonderful researches in Physics. Sir C. V. Raman has in the course of his fairly extensive Western tour visited such important centres of learning as Stockholm, Copenhagen, Munich, Strausbourg, Paris, Glasgow, and became suitably honoured by the scientists of those places. His chief object was to make a special study in up-to-date laboratories and museums of highly organized scientific investigations and researches with a view to give Indian students of science the fullest opportunity of making the best use of their time and energy consecrated to the advancement of scientific knowledge. We wish him long life, perfect health, many more years of useful work in his own sphere of activity and an ever-increasing measure of success.

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GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE.

The Griffith Memorial Prize in Arts for 1929 has been awarded to the following four candidates :—

Mr. Sukumar Sen
 ,, Niharranjan Ray
 ,, Devaprasad Ghosh
 ,, Rakheshranjan Sarma.

* * *

DATES FOR THE D. P. H. EXAMINATION.

The dates for the next D. P. H. Examination in Parts I and II have been fixed as follows :—

Part I...4th May, 1931
 Part II...18th May, 1931.

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HONORARY DEGREES.

His Excellency the Chancellor confirms the recommendation made by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate and supported by the Senate that Honorary Degrees be conferred upon the persons named below :—

<i>Names</i>	<i>Honorary Degrees</i>
Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., M.I.E.	Doctor of Science (Engineering).
Professor Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.	Doctor of Literature
Dr. Charles Albert Bentley, C.I.E., M.B., D.P.H., D.T.M. & H.	Doctor of Medicine

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B.COM. EXAMINATION.

Monday, the 11th May, 1931, has been fixed as the commencing date for the next B. Com. Examination.

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*India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie offers Twelve
Stipends for Indian Students for the Academic
Year of 1931-1932.*

The India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie herewith invites applications for the various stipends for Indian students at its disposal in the following German Universities for the academic year of 1931-1932 :

1. *Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen)* : One stipend in the Higher Technical School (Engineering College) of Aix-la-Chapelle in the shape of free tuition and free board.

2. *Hannover* : Two stipends in the Higher Technical School (Engineering College) of Hannover in the shape of free tuition for students of Engineering and one stipend of free tuition in the

Veterinary College of Hannover. All these Hannover stipends will further be supplemented by a small pocket allowance.

3. *Hohenheim (near Stuttgart)* : One stipend at the Agricultural College of Hohenheim consisting of free tuition.

4. *Karlsruhe* : One stipend in the Higher Technical School (Engineering College), consisting of free tuition, free lodging and free board.

5. *Munich* : Three stipends in the University of Munich, in the shape of free tuition and free lodging, one for a student of Medicine, one for a student of Music or Art and one for a student of Physics. The candidate for the stipend for Music and Art has been already chosen. Two stipends in the Higher Technical School (Engineering College) of Munich in the shape of free tuition and free lodging, one for a student of Applied Chemistry and the other for a student of Engineering.

6. *Stuttgart* : One stipend in the Higher Technical School (Engineering College) for a student of Engineering, consisting of free tuition and free lodging.

These twelve stipends are tenable provisionally for one year only, covering the two academic semesters of the German Universities, the first of which will begin from the first week of October, 1931.

Only *graduates* of recognised Indian *Universities* are eligible to these stipends. Non-graduates will be given consideration, only if they have recognised literary or scientific achievements to their credit. Every application should be accompanied by *certificates of professors* under whose direction the applicant hitherto carried his studies. A working knowledge of German is very much wished for ; and other things being equal, the applicant with a working knowledge of German will be given preference.

No application will be given any consideration unless it is guaranteed by some eminent professor or an otherwise well

known personage that the applicant is really earnest about his application and will actually come to Germany, *before the 1st of October, 1931*, if a stipend is offered to him.

All applications must reach the India Institute by the 1st of April, 1931. About the middle of April, 1931, a special committee of experts will choose the successful candidates who will be promptly informed of the decision.

All applications should be sent to the following address :

DR. FRANZ THIERFELDER,
Hon. Secretary,
India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie,
Munich Residenz, Germany.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

APRIL, 1931



THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MODERN GERMANY

The usual reports and descriptions concerning the economic condition of a country are never satisfactory to a person who wishes to take a long view of the situation in the light of comparative industrialism, and this holds good also of social institutions and cultural achievements. Accurate reports supported by charts and statistical documentation about the state of things in a particular period may of course to some extent make up for this deficiency. Yet the judgment and estimation of economic and cultural achievements can be irreproachable only when the various different hindrances and urging forces, both political and economic, geopolitical advantages and complications of the particular country, social and cultural peculiarities of the people as well as the multifarious external and internal conditions under which a nation lives or is compelled to live, are thoroughly investigated. Thus, for instance, a usual paper on the foreign trade of India during the last few years, as we generally find it in Europe, would hardly give anything more than a mere reproduction of the naked figures supplied by the customs offices in British India. The various driving forces which are shaping the structure and development of India's foreign trade, the influence of a nation like the English—fewer in number but superior in political experience.

—on the economic actualities of a people numbering hundreds of millions, politically influenced by the governing minority but endowed with high aspirations and burning with sensitive selfconsciousness, the multifarious mutual influences between the ruling power and the economic condition of a nation which is quite heterogeneous in race, creed and character, will be ignored in the works on Indian foreign trade known in Europe, although these considerations are of the highest importance for the economic development of India.

In the same way, in a treatment of the present economic situation of Germany during the last few years it is necessary to take into consideration also the multifarious political, social and cultural conditions which have been thrust upon the German nation—a nation which is placed in the middle of Europe and represents a population of 60 millions. The partly agrarian and partly industrial adult population of pre-war Germany was happily balanced by a far-sighted commercial and foreign policy and the increasing purchasing capacity of the people, the gradual extension of her oversea trade relations and by the advance achieved in the field of technical sciences, closely connected with the economic development of the people. On the basis of these economic conditions it was possible to develop a high standard of culture and civilization which brought with it the economic welfare of the people and progress in the technical sciences, not only in Germany but in the whole world, and Germany herself rose in the esteem of other nations. But now the days are changed. The economic condition of Germany of the present day is solely and wholly determined by the effects of the Great War, or, more accurately, by the Versailles treaty which has been imposed on a nation which fought in self-defence for four years against a world of enemies and at last fell a prey to their superior force. In east, west and north, long strips of land, indispensable for Germany's economic prosperity, were torn away from her. Tributes in enormous amounts were imposed. The whole merchant marine

of Germany had to be handed over and the German colonies in Africa, Asia and Australia were lost to the fatherland. Innumerable German patents of immense value had to be given away to the creditor nations and all this came after every German investment in the enemy countries was liquidated during the war and all German capital laid out in foreign lands confiscated. The effect of all these drastic measures was gruesome: German currency gradually evaporated into the mist of inflation, and this after the French took possession of the most important region of the country for German industry—the Rhine-Ruhr region—several years after the peace, however strange it may sound. The whole political and social structure of Germany had to be built up again in the shape of a republican state which was the result of the revolution in Germany after the end of the war.

But it is impossible to understand the present-day Germany without taking into consideration the far-reaching changes which have taken place in the neighbouring lands as the result of the Great War. New independent states, such as Tschecho-Slovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia were called into being. Russia fell into the spell of Bolshevism and was thus to a large extent isolated from the economic system of the world and at the same time deprived Germany of an important market for her industrial products. Austria-Hungary was dissolved into its component parts. The newly founded states mentioned above brought with them new tariff walls to some extent quite unsurmountable and thus raised still more difficulties in the path of that fraction of Germany's industrial possibilities which were still open to her.

If now in spite of all these revolutions, limitations and burdens imposed upon the German people, it has again succeeded in coming up to the surface in cultural as well as economic conditions of life after a protracted period of reconstruction extending over twelve years, we should not forget that the unhappy Versailles treaty in combination with the economic

crisis, which is now hanging over the whole world, has led to such a situation that it must now be seriously asked if after all the superhuman exertion on the part of a people beholden to pay enormous amounts in the shape of tribute for two generations will not be in vain unless Germany again gets back her internal and external independence. It is absolutely impossible to avoid continuous disturbances of the peace and prosperity of the world, so long as a people of 60 millions placed in the heart of Europe continues to groan under economic and political oppression.¹

J. HERLE

¹ The Editor thanks Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh, now resident at Munich, for English translations of these articles on Germany.

THE FUTURE OF INDIAN FINANCE*

A sound financial system is the true basis of a sound system of administration. It is also universally recognised that proper attention to the principles of public finance conduces to the happiness and prosperity of a people. I have, therefore, chosen the Future of Indian Finance as the subject of my address at this Conference. This subject is one of special importance at the present moment in view of the momentous changes which are likely to take place in the Indian constitution in the immediate future.

The system of public finance was extremely ill-balanced—both on the expenditure and the revenue side—in the days of the East India Company. Military expenditure dominated the financial policy of the Company throughout the period of its rule. If we compare the military and marine charges of the country in the last normal year of the Company's rule with those in the year of acquisition of the *Diwani*, we find that the increase was more than eight-fold. These charges amounted to no less than forty per cent. of the total net revenue of the country in 1856-57. The expenses of the army were so large because they were incurred for the purpose not so much of defence as of aggression. As a matter of fact, all the wars of the Company, by which territories were acquired in India as

* Presidential Address delivered by Dr. P. N. Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., at the Indian Economic Conference held at Lahore on the 2nd January, 1931.

well as in some of the neighbouring countries, were financed out of Indian revenues.

The expenses of civil administration also grew by leaps and bounds with the lapse of years. This was due, in the main, to the substitution of the European for the Indian element in the public services. During the first few years of the Company's rule, the work of administration was conducted chiefly by means of Indian agency. Gradually, however, Indian officers were replaced by Europeans. The policy of Europeanisation was carried out with the utmost vigour until, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, none but the lowest offices were held by Indians. The cost of giving effect to this policy was, however, enormous, and the employment of Indians was urged by experienced administrators on financial grounds. When Lord William Bentinck was faced with the problem of uniting "economy and despatch with efficiency and integrity," the solution was found in a somewhat larger employment of Indians. The Charter Act of 1833 provided that no Indian was, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, to be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company. But, although a larger proportion of Indians was admitted to the subordinate services, the provision of the Act remained a dead letter so far as the higher offices were concerned.

Another large item of expenditure in these days consisted of the Home Charges. In the earlier years of the Company's rule, a considerable portion of India's wealth was every year transferred to England by way of investment. Such investments ceased in 1814; but, meanwhile, other expenses had come into existence. The Home Charges were comparatively small in the beginning, but with the progressive Europeanisation of all the public services in India, the gradual increase in the number of European troops sent to this country, and the frequent additions to the debt held in

England, these charges tended continually to grow. In the last year of the Company's rule, the Home Charges were over 6 millions sterling. The harmful consequences to India of this annual transfer of her resources did not fail to attract the attention of eminent British administrators. Sir Charles Trevelyan wrote : "£5,000,000 sterling a year is subtracted from the wealth of India and added to the wealth of England, which is the most serious injury which India suffers from its connexion with England." In view of this injury, some eminent Englishmen suggested that a portion of the burden of Home Charges should be borne by Britain. But nothing of the sort was done. Sir George Wingate observed in 1859 with a feeling of regret that Britain's fair share, represented by the degree in which British interests had decided Indian policy, had not been paid, and urged a more equitable adjustment in future of India's financial relations with England.

On the other hand, the expenditure incurred by the Company for important purposes like education and sanitation was exceedingly small. During the first half of its period of rule, the Company was too much preoccupied with other things to be able to devote any attention to the question of instruction of the people. In 1793, when the renewal of the Company's Charter was under consideration, Wilberforce proposed to add two clauses to the Bill to provide for the education of Indians. But the Court of Proprietors opposed such addition on the ground that, if education was imparted to the people, India would be lost. The clauses were, therefore, withdrawn. It was not till 1813 that Parliament directed that a small sum should be set apart, out of the revenues of India, for the promotion of learning. By gradual steps some provision, though very inadequate, was made for the higher education of a limited number of persons. But little was done to provide primary education to the bulk of the people. Towards the close of the Company's rule, the total educational expenditure of the Government fell considerably short of 1 per cent. of the net revenue of the country.

Sanitation and medical relief received very little attention at the hands of the Company, the total amount spent in 1857-58 being only 21 lakhs of rupees.

On the revenue side, we find that land revenue was the mainstay of Government finance. Towards the close of the Company's administration, nearly two-thirds of the State income in India was obtained from the land. The assessments were, in general, excessive, and the revenue demand pressed very heavily upon the people. Next to land revenue, the most important source of income of the Government during the greater part of the Company's rule was the salt tax. Levied as it was on one of the first necessities of life, it was felt as a cruel and oppressive burden by the poor. Another source of State income was the opium monopoly which, originally adopted as a resource for persons in office, ultimately occupied the second place in the revenue system of the country. *Abkari*, or the excise on alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs, was another tainted resource of the Company. Besides the main heads of revenue, various imposts of a comparatively unimportant character were levied in different parts of the country. These taxes were of a vexatious and oppressive nature, and many of them were ultimately abolished. Though this was a move in the right direction, it can hardly be denied that the tax-system of the East India Company was extremely partial in incidence. While the poor cultivator and the struggling artisan were burdened with heavy taxes, the rich foreign merchant and the well-to-do Indian money-lender contributed little to the resources of the State.

This lack of balance in the financial system continued under the direct administration of the Crown. Military expenditure increased largely during the Mutiny. Though attempts were subsequently made on several occasions to reduce this expenditure, the general tendency was in the upward direction, until in 1920-21, the last year of the old regime, the net military charges stood at Rs. 75·77 crores. This however, was an abnormal year, as there were hostilities with Afghanistan and

operations on the frontier. It should also be noted that a large part of the increased expenditure was the direct outcome of the European War of 1914-18, being attributable to various causes, such as a general rise in prices, the enhanced rates of pay granted to all ranks, improvements in the standard of comfort of the troops, additions to and improvements in equipment, and a large increase in non-effective charges.

During this period of a little over half a century, the police charges grew at a rapid pace, and in 1920-21 they amounted to nearly Rs. 12 crores. The increase would probably have been justified if, as the result of it, the police had become better equipped to render service to the community. But this was not the case, the reason being that the police force was maintained not so much for affording security to the people as for lending support to British rule in India. The expenses of general administration showed a gradual rise during this period, while the Home Charges rose to an enormous amount. The growth of State expenditure on education, on the other hand, was slow and wholly incommensurate with the needs of the situation. Year after year, decade after decade, Indian publicists urged that the question of popular education should be taken up in right earnest, but little heed was paid to their appeals. When, in 1911, G. K. Gokhale brought forward his Primary Education Bill, it was opposed by the Government on the ground of paucity of funds. In 1920-21, the total State expenditure in India on education was 7·21 crores. The subject of sanitation received very niggardly treatment, the total expenditure under this head in a country where the average death-rate was nearly 31 per thousand, and in some places as high as 60 per thousand, was only a little over a crore of rupees. The net expenses incurred for giving medical relief to 247 millions of persons amounted to only $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees.

Agriculture gives employment to nearly three-fourths of the entire population of the country, and its improvement ought to be one of the primary duties of the State in India, while co-opera-

tive credit is the chief means of rescuing the agriculturist from the clutches of the rapacious money-lender. But the total amount which the Government was able to spare for these two objects was considerably less than a crore and a half rupees. Although industrial development was one of the principal needs of the country, practically nothing was spent on the subject. The only item of social service expenditure was the provision of a crore and a half rupees for famine relief and insurance. No moneys were provided for affording relief to the poor or aged persons or for mitigating the distress of the unemployed. But what would strike an impartial observer as strange was that a Government, which was unable to meet its essential obligations, did not hesitate to take in hand a costly scheme like the building of New Delhi—a scheme which nobody in India had wanted and which was not intended to benefit any section of the community. This failure of the Government to grapple properly with the financial problem can be traced only to their lack of touch with the sentiments and desires of the people and a callous disregard of their vital interests.

Coming to the revenue aspect of the financial system we find that, for a long time, little advance was made towards an equitable system of taxation. The bulk of the burden of taxation fell upon the poorer classes, while the richer people contributed much less than their proper share to the expenses of public administration. The stress of the European War, however, made a great change in the situation. The development of taxes on income and the imposition of heavy import duties on luxuries helped in some measure to make the balance more even as between the different classes of the community.

Some feeble attempts have been made since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to remove a few of the more glaring defects of the financial system. The Reforms were accompanied by a separation of provincial from central finance. At the centre military expenditure has now been reduced to Rs. 55·1 crores a year. Full effect has not, however, been yet given to

the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23. But, on the other hand, the General Administration charges have grown enormously both at the centre and in the provinces, the total amounting in 1928-29 to 13·37 crores. A portion of this increase may be accounted for by the additional expense necessitated by the expansion of the legislatures and the appointment of ministers and their staffs. But a very large part of the increase has been due to enhancements in the salaries of the members of the higher services granted on the recommendation of the Lee Commission. The charges of collection which include a part of the expenses of civil administration have also considerably increased. Further, the effect of the decisions taken on the Lee Commission Report has been felt in an augmentation of the Home Charges. There has been a huge capital outlay on New Delhi. The deficits in the central budgets have added considerably to the unproductive debt of the country, while the blundering currency policy of the Government has caused enormous losses to the Indian Exchequer and led to a depletion of the reserves.

In the provinces the picture seems at first sight to be less gloomy. Taking into account the figures for the year 1928-29, the last year for which complete statistics are available, we find that the total provincial expenditure on Education has amounted to nearly Rs. 12 crores, while the Medical and Public Health charges have amounted to about Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores and Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores respectively. Slight increases have also occurred in the expenditure shown under the heads 'Agriculture' and 'Industries.' But these improvements have fallen far short of the requirements of the country. It should also be noted that progress in the nation-building departments has not been at a uniform pace in all the provinces, and that in some of the provinces there has been practically no progress at all. For instance, we find that the expenditure on education increased between the years 1920-21 and 1928-29 by the following amounts: Madras, Rs. 128 lakhs; Punjab, Rs. 87 lakhs; Burma, Rs. 79

lakhs; United Provinces, Rs. 78 lakhs; Bombay, Rs. 56 lakhs; Bengal, Rs. 35 lakhs; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 33 lakhs; Central Provinces and Berar, Rs. 15 lakhs; Assam, Rs. 11 lakhs. The total expenditure in the transferred departments charged to the revenue account in each of the Governors' Provinces in the same year was as follows: Madras, Rs. 6·51 crores; Punjab, Rs. 5·74 crores; Burma, Rs. 5·52 crores; Bombay, Rs. 5·30 crores; United Provinces, Rs. 3·87 crores; Bengal, Rs. 3·80 crores; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 2·31 crores; Assam, Rs. 85 lakhs; Central Provinces, Rs. 40 lakhs.

These differences have been due to the fact that the distribution of resources which accompanied the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was unequal and inequitable. The great mistake committed by the authors of the financial settlement was that, in the matter of allocation of funds, they did not proceed upon any definite basis. They said that they had in view the actual expenditures of the different provinces. This was not a safe or just criterion; but even this criterion was considered in a shape which was open to serious objection. Normal scales of expenditure were calculated with reference to an abnormal year, and the future expenditures needed to give effect to the most essential requirements of the different provinces were not estimated at all. But even this insufficient and unsafe criterion of expenditure was not adhered to; for had this been done, the disproportions in the allocated revenues of the different provinces would not have been so great as they actually turned out to be. Another mistake was that a uniform treatment was sought to be accorded to the provinces by allotting to all of them the same heads of revenue. But it was forgotten for the moment that the yield of each of these resources varied from province to province. Thus the attempt to secure artificial symmetry diverted the attention of the authorities from the real problem, namely, the need for securing substantial equality.

The expedient of levying provincial contributions tended

for the moment to hide in some degree the real disparities in the financial positions of the different provinces. But the inequalities in the distribution of resources appeared in their true complexion after the abolition of the contributions. In the budget estimates for 1929-30, the revenues of the different provinces were shown as follows : Madras, Rs. 18·07 crores ; Bombay, Rs. 14·41 crores; United Provinces, Rs. 13·07 crores ; Punjab, Rs. 12·54 crores; Bengal, Rs. 11·11 crores; Burma, Rs. 10·59 crores; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 6·19 crores ; Central Provinces, Rs. 5·55 crores; Assam, Rs. 2·79 crores. The disproportions appear even more striking when we consider the revenue per head of the population. It is no wonder, therefore, that the expenditure per head of the population was as follows : Burma, Rs. 8·6; Bombay, Rs. 8·3; Madras, Rs. 4·2; Punjab, Rs. 5·5; Assam, Rs. 3·9; Central Provinces, Rs. 3·8; United Provinces, Rs. 2·7; Bengal, Rs. 2·5; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 1·8. Comment is hardly needed to show how unjust and arbitrary is the present system of provincial finance in India.

But the unequal distribution of resources as between the provinces is not the only defect of the financial settlement with which the name of Lord Meston is associated. The failure to give adequate attention to the elasticities of the various sources of revenue has led to very unsatisfactory results. While the more elastic resources have been left in the hands of the Central Government, the comparatively unexpanding sources of income have been made over to the provinces. There is another objectionable feature in this system of allocation. The fact that central and provincial taxation affects different classes of the population tends not only to create a separation between the interests of the Government of India and the provinces, but also to hinder the industrial progress of the country. These defects can be traced in part to a failure to appreciate the respective needs of the Central Government and the Provincial governments and in part to an insistence

on the principle of a financial clean-cut. In regard to the former, it seems strange that it did not strike the authors of the settlement that the classification of administrative subjects made under the Devolution Rules was such that the needs of the Central Government might be expected to decrease, while ever-increasing resources would be required for maintaining and developing the provincial subjects. As for the principle of a financial clean-cut, whatever might be its theoretical merit, the assumption of its absolute necessity in a scheme of federal finance was not founded on the experience of other countries. Possibly, there was a confusion in the minds of the framers of the scheme in regard to two distinct ideas, namely, separation of resources and separation of heads of revenue. While the former is essential in a scheme of provincial autonomy, the latter is not.

Time has now come when the anomalies and inconsistencies of the existing system should disappear and the finances of the entire country placed on a sound and satisfactory footing. The most essential need of the moment is the provision of adequate funds for the nation-building services. For this purpose, a readjustment of financial relations will be necessary, and such readjustment will involve a re-allocation of the financial resources of the country between the Central and Provincial Governments. A proper solution of the first problem will require a careful consideration of the relative needs of the Government of India and of the Provincial Administrations. The most important functions to be entrusted to the Central Government under the coming reforms will probably be : Defence, legislation of an all-India character, maintenance of the main arteries of communication, management of coinage, currency and public debt, and co-ordination of many of the activities under the control of the Provincial Governments. These functions are not likely to entail ever-increasing expenditure. On the contrary, considerable retrenchment is possible in some of the departments. The needs of the provinces, however, are almost unlimited.

The introduction of compulsory primary education ought not to be delayed any longer. Some parts of the country are notoriously unhealthy, and preventive as well as remedial measures are urgently needed to protect the people from the ravages of various kinds of disease. Agriculture is the mainstay of the people of the country; but the methods of cultivation are antiquated, and as a consequence population is pressing heavily upon the soil. The development of manufacturing industries is one of the crying needs of the country. All these subjects require the assistance of the Government. It is also time that the Government took in hand questions of social reform like old age pensions, relief of poverty, and unemployment insurance.

Thus it is clear that, if the Provincial Governments are to fulfil their obligations properly, they will have to be placed in command of resources which will not only be substantial in the beginning but expansive in future. Sir Walter Layton estimates that the provinces will require an augmentation of their resources by 40 to 50 crores in the course of the next ten years. This estimate does not err on the side of extravagance. Funds may be available in two ways ; first, by re-allocating existing resources, and secondly, by imposing fresh taxes. For the purpose of a re-allocation we must consider whether retrenchment is possible and desirable in any of the departments under the control of the Central Government. In this connexion military expenditure claims our attention first. The net charges under the head ' Defence ' absorb nearly two-thirds of the net revenue of the Central Government and about one-third of the total revenue of the country. This is too heavy a burden for the country to be able to bear. It should be borne in mind that there is hardly any country in the world which spends so large a proportion of its income on its army as India does. There is also another fact which is worth noting. Defence expenditure has increased in a higher proportion in India than in other parts of the British Empire.

As Mr. Jacobson points out, the defence expenditure of India has increased since 1913, the pre-war year, by 100 per cent., while that of Great Britain has increased by 48·9 per cent. ; and that of the Dominions by 33 per cent. The Indian Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23 suggested the reduction of the military budget to a figure not exceeding Rs. 50 crores. Even this sum was regarded by the Committee as more than what the tax-payer in India should be called upon to pay, and they thought that it would be desirable to keep "a strict eye on military expenditure with a view to its further reduction."

In most countries, the strength of the army is determined by the consideration of its adequacy for the purpose of defence. But in India the situation is different. The Army in India is not a national army. Its very name implies that it is, to a large extent at least, an army of occupation. This fact has been admitted by many British statesmen and administrators in the past. It is also proved by the ratio in which the British portion of the army is maintained relatively to the Indian. On the eve of the Sepoy Mutiny the proportionate strength of the British force was small; but it was increased after the Mutiny, the object being to prevent any further attempt on the part of the people to overthrow British rule. India has so far been compelled to bear the cost of being held in subjection, but now that the country is on the road to freedom, the much-needed relief should no longer be withheld. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to urge that the strength of the British force be reduced by one-half. In case, however, it be thought undesirable to bring about the change too suddenly, an arrangement might be made under which there would be an immediate reduction of 10,000 British officers and soldiers and further reductions would take place at the rate of 2,000 men a year during the next ten years. It may be argued that such reduction in the strength of the British force will imperil the safety of the country, but past experience shows that there is no ground for such apprehension. At the commencement of the European War, of the British

establishment in India, 7 regiments of British cavalry out of 9, 44 British battalions of infantry out of 52, and 43 batteries of Royal Artillery out of 56 were sent overseas. In return for these troops, India received many months after the despatch some Territorials who were unfit for immediate employment. For the space of some weeks, before the arrival of the Territorials, the British garrison in India consisted only of about 15,000 men. If such reduction was possible in the war crisis, there is no reason why a smaller reduction cannot be regarded as possible at a time when the prospects of world peace are bright.

Another reason why the British force in India has been kept in its present strength is that a large portion of it is required, to use the words of the Government of India, "to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East." Expenditure of this sort is evidently a British interest, and many eminent British statesmen have urged in the past that the cost of the Imperial reserve should be defrayed out of the British Exchequer. A Minority of the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure considered it fair that the revenues of India should be relieved of the entire charges of 20,000 British soldiers and that "they should be treated as part of the reserve forces of the Eastern portion of the British Empire generally, and borne in future upon the Army Estimates in that capacity." Twenty years later, it was observed in *India's Contribution to the Great War*, a book published by authority of the Government of India: "It is because India has for many years past maintained a large army, that she was able, at a critical moment, to despatch a large and fully equipped force to the Western front to help in stemming the tide of invasion of the territory of our allies. The army in India proved itself once more to be a great Imperial asset." Equity demands that the suggestion of the Minority of the Welby Commission be now carried into effect, and a suitable contribution made by Britain to India on this account. Some further savings may be obtained as a consequence of the Indianisation of the officers' ranks in the Indian portion of

the army. The administrative charges in the military department have increased enormously in recent years, and if a policy of economy is now observed, a considerable sum of money may be saved every year on this account. If the suggestions made here are accepted, a substantial retrenchment will result in military expenditure. Military finance is very largely a question of policy, and if the best interests of the people are kept in view, it will not be impossible to adjust it in such a way as to secure an immediate saving of 10 crores of rupees and further savings amounting in the aggregate to another 10 crores in the course of the next ten years.

Some retrenchment may also be possible under each of the four heads, namely, Direct Demands on the Revenues, Civil Administration, Civil Works, and Miscellaneous. The charges of collection are at present very high, and may easily be reduced to an appreciable extent. The Civil Administration charges are so enormous because the salaries of members of the higher services have been fixed on an extravagant scale. As a considerable fall in prices has now occurred, the salary scales should be revised. If it be found impossible to reduce the salaries of European officers owing to political reasons, there is no reason why a reduction should not be effected in the salaries of Indian public servants. If a lower standard of emoluments is fixed for Indians, the number of posts held by Europeans will steadily diminish, and as Indianisation will proceed at an accelerated speed, greater and still greater economies will arise. Retrenchment under this head will also help automatically to reduce the pension and superannuation charges shown under the head 'Miscellaneous.' A great deal of waste now takes place in the Civil Works Department of the Government, and a strict method of control is sure to result in considerable savings. On the other hand, it is not improbable that the Central Government will under the new constitution assume extended functions. In such circumstances, larger funds will be needed by the

Government of India. If a saving of two crores of rupees is obtained by means of retrenchment on the civil side of the budget in the course of the next ten years, one-half of the amount may be set apart for meeting the additional cost involved in the performance of the new duties, the other half being made available to the provinces.

A substantial reduction may be expected in the expenditure under the head 'Debt Services.' The policy of debt redemption which is now being steadily pursued by the Government of India will tend gradually to reduce the interest charges in future. But a substantial reduction may ensue immediately if Britain agrees to take over that portion of the debt which was incurred for Imperial purposes. The Afghan and Burmese Wars, for instance, were waged not in the interests of India but in those of the Empire. The charges were, however, thrown upon India, imposing upon her a public debt which she would not otherwise have incurred. If this wrong be righted now, the relief will be keenly appreciated.

In addition to the sums obtained from retrenchment, a considerable surplus is likely to accrue to the central budget from the normal expansion of its revenues. A portion of this sum may be retained by the Government of India for its own purposes, and the remainder made available for provincial objects. If the proposals made in the course of this address are accepted, the Central Government will be in a position to give up to the provinces resources to the extent of 10 to 12 crores of rupees immediately, and this amount will rise to no less than 20 to 25 crores of rupees in the course of the next decade. The transfer should be made not by means of grants, but by a re-allocation of existing revenues. The suggestions made by Sir Walter Layton in this connexion deserve to be carefully considered. His first proposal is that the provinces should make over commercial stamps to the Government of India and that the latter should reduce the import duty on foreign liquor to the standard luxury rate of 30 per cent., allowing the

Provincial Governments to impose excise duties on such liquor to the extent of the amount of duty reduced. This proposal is a retrograde one. Commercial stamps are a fairly expanding source of revenue, as the yield tends to grow with the extension of trade and commerce. On the other hand, the consumption of liquor is likely to diminish in future, and naturally the yield from this source will tend steadily to decrease. The reason assigned for the suggestion is that conflicts of interest between the Central and Provincial Governments should be avoided. But this object can be attained by the provinces making over to the Government of India the excise duty now levied on locally-manufactured foreign liquor in exchange for the transfer to the Provincial Governments of some source of central revenue of the same amount. An argument in favour of Sir Walter Layton's proposal is that the revenue should as far as possible be assigned to the authority which controls the rates of duty. There is a great deal of force in this argument. But the objection can be met by adopting an arrangement under which legislation relating to commercial stamps should remain central, subject to the provision that no alterations in the rates should take place unless decided at a conference of the financial representatives of the different provinces. The proposal of Sir Walter Layton, if accepted, will weaken the financial positions of the provinces. The exchange of duties on commercial stamps for a portion of the tax on alcoholic liquors should not, therefore, be insisted upon.

Sir Walter Layton's second proposal is that one-half of the proceeds of the income-tax on personal incomes should be made over to the provinces. Evidently, he does not attach any value to the objections which have so far been urged against income-tax being made a provincial source of revenue. Nor does he regard a system of divided heads as an evil to be shunned at all costs. But looked at from the point of view of the financial needs of the provinces, Sir Walter's proposal does not go far enough, for the share of taxes on income which he proposes to make over

to the provinces is considerably smaller than the share he wishes to retain in the hands of the Central Government. He admits that, theoretically, there is no reason why the provinces should not also be given a portion of the super-tax ; but he does not include it in his scheme because he is afraid that the Government of India cannot at present make the financial sacrifice which it would involve. There would, however, be no ground for such apprehension if the retrenchment suggested in this address is carried out in the Government of India's expenditure. That a cruel injustice has been done to the provinces in depriving them of their legitimate resources will be clear from a glance at the income-tax returns. The total revenues obtained by the Central Government from the different provinces in the shape of taxes on income during the eight years 1921-22 to 1928-29 were : Bengal, Rs. 43·14 crores; Bombay, Rs. 37·58 crores; Burma, Rs. 13·75 crores; Madras, Rs. 11 crores; United Provinces, Rs. 6·89 crores; Punjab, Rs. 5·10 crores; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 3·95 crores; Central Provinces and Berar, Rs. 3·46 crores; Assam, Rs. 1·13 crores. The total amounts received by the different Provinces during the same period under Devolution Rule 15 were : Bengal, Rs. 95 thousands ; Bombay, Rs. 17·32 lakhs; Burma, Rs. 37·50 lakhs; Madras, Rs. 36·70 lakhs; United Provinces, Rs. 3·56 lakhs; Punjab, Rs. 27·82 lakhs; Bihar and Orissa, Rs. 22·13 lakhs; Central Provinces, Rs. 16·59 lakhs; Assam, Rs. 33·33 lakhs. Thus out of the total sum of nearly Rs. 140 crores collected by means of the income- and super-taxes the Provincial Governments were benefited to the extent only of Rs. $5\frac{1}{3}$ crores, while the whole of the remainder went to the Central Government.

The wrong thus inflicted will have to be righted now, and in order to do so, a large proportion of the total proceeds of the taxes on income should be made over to the provinces. It may be mentioned in this connexion that in every federation taxes on income form an important source of revenue for the component States. If the provincial share is fixed

at one-half of the proceeds of the ordinary income-tax on personal incomes, as is suggested by Sir Walter Layton, the provinces will receive only about 4 crores of rupees a year. This will not meet the demands of the situation. Therefore, one-half of the total proceeds of both the income-tax and the super-tax should be surrendered to the provinces, the distribution being made on the principle of origin. This may give rise to some practical difficulties, but there is no reason to assume that such difficulties will be insuperable. In case, however, it should be decided to adopt the principle of domicile, one-half of the proceeds of the super-tax derived from personal incomes, as well as those derived from the income-tax, should be made over to the provinces. There is another matter which should be taken into consideration. Allocation on the basis of domicile has certain undoubted advantages, but it is not wholly satisfactory from the point of view of equity. Origin offers a more equitable basis, and however great the practical difficulties may be, this principle should not be ignored altogether. The Taxation Enquiry Committee suggest that partial recognition be accorded to the principle of origin by giving a small share of the corporation profits tax to the provinces. This recommendation is of a very halting character, and in order to do justice to the provinces, the whole of the proceeds of this tax should be surrendered to them. This will benefit all the provinces, particularly a poor province like Bihar and Orissa. In calculating the shares of the different provinces in the proceeds of this tax, regard must be had not merely to the location of the headquarters of business enterprises but also to the site of actual operations. It may not be possible to attain absolute accuracy in the matter of distribution, but it will not be difficult to form estimates which will be approximately correct.

Sir Walter Layton's third proposal is that the proceeds of the salt duty should be transferred to the provinces by gradual steps. I do not know whether a feeling of generosity or a sense

of expediency has prompted this proposal. But what is to be apprehended is that it would be difficult to retain the salt-tax at all. And even if this be possible, it is certain that the rate of duty will have to be reduced, and probably the manufacture of salt in the coastal tracts for individual consumption will have to be exempted from taxation. Thus the maximum revenue which may be expected from this source is not likely to exceed one-half of its present yield.

The transfer of the revenues mentioned above to the provinces will not give them resources which can be regarded as sufficient to enable them to start on their new career in a spirit of security and optimism. Sir Walter Layton, therefore, suggests the imposition of fresh taxation. This, however, will be a dangerous step, for nothing is so likely to jeopardise the chances of success of the new constitution as the levy of additional taxes at the very outset. It is true that fresh resources will have ultimately to be found if the Provincial Governments are to fulfil their obligations properly. But the new ministers in the provinces must be given time to win the confidence of their legislatures and constituencies before they are compelled to place further financial burdens on the people. The legislatures and the constituencies must also be made to feel that the existing resources are being applied in a proper and well-balanced manner. When the ministers will be in a position to convince the people that all avoidable expenditure has been retrenched and to assure them that the proceeds of new taxes will be spent for their benefit, their reluctance to bear further burdens will be overcome. A period of at least five years must elapse before the atmosphere will be favourable for the levy of fresh taxation. Meantime, the Provincial Governments will have to be supplied with adequate resources, which can only be obtained from retrenchments in the central budget.

It will thus be necessary for the Government of India to part with some more resources than have been suggested by Sir Walter Layton. In this connexion, export duties deserve our

consideration first. These duties stand on a footing somewhat different from import duties, for, in this case, the question of inter-provincial barriers does not arise and it is not altogether impossible to trace the origin. Export duties are now levied on only three articles, but it is not impossible that they will be levied in future on a few others. The proceeds of the duty on jute are obtained almost entirely from Bengal, and this province has always demanded that the net collection at the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong be made over to it. Two objections are generally urged against such a proposal. The first is that the burden of the duty does not fall on the people of the province. But, as the Taxation Enquiry Committee point out, "there exists a possibility that, in certain conditions of trade, a portion of the export duty may fall on the producer." Even if it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the whole of the duty falls on the foreign consumer, the claim of the people of the province to the productivity of a valuable article cannot be lightly brushed aside. The second objection relates to administrative convenience. This can be met by providing that the tax should continue to be administered by the Government of India, but that one-half of the proceeds may be made over to the province. As a financial clean-cut will be found impossible to maintain in the coming re-adjustments, there ought to be no objection to a division of the proceeds. But should any objection be raised to such division, an arrangement might be made under which the export duty would be reduced to one-half of its present amount, the Provincial Government being allowed to levy an excise duty of such an amount as would yield about half the proceeds of the existing tax. A possible objection to such an arrangement might be that it would be undesirable for the Imperial Government as well as the Provincial Government to be both interested in an export duty, since such interest might render it "doubly difficult for the trade concerned to secure amelioration when it is due." This objection does not seem to be a very serious one, for there is no reason to think that the

Provincial Government will be less watchful of the effects of the tax than the Central Government. On the contrary, the circumstance that the Central Government is interested only in the proceeds of the tax and not in the welfare of jute-growers exposes it to the temptation of levying, in times of financial difficulty, unduly high rates of duty which may threaten the very existence of the industry. If the province be given an interest in the jute tax, the risk would be minimised, for the Provincial Government would be sure to raise its voice of protest against the action of the Central Government in the interest of its own revenues, if for no other consideration.

It is worthy of note in this connexion that the jute tax has an intimate relation to agriculture as well as to industry, and as provincial subjects both of them engage the attention of the Government of Bengal, not of the Government of India. A recent incident has helped to make the position more clear. In view of the acute distress of the jute-growers, the Acting Finance Member of the Government of India was, a short while ago, approached with an appeal for financial assistance, but he gave the reply that it was not the concern of the Central Government. So it comes to this that, while the benefit of the growth of jute goes to the Government of India, the duty of assisting the development of the article and of giving relief to the people concerned in it in times of difficulty devolves on the Government of Bengal. This is surely an unnatural position. It should also be remembered that the production of jute affects the sanitation of the province, and the expenditure needed to overcome its evil effects has to be met out of provincial funds. Equity demands, therefore, that a substantial portion of the proceeds of this tax should belong to the province.

The proceeds of the export duty on rice are derived mainly from Burma and in smaller amounts from Madras, Bengal and Bombay. As in the case of jute, its origin can be traced with a considerable degree of accuracy. The proceeds of this duty should be divided equally between the centre and the provinces,

The revenue derived from the duty on hides and skins is not large. If duties on oilseeds are levied in future, which seems not unlikely, one-half of the proceeds should be distributed to the provinces of origin. The total net receipts from export duties may be expected to amount to about 5 crores. If one-half of this sum be transferred to the provinces, they will gain about $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores. The administration of export duties will, of course, continue in the hands of the Central Government. The proceeds of import duties will belong entirely to the Central Government at the commencement of the new system. But, as Sir Walter Layton suggests, when a further surplus accrues to the central budget, a definite and increasing proportion of customs revenue should be available to the provinces.

While the resources thus transferred from the centre will help to give the provinces a good start on their new career, these will not be sufficient for purposes of adequate development. Fresh resources will before long be needed to supplement the proceeds of original sources of revenue. Although the responsibility for the levy of new taxation will rest with the popular ministers, a discussion of the legitimate forms of such taxation will perhaps be found useful. Direct taxes are, from the point of view of pure theory, more equitable than indirect taxes. But in the existing circumstances of the country it will be an exceedingly difficult task to raise a substantial revenue by means of direct taxation alone. Therefore, a judicious combination of direct and indirect taxes will have to be made in any scheme of further taxation.

The most eligible of all fresh taxes will be the extension of the income-tax to agricultural incomes. The existing exemption of agricultural incomes has a history behind it. When an income-tax was levied for the first time in India in the year 1860, agricultural incomes were included. Agricultural incomes again formed part of the incomes assessed to the taxes levied during the years 1869 to 1873. During the years 1877-79, it was found necessary to impose additional

taxation in order to provide funds for the prevention and relief of famine. Two different categories of taxation were levied on this occasion, namely, cesses on land and licence taxes on trades and professions. When, in 1886, the Government of India was faced with a difficult financial situation, the licence taxes were transformed into an income-tax. Thus, as this income-tax was based on the licence-taxes which did not fall on the landed classes, these classes were exempted from the operation of the Income-tax Act of 1883. Agricultural incomes had already been subjected to additional cesses, and the real object which the framers of the Act had in view in exempting such incomes was to make the burden equal on the different classes of the population. These cesses, subsequently, were either removed or made over to local bodies. On grounds of equity, therefore, the exemption cannot any longer be defended. Besides, those persons who derive substantial incomes from the land are mere intermediaries, and they are able to bear the burden of this tax. The yield of this tax is estimated at 5 crores. The whole of the revenue should belong to the provinces.

Death duties are an eminently desirable form of taxation. They have become an important feature of the tax-systems of most of the advanced countries of the world. Although there are practical difficulties in India in the way of imposition of these taxes, such difficulties need not be regarded as insuperable. If necessary, the administration of these duties may be made central, but the proceeds should be made over to the provinces according to origin. The yield of these duties is likely to vary from year to year, and it is not possible to estimate such yield with any degree of accuracy. But there is no doubt that, even if the tax is levied at moderate rates, its proceeds will be substantial. An average amount of Rs. 5 crores a year may be assumed as a hypothetical figure of the yield of death duties.

An excise duty on matches would be a productive source of revenue. But Sir Walter Layton's suggestion that the rate

of the excise duty should be the same as the rate of the present import duty cannot be supported. A high rate of duty may imperil the very existence of the match factories. A cautious policy would, therefore, have to be adopted in the matter. If the excise duty is fixed at half the rate of the import duty, an annual sum of about a crore and a half rupees may be obtained. There are practical difficulties in the way of taxing tobacco manufactured in a crude form, and serious objections may be also urged in regard to the nature and incidence of such a tax. Tobacco has by long habit become one of the conventional necessities for the masses of the people, and any tax on the article is sure to be felt by them as an unjustifiable burden. But an excise on cigars, cigarettes and pipe-tobacco manufactured in factories is both practicable and desirable. The rate of duty, however, must not be too high. A revenue of 2 crores rising to 3 crores in the course of the next ten years may be expected from this source.

Sir Walter Layton's proposal to levy a terminal tax for provincial purposes at every railway station may be supported in the special circumstances of India at the present moment, where the field of direct taxation is far more restricted than in other countries. The chief merits of such a tax are that it is productive and easily collected. But a terminal tax has so far been regarded as a resource for local bodies, and it would be a real hardship on these bodies if the Provincial Governments were now allowed to encroach upon any of their limited sources of revenue. The way out of the difficulty may, however, be found in a division of the proceeds of terminal taxes between the Provincial Government and the local bodies within whose jurisdiction they arise. If the proceeds of the taxes are divided in equal proportions between the Provincial Government and the local bodies, the provincial portion of the yield may be estimated at 5 crores of rupees.

Sir Walter Layton suggests that the proceeds of the salt duty and of the excises on matches and tobacco should be paid into a separate fund, to be called the Provincial Fund. The

idea is a good one, but care should be taken to guard against certain difficulties which are likely to arise. The interests of the different provinces are not always identical, and the decisions of the majority may, in some cases, prove detrimental to the interests of the minority. Sir Walter has devoted much thought to the question of distribution of this fund and has come to the conclusion that population is the only fair basis. A combination of three tests, namely, needs, origin, and population would perhaps have furnished the most equitable basis. But as needs are exceedingly difficult to estimate, and as origin is not easy to find out without enquiries of a very complex and searching character, population may be taken as constituting, on the whole, the best available basis.

There is one weak point in the scheme of Sir Walter Layton, to which reference is made in the Despatch of the Government of India. It is that the application of the scheme to individual provinces has not been worked out in detail. This criticism is fully justified. In fact, if the details of Sir Walter's Scheme were worked out in their application to the provinces, it would appear that, although there would be substantial improvements in the financial positions of all the provinces, considerable inequalities would still be found to exist as between one province and another. If, on the other hand, the scheme outlined here be accepted, the different provinces would be placed on a footing of substantial equality. Justice should be the main object to be kept in view in any future readjustment of finances. Equality, not uniformity, should be our motto. If uniformity can be attained, so much the better; but in no circumstances should the principle of equity be sacrificed to meet the requirements of uniformity.

The scheme outlined above should be given effect to without any avoidable delay. Sir Walter rightly insists that the allocation of income-tax should be begun as early as possible. He further suggests that, in order to give the provinces a definite

idea of their prospective receipts, a time-table should be drawn up under which each head of revenue should be transferred according to a definite schedule. This suggestion is a very reasonable one ; but the Government of India, while agreeing in theory with Sir Walter Layton that the allocation should not be capricious, consider it essential to insist that the times and amounts of transfer must depend on the judgment of the Central Government. It is, of course, necessary that the Government of India should consider their own financial position before agreeing to a policy of transfer of revenues. But when once this is done, the actual transfer must be made according to a definite programme, any departure from which would be justified only in exceptional circumstances.

It is clear that an augmentation of the resources of the provinces is very urgently called for, and for this purpose a re-adjustment of the finances of the country is an imperative necessity. It was suggested in my work *Provincial Finance in India* that, in case it was found impossible to give effect to a policy of re-allocation without securing some improvement in the resources of the Central Government, a small measure of additional taxation might be resorted to. Emphasis was, however, laid on the necessity of selecting the new sources of revenue with anxious care so that they might not be felt as a hardship by the people, and it was pointed out that three taxes answered that test, namely, an increase in the duty on imported cotton goods, an addition to the duty on petroleum, and a tax on the private imports of silver. The Finance Member included these additional resources, together with some others, in his budget for the current year for the purpose of meeting a deficit. He gave the assurance at the time of the presentation of the budget that the new taxes would be utilised to create a margin which would enable the Government of India “ to give a fair measure of assistance to the Provincial Governments in the next chapter of their history.” It will not be long before the Government of India will be called upon to redeem this promise. Normal conditions will

return as soon as the constitutional problem is settled to the satisfaction of the people, and there should thereafter be no delay in placing the financial system on a sound footing.

In order that the finances of the country may be properly administered in future, it will be absolutely essential to provide that taxes should be levied only on the authority of the representatives of the people and expenditure incurred with their sanction. For this purpose, the existing restrictions on the powers of the legislatures—both central and provincial—must be removed and the special powers vested in the executive done away with. Borrowing has so far been a matter of executive action, but under the new constitution it should be brought under the control of the legislature. The administration of the Finance Department at the centre should be entrusted to a popular minister who would be responsible to the central legislature, while the ministers in the provinces should administer their own finance departments subject to the control of their respective legislative councils. A Finance Committee should be constituted in every province, and the composition of the Public Accounts Committees should be so altered that only elected members of the legislatures may in future be eligible to seats on them. The powers of the Secretary of State should be made similar to those of the Secretary of State for the Dominions; and such matters as the floating of loans and the investment of balances—which are in reality agency matters—should be transferred to the High Commissioner. While the co-operation and friendly advice of the Secretary of State would be welcome, his control of India's financial policy must be definitely ended. The Council of India—which is fast becoming an anachronism—should be abolished. The finances of the country should be vested in the Governor-General in Council, and the Crown and the British Parliament should not exercise any powers in regard to Indian financial questions beyond what are exercised in respect of such matters in the other Dominions.

In conclusion, I desire once again to emphasise that the

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We thus see that both movements, the Indian and the Egyptian, reach approximately the same results. And not only is the result the same,—that Islam, if by going back to its original form or rather to its inner heart and spirit, it is purified from the dross of elements necessitated only by the requirements of contemporary history, and cleansed from the later theological rubbish, is the religion most reasonable and most in keeping with the needs of modern civilisation. Nay, the very ways by which the necessary theological reforms may be attained seem in both cases to be at bottom identical,—a token, perhaps, that proceeding from the available data they are the ways that are imperative.

The reform movement was not confined to India and Egypt. Indeed, the international nature of the Islamic world is still far too strong for it to be possible for such agitations to remain locally isolated. Above all, ideas of such outstanding personalities as Jemāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammed ‘Abduh were bound to find an echo far beyond the bounds of their immediate field of activity. Surprisingly late, but all the more decisively, does the urge for religious reforms arise with the people which for centuries had in many respects played a leading part in the Islamic world,—the Turks. There may of course be various reasons why particularly with the Turks, who certainly led the van in the rush of political and cultural reform, traces of any spontaneous interest in the reform of Islam as a religion appear so late. Certainly the Turks have never been given to much speculation and had no great interest in the development of Islam because that was already finished when they received it. So, however much they took pains to adopt the improvements of western civilisation, they nevertheless left this department alone. Indeed the farther they were outside its influence, the less did any contact whatsoever seem possible

between Islam and the modern trend of the ideas of the young Turks. The development of the modern Turkish kingdom lay more or less in the direction which in the East is called Occidentalism, an absolutely unorganised and in fact characterless Europeanisation, which resulted in a surrender of all religious and national individuality. But still more significant is it that in the fateful time of the terror of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd the most narrow-minded orthodox prevailed in Constantinople. The influence of Jemāl ad-Dīn had certainly been felt there also, but it was soon crippled by the distrust of the ruler, and his ideas were stamped by the narrow-minded 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as practically political. At this period there was absolutely no possibility of a real understanding being arrived at between Islam and western progress. Thus it is only after the revolution of 1908 that we really see the religious problem receiving attention, but now it is taken up at the high pressure characteristic of the spiritual movement so long forcibly suppressed by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in Turkey. We are fortunate in possessing an excellent description of the development of modernism in Turkey by a Turk thoroughly western in education, but with warm religious feelings, Aḥmed Muḥyīad-Dīn, who unhappily did not live long. How quickly it spread, once the ban upon it was removed, is shown by the fact that Muḥyī ad-Dīn, can write in 1921. "We may to-day consider as overthrown the orthodox tendency which aims to maintain at any cost Islam in the present form which it has historically attained." On the other hand, two sharply distinct tendencies were at this time (1921) fighting for the ascendancy, the nationalist, whose greatest representative was the poet and thinker Ziya Gök Alp and a second which Muḥyī ad-Dīn calls the "Reformation." The preacher-poet Maḥmed 'Akif appears as the most original personality of the latter, and the Egyptian prince and Osmanic Grand-vizier Sa 'Id Halīm mapped out its actual programme. We might briefly distinguish the two tendencies as the politically cultural and the religious modernist. It is now interesting

to note that in their attitude to the religious problem both coincide to a great extent. "Both" says Muḥyi ad-Dīn, "place the ethical motive first ; both reject the historical Islam and demand a return to the original Islam," so "both deny the validity of the Shari'á (Islamic law) for the present time," "both demand the freedom of Ijtihād." We, see, then that both groups embrace a Modernism which is really broad. And we easily recognise that this common programme coincides in essentials with that of the Egyptian reform party. In fact, we can even plainly see the personal connection of this with the Turkish "Reformation" which in substance is practically identical with the Manār tendency. Both Turkish groups have also the same expression for their programme of religious reform, the word "Islamlashmak,"—Islamisation. The meaning which this word has for both will be most easily made clear to us from the innate difference of their character.

The idea really originates in the orthodox opposition to the Occidentalism which denies Islam. When the inner weakness of the Occidentalism, which was neither national nor religious, was made patent even to the extremely modern-thinking Turks, it was taken up in their programme by the Nationalists in a quite different sense, of course ;—a programme which expressed itself in the triad,—Turkistan Islamisation, Modernisation. For the Nationalists it means the working out of an Islam freed not merely from all the later theological matter, but also from the motives originally bound up with it or necessitated by conditions of time and place. But, as indeed the threefold programme shows. Islamisation only represents one of the requirements of nationalism. For it the main stress and point of departure lies on the political and cultural side. Islamisation is rather the form in which it satisfies the religious problem, of which it also is sensible, than its centrepiece. But it deliberately limits religion to its narrowest sphere and separates it altogether from the other sides of human life. It candidly demands the separation of Church and State and aims at a complete secularisation of life.

Very different was the "Reformation,"—to retain Muḥyi ad-Dīn's expression. For it the reform tendency, which includes the general life of culture and politics as well, is exhausted by the demand for Islamlashmak. For it Islamisation is a return to the original Islam not only by the rejection of the complications and innovations which have adulterated Islam in the course of its historical development, but also, and chiefly, in opposition to the secular tendency of Occidentalism and in a certain sense, of Nationalism. It is therefore a definite religious movement and aims, without prejudice to the utmost freedom in particulars, at preserving the religion in its place as the power underlying and ruling all civilised life. Here, too, it coincides in essentials with the Egyptian Manār tendency but differs in principle from the Nationalists' attitude to religion.

In details both tendencies perhaps differ less in the nature of their demands than in their motives. As, in their criticism of historical Islam they are thoroughly at one in essentials, so they will also be of the same opinion in many practical questions. The difference does not strike one at once, but is nevertheless very real. But, on the other hand it is not to be concluded that Nationalism is indifferent to the religious question. The religious poems of Ziya Gök Alp themselves show clearly enough that his is a deeply moral and religious personality.

We have thus seen what are the really most important types of the modern reform movement in Islam. For, in passing let it be remarked, the recent much-discussed formation of sects upon the basis of Islam, which have proselytes also in Europe and America, such as the Persian Bābī-Bahā'ī or the Indian Ahmediyya will always remain sects which will have hardly any influence upon the march of development of the great Church. So now arises the question whether that movement if completed, really goes far enough to be compatible with modern thought and free acceptance of scientific and technical progress. The question, so expressed, must in my opinion be answered wholly in the affirmative. The dogma

of Islam is at least as little of a hindrance to progressive development as the Christian dogma, not enough, in fact, to be taken into consideration at all. What seemed to be an insuperable barrier was the casuistically formulated law to which seemed to be bound for good a stage of culture inferior to that of to-day. If this is abandoned, and at heart the reformers of all tendencies are frankly prepared to abandon it, then every way of access is flung open to modern progress, even in the western sense.

It may be instructive to observe from a few examples how the Modernists contrive to base upon Islam the reforms they deem necessary. We take as examples certain characteristics of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages, which by general consent are firmly bound up with Islamic law through the very Koran itself, and which, no doubt, stand as the greatest obstacles in the way of the development of culture in the modern sense. Snouck Hurgronje has already shown how inevitable as well as difficult these characteristics are, and also what steps have been taken towards a change.

One of these points is the justification of slavery which was undoubtedly taken for granted and tolerated by Muḥammed but the position of the Modernists in this question is not altogether unfavourable. They are quite right in asserting that Muḥammed enjoined the good treatment of those who were not free and regarded the liberation of slaves as a particularly meritorious act. It is also indisputable that the lot of slaves in the realm of Islamic civilisation would never have called up to the imagination the terrible pictures which are inseparably connected in the European mind with the word "slavery." The border-line between freedom and bondage was always fluctuating, and bondage did not mean complete social degradation. Snouck Hurgronje has laid special stress upon the fact that, after all, since in Islamic law only prisoners of war may, need not necessarily, become slaves, slavery is actually bound even according to Islamic ideas, to disappear sometime. But

the reformers have gone further. Sayyid Aḥmed Khān, one of the first and most important leaders of the Indian movement, has tried in a learned work, to bring express proof that Muḥammed actually put down slavery. The point here is not so much that this proof cannot stand the critical test of history, as the fact that the incompatibility of slavery with the spirit of true Islam is, in our time at least, a necessary constituent of the idea of all modern-thinking Muslims, an idea which may all the more easily be traced to Islam as Muḥammed's influence really did lean towards greater humanity. Besides, the question is of hardly any practical interest since in the most important Islamic lands slavery has in fact, been abolished by law for a considerable time, and recently is also being suppressed in the smaller states which had contrived to evade European influence as in Afghanistan, and now even Arabia.

Much more important and urgent is the problem of polygamy, since even now-a-days, this is recognised as an established thing. Even in this department it is true that the regulations of the Prophet as to the actual usage of his people enjoined a certain raising of the status of woman. But on the other hand a number of wives—four—is expressly permitted. The Modernists, of course, reject polygamy altogether. It is now interesting to see how the argument changes according to the degree of mental emancipation. The customary reason to-day, we might say, for the demand for monogamy springs from the fact that in the Koran permission for plurality of wives is granted on condition of justice to different wives. Real justice, however, so they proceed, tacking on certain verses of the Koran, is a thing beyond human power. Consequently polygamy is *muharram katan* (Muḥammed 'Abduh), "absolutely unlawful" (Amīr 'Alī), and it is the duty of the authorities to forbid it. This reasoning is, as I have said, extraordinarily general, and it may even be unobjectionable from the point of view of traditional Islamic knowledge, and hence just suited to make an impression upon orthodox circles. Besides, it may

serve to make the first break in the ban which barred forward development in East. But the method itself shows very little advanced modern thought. It is at bottom just as extreme and caustic as the orthodox position which it assails. Such a method is quite comprehensible in the transition period in which barriers of sentiment prevent the drawing of more results from the given principles than are immediately necessary. It is not to be wondered at that such a reasoning even by the Modernists ends on a conservative note. But the development did not stop there. The real reasons for the demand for monogamy are, of course, quite different. The more openly and sincerely one gradually opposes tradition, the more one is able to cease to conceal these reasons behind somewhat elaborate written evidence. And Muslims who had learnt to think with a regard for historical development could not fail to reject the point of view of written evidence in such questions as aimless and senseless, and only consider as decisive that of the *Maṣlaḥa*, or common good, as S. Khuda Bukhsh quite frankly does.

Perhaps a still harder question, theoretically, than those of slavery and polygamy is that of *Jihād* or Holy War. Of course it is easy for modern Muslims to brand as false the fanciful ideas of spreading Islam by fire and sword which are still widely circulated in the West; and it might be difficult to reject as totally unjustified the indignation expressed in their apologetics, especially with regard to the Crusades or the banishment of Islam from Spain. But while in the case of slavery and polygamy it may really be only a matter of toleration by the law *Jihād*, according to Islamic law, is decidedly the duty of the community. Indeed it will not be possible to dispute seriously the fact that the Koran demands war against unbelievers until their conversion or overthrow, and not only a war of defence, but also one of offence. This chapter of Islamic law always played a pretty active part in the relations of European colony states with the Muslim peoples under them. And

yet war for the Faith is a thing plainly incompatible with modern ideas as even modern Muslims fully agree. The more conservative branch of the Modernists often confines itself to showing generally that the spirit of the true Islam, which has all along guaranteed toleration for other faiths (Christians and Jews), plainly opposes the idea of a war of offence on behalf of religion and indeed prefers to return to the *Jihād al-akbar*, the higher *Jihād*, ascribed to the Prophet, the struggle with one's own lower self. From the standpoint of the historical development which is becoming more and more established, it is naturally not difficult to reject the demand even of the *Jihād* as only necessitated by the history of the time and unjustified for the present day.

These examples may suffice to show how Islamic Modernism contrives to accommodate itself even with the most ticklish points of the Islamic system in a manner which may make it possible to link it up with the international and progressive trend of modern thought.

Has this reformed Islam, which in its beginnings we may observe in the most diverse places of the wide Islamic world, really still a right to the name of Islam, or it is, to return to the dictum of Lord Cromer, in truth Islam no longer! The final answer, if indeed it is to be anything more than a play upon words, can only be found in the development of the Islamic world as a whole. And only thus is it permissible and profitable to allude to certain points of view which might be important for the understanding of the result of that historical judgment. The Modernists feel that they are thoroughly good Muslims not only Muḥammed 'Abduh, but also men like S. Khuda Bukhsh and Ziyā Gök Alp. Those of the old orthodoxy, who of course at the beginning of the movement were enormously in the majority, and are still, especially as they are supported by the great mass of those who have no opinion, will doubtless be inclined to see in the ideas of reform, which certainly, confessedly or not, include the abandonment of the Islamic law,

a defection from Islam. The reproach of unbelief is now-a-days generally in disputatious theological circles, made pretty freely and rashly, and all the more so just because it usually has not much serious effect, and being so lightly made, it is not taken very seriously. For as the Islamic church is originally and fundamentally one with the state, it has not evolved any definite organisation of its own to examine any such reproach and if necessary deal with it energetically. So the name of Muslim cannot very easily be refused to practically anyone who feels and declares himself a Muslim. In addition the founders and leaders of Modernism were men against whom mainly because of their respected position, and partly because of their undoubted piety, the frenzy of the crowd dared not break out. They themselves did not wish to put themselves outside the Islamic church, nor had the church the will, the power or the courage to draw a dividing line between itself and them. Therefore, thanks to a certain elasticity due to the very lack of a hierarchical organisation of the church, the justification of Modernism seems almost from the beginning to be in principle ensured within its own bosom.

To be sure, there is no possible doubt that Modernism means a wide breach with the ideas of Islam hitherto regarded as binding, and certainly so does the Modernism of the comparatively moderate Wahhābi culture, hardly less than that of those who think more consistently and regardlessly in terms of historical development. For as we have clearly seen, they all, in a greater or less degree, abandon the Islamic law which hitherto was held to be the essence of Islam. But the whole imposing structure of the Islamic system is so constituted that when one part gives way the whole threatens to fall. That fact is brought home to us when the Turkish reformers reject "historical Islam" and go back to "original Islam." It really means nothing else than the giving up of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages, and if Lord Cromer, in his famous pronouncement, has that in mind, then he is right; but even if this civilisation, by the fixity

imposed upon it by Islamic law, has been wrapped up in the cloak of religious consecration, still in reality it never was the essence and heart of Islam. It is conceivable that outsiders have seen rather the outward form than the inner meaning and only too frequently have run the risk of mistaking the one for the other. Islam is *also* religion, religion *to its very core*, a religion which is not only a collection of outward ceremonies, but one which is a conviction, a kind of attitude towards God and the world. Even the boldest Modernists from conviction adhere to Islam in this sense. The West itself from its own history could not fail to understand fully a development of such a kind. For in the conception of Christianity through Protestantism, relatively speaking, the Roman Church of the Middle Ages has in many, if not indeed in all points, a striking parallel with the position of the Islamic Modernists on the one hand and the old orthodox Islamic church on the other. In fact, we might pursue the parallel still further and say Muḥammed 'Abduh and the Egyptian Manār tendency, as well as the Turkish "Reformation," almost exactly correspond to Protestantism which is orthodox and faithful to the church, just as on the other hand the Turkish Nationalists and the most modern Indians do to Protestant Liberalism. Even the not inconsiderable number of Westerners who have no longer any sort of spiritual relation to the church, still for the most part and not without reason feel that they are Christians. It is certain that amongst the Orientals, especially among the many who have enjoyed a modern education, not a few oppose with complete unconcern the very fundamental facts of the original Islam. But we, who have learned to allow the name of Christians even to those who are Christians only in name, have no right to judge the name of Muslim by a standard so much stricter.

There is one objection, however, to be raised to the parallel that has been drawn. Protestantism draws its vital strength from the Reformation, a movement born of religious need which was so intense as to dare the struggle and breach with the

mother church. Islam has experienced no reformation in the full sense of the Western one. Without that, without a storm which stirs men to the depths, is a genuine re-organisation of Islam as a religion conceivable? Does the reform of Islam not lack the very thing that made the Reformation a religious movement and gave Protestantism its religious value? The final answer to this time alone can give. But then there arises immediately the other question, whether the road which the West followed from the Middle Ages to the present is really the only one possible. Is it not conceivable that Islam does not need a reformation in this sense? The great Islamic church is in reality something quite different from the Catholic Church of the West in the Middle Ages. Not only does the Islamic dogma, in this unphilosophic simplicity quite unlike modern thought, present fewer difficulties than the Christian dogma, but, to begin with, Sunni Islam dispenses with what in the Roman Church appears, even to the non-Catholics, as the most splendid, and, in its way, most admirable feature,—its hierarchic organisation. This was, and is, the greatest strength of the Western Catholic Church, perhaps even, in another sense, its doom. With it every attempt to pour the contents of Christendom into new moulds was bound to become a bitter struggle. May the very lack of this not be a condition which makes the problem easier for Islam? On the other hand neither must we fail to recognise that Islamic Modernism has religious as well as other foundations. Wahhābi Puritanism, although by its impulse to consideration of the nature of the Islamic religion it has certainly contributed in a wider sense to the awakening of the reform movement, may have to be left out of account, because by its nature it is hostile to progress. But the Egyptian reform movement, which is in many points undoubtedly congenial with it, is so for the very reason that they have in common deep religious sentiments. In Muḥammed ‘Abduh there is at work a power strongly reminiscent of the moderate Pietism of the 18th century on the one hand, while on the other it frequently smacks of Rationalism. Pietism and Ra-

tionalism did not indeed exclude each other even in the West, and a combination of the two seems very well suited to the nature of Islam. With the Indian "New Mu'tazilites" and the Turkish Nationalists there is certainly nothing traceable of Pietism but all the more of Rationalism. We here frequently meet with an enlightenment reaching out beyond the limits of the positive religion. But nevertheless no one can deny to the almost marvellous poems of a Ziyâ Gök Alp a feeling that is trully religious. We prefer therefore to cease speaking of a reformation in the realm of Islam in the exact sense which from our own history we connect with the word. The possibility of a real and strong religious life in Islam, even after abandonment of the Islamic law in its historically developed form, is to-day undeniable.

(Concluded.)

MRS. T. H. WEIR.

SALAMANDER

We were tired of watching the hours slip by
On "leave," at the Carlton or Savoy,
And, chancing to meet at the "Stirrup Cup"—
A place in Holborn—to wind things up,
We got to talking of this and that
And by and by into pleasant chat
Came talk of France, and the chance of life
With shells and bombs and the raiders rife.

He must have been drunk, young Bobby Sloane !
Couldn't account for it else I'll own.
For suddenly raising his glass with glee
He said, "Who's willing to bet on me?
"I'll make it a hundred that I am here
"To greet the dawn of next New Year !"

We needed cheering, I can tell.
And one and all we let out a yell
For Bobby was in the Flying Corps—
I could have done with that hundred, or more !
As could all the rest !—So we took his bet
But promptly proceeded to neatly forget !
For kids will be kids, and who would think
To look at Bob he could fly—or drink !
All of us knew he could "sink a few."
But we'd heard that rumor that straight he flew
On his "solo" flight.....
The night was dim
With a scudding moon
I said to Jim
As he and I got a bus in the Strand,
"It's a kind of a night a raider planned !"

We might have gone half a mile or more
When our driver yelled, "We're in for it sure!"
The next we heard was a siren-scream—
The kind of row you hear in a dream
Or as I'd thought only out there in France
Yet here we were, near a Palais de Danse!—
"What's up!" cried Jim ..There'd been no impact
And all was quiet around 'twas a fact
But the lights in the dance-hall went suddenly dim
The street was darkened...I ducked after Jim
As down that street with it's deadened hum
The bombs of raiders began to drum.
That beastly whirr above our heads.....
Where are our airmen? Here are our dead!
And no avengers? A nightmare town!
Then, from Hendon way came swooping down
The boys! We cheered for the Flying Corps.
We could see their wings in a search-light's glare
When it cross-criss-crossed on horizon trip,
Showed other wings too, with a backward tip
And a black cross painted...That deathly sign.
I looked at my watch, it was half past nine
Half past nine on October fourth
Of '17...I could take my oath
That in one of our planes young Bobby flew
One painted a dainty duck's egg blue!
'Twas only a week before with pride
He had taken me up on "official ride."
Now! Over the town and away to the East
A duck's egg beauty, a black-cross beast
(Unless you belonged to the other side
And then the black-cross would have claimed your
pride!)

But whichever it was 'twas a fight to see!
(Their airmen had guts. You can't tell me!)

As back and forth those two planes spun
The others appeared to have ducked and gone.
Dipping and swerving, an endless strife
A duel to see but once in a life !

Then, suddenly out of the passive clouds
Descended on Bobby an enemy crowed
With spitting guns and expert short
“ Come on Bob ! Give ’em all you’ve got ! ”
Yelled Jim. He had recognised it too... ..
Then, down swooped the ’plane of duck’s egg blue.

“ He’s done,” said Jim. “ He fell like a leaf.”
But we saw him at once come up beneath
The leader of five...Some one must die !
Like a falling star ’cross a summer sky
Fell the Hun, whilst onto the next one’s tail
Roared Bob with an engine like a gale.

Shells whizzed around him...Our own as well
Heaven knows what kept him from Hell !
But Luck doesn’t stay with a chap always.....
We saw him fall, the ship ablaze.
Then, the raiders, willing to call it a night
Flew off, and were lost to the groping light.

We rode to the aerodrome right away
To be there to hear who’d survived the fray.
But mostly to shake the kid by the hand,
Or perhaps bare-headed to thoughtful stand.....

But the hour passed and no word came
From that outer confusion. “ He played the game ! ”
We told each other. Went back to town
“ ’Twas in flames that ship when it went down.

(He might have survived that hellish spat)
But no salamander could live in *that*!

That night we all met in the tavern again
To talk of the previous night of strain.
And as we were talking of Bobby Sloane
In he came! I gave a groan
For every hair on his head and face
Was gone! But he still had a grin in place.
Singed! As neat as ever you saw
In other ways, not a mark, not a scar!
Bobby Sloane, a freak of the War!

He came to our table and gaily said,
“ Well chaps, where girls are concerned I’ m ‘ dead ’
“ ’Till my thatch grows out!—That mustache
I’d grown
“ Added lots to my beauty, I’ll bet you’ll own!”—
Then, half-serious, “ Boys! Your bets toss here!
“ I think I’ll not wait till the ‘ coming year!’
“ Come on. Shell out! A thousand clear!!”
But Jim led us all in a rousing cheer.

MOLLIE THACKERAY WALLER

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF “ABSENTEEISM” AND “MIGRATION” IN INDIAN LABOUR

The migratory character of the labour population in factories, and the somewhat paradoxical feature of enforced idleness co-existent with scarcity of labour in this country have been subjects of almost universal complaint. Indian economists¹ agree that “there is not a single industry that does not complain to-day of scarcity of labour” and enumerate various considerations that account for the migratory habits. To European observers² “the chief consequences of this incessant migration” appear to account for “a low standard of technical efficiency, an absence of responsibility, and a failure, through increased absenteeism, to secure betterment from higher wages of other improvements.” The official reports, even while they are sympathetic, affirm that both absenteeism and migration are inevitable judging from “the general uncomfortable environment in factories,”³ and “widespread interest in the possession, or, redemption from the village money lender, of the workers’ piece of land in his native village.”⁴ Yet it is refreshing to read that in answer to a query—“Is there great absenteeism?” by a representative of the “Indian Daily Mail,” who interviewed the production Manager of the General Motors in the East newly established in Bombay, Mr. R. G. Jones stated,⁵ “it is not much more than one found elsewhere. We do everything we can to create a pleasant atmosphere and the result is that the

¹ P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi : *The Wealth of India*, pp. 371-73.

² Prof. Burnett Hurst : “Labour and Housing in Bombay”—Sir Stanley Reed’s Introduction.

³ Indian Factory Labour Commission, 1908 ; Dr. T. M. Nair’s note.

⁴ Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1928 ; para. 509.

⁵ Quoted in the Bombay Labour Gazette, Vol. VIII, p. 438 from the “Indian Daily Mail,” Bombay, Jan. 15, 1929.

men like coming to work regularly." The same sentiments were echoed in the representation made by the Bombay Textile Union⁶ to the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton, Textile Industry Enquiry) who maintained "that conditions of service, bad housing, and the general climatic conditions in Bombay account for a good deal of the workers' absenteeism, but even under existing conditions absenteeism could be reduced if the employers have the will to do so," besides also "refuting the statement that the Bombay labour was migratory." There is no doubt, therefore, that in regard to these features of absenteeism and of migration—both precise and quantitative knowledge in respect of their extent and incidence, duration and variation, causes and consequences, remedies and their probable results, as well as complete statistical interpretation of suitable information are lacking.

There are four demographic criteria that are commonly employed to determine whether the population of any area is steady or migrant, *viz.*, (1) proportion of native born persons, (2) ratio of females to males, (3) the percentage of dependants together with female workers to the total population, and (4) the fraction of young and old persons—each of the ratios tending to increase according to the greater stability of that population in that particular locality. In respect of the city of Bombay which undoubtedly holds a prominent position in Indian industrial life, it is observed that the percentage of persons born in Bombay to total population (at each census from 1871 to 1921) gradually declined as follows :—

31·1, 27·8, 25·0, 23·4, 19·6, 16·0.

At the census of 1921, the sex ratio of females to 1,000 males, while being 785 to persons whose birth-place was Bombay city, was only 525 for the whole of Bombay population clearly showing the incomplete nature of the families of immigrant people. Again, while the proportion of males working was in 1921, only

about 20% in India, it was at the same date 52% for Bombay city and about the same percentage for Ratnagiri-district-born persons in that city, it being known that it is from that district that a large section of Bombay's industrial labour force is drawn. Finally, against the general average 37% of persons within the age period, 15-40, there is in Bombay city (as well among the Ratnagiri residents in Bombay) roughly about 62% of the population in those limits. One fact that clearly emerges from these figures is the peculiar composition of the population of this city, suggesting the very reverse of permanence among them. But apart from these crude tests, it is quite obvious that accurate measures of extent, incidence and variation, and comprehensive interpretation of the causes, consequences and remedies of these features of absenteeism and migration must necessarily be based on statistical considerations. However, it should at once be stated that information on any extensive scale is very inaccurate and at best incomplete, there being wide extensions of meaning given to these terms. Statistical year-books of many western countries do not contain any reference at all to 'absenteeism,' their indexes beginning, for instance, only with 'accidents;' and likewise 'migration' is commonly understood as 'overseas migration.' Absenteeism is, however, usually to be confined to wilful withdrawal from work, or it may be run into absence from sickness or accidents, utilisation of privileged holidays, short time work, or strike and other stoppage of work, or forced lockout and even into unemployment.

Broadly speaking, it may be stated that investigations in the United Kingdom and U.S.A. on absenteeism have been the subjects of study, either incidental to their bearing on industrial fatigue and consequent industrial inefficiency, or intensively conducted confining them to a small area and to a short duration. Dr. Sargant Florence's thesis ⁷ in his "Economics of Fatigue and

⁷ P. Sargant Florence, Ph.D.: "Economics of Fatigue and Unrest" (G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1924).

Unrest," have been to "sum up the results of certain industrial conditions which show themselves in a diminished willingness for doing work and leading up also to industrial inefficiency and economic loss." This author complains of the "wide divergence in current estimates of unavoidable lost time," but classifies absence from work into such divisions as lateness, total absence and so on, and offers some estimates of only minimum unavoidable absence. On this account it is not of direct interest to us while dealing as now with unavoidable absence. The report of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board on absenteeism in British Collieries⁸ does not however suffer in this way. It is an intensive inquiry relating to nearly 23,000 miners working for periods of 21 months to six years in a group of ten collieries in Britain. It however includes detailed estimates of correlation of absenteeism and also accident rates with such features as depth of the workings, underground temperature, air velocity, thickness of the seam, labour turnover, and so on. These are not of immediate interest to us either, but this invaluable report contains some references also to absenteeism in relation to age of workmen, different hours of shift, and the distance of the men's homes from the collieries. We read, for instance, that "men living 2·6 miles away show 80 % more voluntary absenteeism (*i.e.*, all absenteeism not definitely attributable to sickness and accidents) than those living 1·6 miles away." The report on absenteeism in some four U. S. A. cotton mills⁹ is however of more direct interest to us in view of the fact that Indian statistics analysed in this paper mostly relate to the textile industry; but this report like the British report on Collieries is also an intensive statistical investigation. "The

⁸ Report on Absenteeism in British Collieries, No. ... Industrial Fatigue and Research Board. Also quoted in B. L. G., Sept., 1928, p. 246.

⁹ Report entitled "Causes of Absenteeism."

A large proportion of lost time for illness was due to "respiratory diseases" while "digestive disorders" ranked second.

primary object of the investigation was to make a comparison and to discover the relative importance for men and for women different causes of absence and to compare the effect of the department and of the season of the year on men and on women. This was done by examining the records kept by four different mills, comprising mainly the daily reports made by the overseers as to absences in their various departments and the causes of such absences as reported by them. The results are interesting as facts, but it would, of course, be unwise to make easy deductions from them, or to impute causation from what may be merely correlation of circumstances. The same proportion of men and women were employed in each of the four mills—the men composing about three-fifths of the total. In the spinning rooms, however, the women generally exceeded the number of men.” The important conclusions arrived at in the report may however be briefly exhibited in the following tabular way.

TABLE I.

1. Time lost as a percentage of the possible working time.	Men and Women combined 3·1 % to 16·8 %	
	Men	Women
2. Time lost owing to “illness of self” ^{9a}	16% —42·8%	14·3% —40·2%
3. “accident” ^{9a}	7·2% (Max.)	1·8% (Max.)
4. “domestic and personal reasons”	Less than 1 day.	1 to 4·5 days.
5. Average number of days lost	6·5 to 33·5 days.	11·9 to 69 days.
6. Absence during night shift	16·7	18·5

^{9a} A large proportion of lost time for illness was due to “respiratory diseases” while “digestive disorders” ranked second.

7. Season of greatest absenteeism	Men and women combined Autumn and Winter.	
	Men	Women
8. " " " through "illness of self" ^{9a}	Winter	Autumn
9. " " " "accidents"	"	"
10. " " " "personal reasons"	Spring and Summer	Wide variations,

In the same way the subject of absenteeism was also included in special surveys of wages and hours of labour in Cotton Mill Industry in the Bombay Presidency, conducted once in August 1923, and on the last occasion in May (and July), 1926. On both occasions considerable trouble was taken to obtain reliable information as to attendance, but we read in the introduction to this part of the report that "the worker is frequently absent either through sickness or voluntarily because he has earned sufficient to keep body and soul together and lacks the will to increase his wages to the maximum that could be earned."¹⁰ Apart from this presumption the main statistical results however are as follows :—

1923 Inquiry.

TABLE II.

		Percentage of absenteeism.
All work people.	Entire Presidency.	10·4
Cities	Bombay	11·2
	Ahmedabad	8·7
	Sholapur	11·6

^{9a} Ibid.

¹⁰ A large part of this paragraph including the statistical material is based of course on the reports of these two inquiries. Brief summaries of these reports also appear in Bombay Labour Gazette, May, 1925, pp. 948-72 and May, 1930, pp. 895-900.

TABLE II—*contd.*

Percentage of absenteeism.		
All work people.	Entire Presidency.	10·4
Sex (or age)	Men	9·2
	Women	14·7
	Big lads	11·5
	Children	9·7
(All work people) Basis of wage	Time workers ...	9·8
	Piece workers ...	11·2
Occupations	Frame tenters (Intermediate) (New piece work, Bombay city)	16·5
	Two loom weavers, Bombay city	4·6
	Reelers (women)	17·1
	Spining boys (Time workers, Bombay city) ...	12·8

1926 Inquiry.

Cities.	All work people.	Weavers.	Spinners.
Bombay	... 8·26	4·36	11·92
Ahmedabad	... 7·73	10·76	7·91
Sholapur	... 12·33	15·07	10·69

These results are of course discussed in the respective reports; but we may however mention :—

(1) that in the relative rates of aggregate absenteeism in the cities, the order is at both dates the same with Sholapur claiming the highest and Ahmedabad the lowest—Bombay city working the intermediate place ;

(2) that while Ahmedabad, and more particularly Bombay city have exhibited reduced rates, Solapur reports an increased percentage of absenteeism at a later date;

(3) that generally speaking the minimum rates of absenteeism are witnessed among weavers.

In regard to this last conclusion, it is interesting to note that the Agents of the Appolo and Manchester Mills in Bombay city issued, during a strike in their mills in August, 1927, a statement in which we read "Examination of the Mill books shows that the percentage of absenteeism was, if anything less with four looms weavers than with two looms weavers and completely refutes the suggestion that sickness would result if men had three or four looms to attend to."¹¹ In regard to the absenteeism in spin rooms it seems to be a common complaint due essentially to the general atmospheric conditions prevailing there, reference to which is made at a later stage in this paper while considering humidification.

While the account that has preceded above is a summary of the findings during certain censuses which the Bombay Labour Office investigated, it is thought desirable to make a different and more technical study of absenteeism than these both in the industries and areas covered, as well as in extent of time. The data for the purpose has again been compiled from the monthly reports of employment situation in Bombay Presidency printed in the successive issues of the Bombay Labour Gazette.¹² This data covers (1) the Textile industry in the following centres—Bombay, Ahmedabad, Viramgaum, Sholapur and Broach, respectively abbreviated—T (B), T(A), T(V), T(S), T(GB) and collectively for all textiles, (2) the Engineering industry distributed over "workshops," "docks"

¹¹ Reproduced from the "Times of India" of Aug. 12, 1927 in the B.L.G., Aug., 1927, p. 1095.

¹² We found this a laborious task to do, and would desire to suggest that these particulars could conveniently be issued in tabular form in the statistical table printed for month to month in the Labour Gazette.

and "Port trust" (all three in Bombay) and in Karachi Port, respectively abbreviated E(W), E(D), E(P), E(K) and collectively for all Engineering (E). The aggregate of these two, dealing with the entire labour here investigated will be denoted L. This data collects the reports individually by months (in most cases about the 12th of each month) and extends over as much of the period—July, 1922—June, 1927 and also July, 1928—June, 1930 for which particulars were available.¹³ The data have been entered as presented in the official sources on the basis of the definition of percentage of absenteeism adopted therein. Naturally enough this basis has not been universally acceptable, and the (cotton) Tariff Board was obliged to remark¹⁴,—"There is, however, some reason to doubt the correctness of the figures both for Bombay and Ahmedabad. We were informed that, in Bombay, a weaver who is absent provides a substitute who, if he is accepted by the mill, is put to work on the looms of the absentee weaver who is then marked present. This practice obviously has the effect of making the percentage of absenteeism appear lower than it really is. On the other hand a detailed census of absenteeism conducted by the Labour Office in July, 1926, showed a total absenteeism of 8·97 per cent. for 18 representative mills, whereas the returns obtained in the usual way from all the Bombay mills for that month gave a percentage of 10·38. Again, in Ahmedabad it would seem that a number of mills do not understand the correct method of filling up the forms and return the number of men who are absent in a particular day and for whom no substitutes have been employed, as the absenteeism for the day." But such as they may be, the crude data furnishes on analysis very interesting conclusions.

¹³ For the seven years, in 9 areas, there should have been by months 756 particulars. Against this are included in this analysis 646 items, the balance representing the gaps in the source arising out of strikes, absence of reports, different dates of the inclusion of data of certain areas.

¹⁴ Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Industry Enquiry, 1927, p. 134.)

At the outset, we calculated the statistical constants—arithmetical mean and co-efficient of variability—for the monthly absenteeism (expressed throughout as a percentage) in the several industries during the period investigated, the results being given in Table III below :

TABLE III.

Industry	L	T	E	T(B)	T(A)	T(V)	T(S)	T(GB)	E(W)	E(D)	E(P)	E(K)
Mean monthly absenteeism (percentage).	10.42	8.99	11.90	11.98	3.48	2.21	13.89	9.35	14.15	15.46	9.78	8.12
Co-efficient of variability.		57	6	10	14	34	11	14	8	6	9	7

It will be noticed

(1) that there is definitely a greater extent of absenteeism (about 3 per cent. more) in Engineering industries in general than in textiles, and yet if we fail to hear complaint of this there is of course the circumstantial reason that these industries are minor in importance, or are less prominent before the public eye, but there is also the statistical reason ;

(2) that absenteeism in Engineering industries is relatively steady, that is, is fluctuating to a lesser degree and does not exhibit such wide variations as the textiles do.

Again with textiles

(3) Sholapur and Bombay show the highest percentages of absenteeism, Sholapur more than Bombay in regard to extent and variability (but probably losing public notice in virtue of its Moffusal location) ;

(4) Ahmedabad exhibits a significantly low rate of absenteeism (the lowest considering the size of the industry in that locality).

This is probably a well-known feature, as the following extract (wherein some explanation is also furnished for this feature) from the report of the Textile Tariff Board¹⁵ shows

¹⁵ Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile-Industry Enquiry) 1927, p. 135.

“Ahmedabad has a great advantage over Bombay in the matter of absenteeism....This advantage was explained to us as being due to the fact that the mill operatives in Ahmedabad are mostly drawn from an industrial population which has been settled in the city for generations. The Muhammadan workers, in particular, seldom possess any land of their own, and, therefore, do not find it necessary to attend to cultivation at certain seasons of the year. The Patils, another class of large workers, are reported to have a custom whereby, if they are two brothers, one attends to cultivation and the other works in the mill alternatively.” But in respect of the remark made therein that not only the rate is low but that it is so throughout the year and that wide variations are absent, the results of this inquiry are different. They show :—

(5) that in Ahmedabad

(a) the co-efficient of variability is larger (13·51 against 10·35 of Bombay);

(b) the constant, statistically equivalent to

$$\left(\frac{\text{Max. value} - \text{Min. value}}{\text{Min. value}} \right),$$

which represents the relative excess of the fluctuation over the minimum in any month (and therefore understood to be the unavoidable minimum value of the character studied irrespective of seasonal and other variations)¹⁶ is also larger (55% against 45% of Bombay);

(c) the index of prolongation¹⁷ is again greater in Ahmedabad (being 29% against 27% in Bombay).

¹⁶ Utilisation of this constant, as well as β and γ called respectively indices of concentration and of prolongation, has been recommended by Prof. L. Hersch in his series of papers on “Unemployment in Building Industry” in *International Labour Review*, Vol. 19, January to June, 1929.

¹⁷ The value of this constant is $\frac{\frac{d}{\sigma} - \sqrt{\frac{2}{n}}}{\sqrt{\frac{n}{\sigma} - 1}}$ and that of the index of concentration

(d) the index of concentration, which puts the matter inversely, is less in Ahmedabad than in Bombay (being 14% in the former against 17% in the latter).

Further light in regard to the location of the particular months will presently be thrown when we study the seasonal indices.

(6) In regard to Viramgaum and Broach, statistics of which are being furnished from a recent date in the Labour Reports, it is just sufficient to draw attention to the values given in Table III and refrain from detailed discussion.

In regard to the Engineering industries :—

(7) The order in increasing absenteeism appears to be Moffusal labour in Karachi, labour in the Chief Engineering departments in Port Trust, then that in representative workshops, and finally the wholly unskilled coolie labour in Bombay Docks.

(8) But these rates showed uniformly a smaller degree of variability, implying that in spite of large absenteeism there was in general a greater consistency in attendance in these industries.

From the point of view of variability discussed above, the statistical constants ascertained in this inquiry may also be collected together, without further comments, in Table IV ranking the industries in order of greater concentration.¹⁸

is $\frac{\frac{\sigma}{d}-1}{\sqrt{\frac{n}{2}-1}}$. The paper of Prof. L. Hersch's just referred to may be consulted for

these formulæ.

¹⁸ Which is also the order of diminishing prolongation. It may however be noted that the same order need not be maintained in regard to relative excess as this gives statistical quantity ascertained from only two selected values of the variable and not therefore always perfectly correlated with the other indices determined from the entire distribution.

TABLE IV

	T(GB)	E(W)	T(S)	T(A)	E(P)	T(B)	E(D)	T(V)	E(K)	L
Index of concentration.	8	8	12	14	14	17	17	23	25	10
Index of prolongation.	63	33	31	29	29	27	28	24	22	33
Index of relative excess.	48	28	44	55	35	45	25	280	32	18

Passing on to the question of incidence as between the several months of the year we give in Table V the monthly indexes expressed as percentages of the mean absenteeism for the year reproducing the same in diagram to enable the comparison to be followed more easily, limiting first to the aggregate groups T (all textiles), E (all engineering industries).

TABLE V

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Octo.	Nov.	Dec.
L	93	94	105	106	108	104	92	93	101	101	105	99
T	90	96	106	111	110	106	93	97	103	99	97	92
E	96	93	105	102	107	102	91	92	98	102	111	103

We observe that

(1) during the four months March, April, May and June absenteeism tends to be consistently higher than the average ;

(2) these months separating on one side, January and February, and on the other, July and August, which are relatively speaking, months of greater regularity in attendance for labour ;

(3) the other months of the year, September, October, November and December do not however indicate uniformity in the two groups of industries, although generally speaking, for all labour put together they seem to mark off the normal level of absenteeism ;

(4) although there is no uniformity in the month in which the peak point of absenteeism occurs in the several industries, there is a consistent improving of conditions from November till February, while yet it may also be said that July witnesses the common minimum position of absenteeism.

Finally,

(5) textile, in relation to engineering industries, seem to be worse off for a large portion of the year, *viz.*, during the months of April, May, June, July, August and September definitely and in addition, February and March also to a slight extent. On the other hand during the remaining four months engineering industries are relatively worse, while the divergence occurring adversely to engineering in November is about the largest in any single month.

Now within the group comprised under textiles monthly indexes on the same basis are given in Table VI and these show several important features. Diagram 2 represents the comparative positions of Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur, the three principal centres of that industry.

TABLE VI

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
T(B)	91	87	109	98	104	100	98	104	118	114	96	81
T(A)	95	98	95	92	83	83	89	98	109	118	129	109
T(V)	104	172	136	91	164	112	45	72	91	122	104	45
T(S)	95	95	106	120	120	111	86	83	92	93	98	101
T(GB)	82	96	108	120	109	93	82	122	117	95	90	86

It is seen that

(1) the curves relating to Ahmedabad and Sholapur T(A) and T(S) are more evenly progressing than that of Bombay T(B) which exhibits several minor peaks, indicating thereby the greater upheavals to which the industrial labour is exposed to at that centre ;

(2) generally speaking the movements in T(B) and T(A) are alike, while the movement of T(S) which shows, as existing, an inverse correlation also comes into agreement with them on displacing it through a period of about 7 or 8 months; ¹⁹

(3) in the two former areas, August, September and October commonly witness relatively worse months and all the curves show a worsening of conditions as the year advances from July, this tendency starting in the case of Ahmedabad from even one month earlier;

(4) and also while in all the three places nearly the same minimum value is touched, Ahmedabad alone exhibits a marked degree of proportionate absenteeism in the month of November.

Viramgaum and Broach, the other two centres in which this industry is of minor importance, are not here dealt with to save further complications in the diagram, but the relevant data are given in Table VI.

When we consider the variations within the engineering industries, a summary statement of the monthly indexes of which is given in Table VII (also diagram 3).

¹⁹ It is interesting to calculate the co-efficients or correlation between absenteeism in Bombay and that in Sholapur with the values for each month as they stand, and also with the values of one of the centres, say Sholapur, displaced successively by 1, 2, 3,...up to 11 months implying thereby possible correspondence between the two sets of numbers on giving the necessary lead or lag. The co-efficients so calculated, i.e., obtained by setting the figures of Bombay for January and succeeding months against the figures of Sholapur beginning with each month stated and continued the rest of the period of 12 months in a cyclical order, are as follows :—

Jan. — '06	May — '70	Sept. + '76
Feb. + '06	June — '40	Oct. + '25
Mar. — '09	July + '26	Nov. — '23
Apr. — '36	Aug. + '77	Dec. — '25

Hence the remark that the two sets of figures show inverse correlation for a great part of the year but that they can be brought into agreement best by shifting through 7 or 8 months (which is also equivalent to stating that they may be shifted back 5 or 4 months).

TABLE VII

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
E(W)	95	91	107	107	110	110	95	86	93	100	105	102
E(D)	95	96	102	102	107	98	91	94	99	104	114	98
E(P)	98	93	109	98	109	95	87	89	97	107	118	99
E(K)	100	92	100	100	99	103	90	91	103	96	107	118

We note that

(1) the Moffusal centre, Karachi, generally compares, in spite of its large peak in December, more favourably than Bombay ;

(2) while commonly having March, April, May and June ; and again October, November and December as months of increased absenteeism ;

(3) the diagrams in general reveal similarity of conditions in regard to their ' crests ' and ' troughs ' as well also as in the intermediate variations.

K. B. MADHAVA

K. V. KRISHNA SASTRI

JUNGLE NOCTURNE

I live so near the jungle-edge,
That on such moon-enchanted nights
The old familiar charms reach out
And grip me, and I see again
The myriad life that moves there,
Secret and untamed. When most the
Silence seems profound, a thousand
Voices steal upon my ear; the
Jackals, wailing in an anguished note,
Complain unceasingly; the beat
Of distant drums ; the sound of flute;
The owl's lonely call ; the chorus
Of the frogs in some dim pool
Embraced in lotus-blossoms a dreaming
Dreaming in the gracious night ;
The chirp of crickets, and the tiny
Stirring songs of wingéd creatures ;
The tangled shadows in the gloom,
Light-spangled with the fire-flies;
The steamy breath of fecund loam ;
The incense of the tropic blooms ;
All mix and merge in crucible
Of spells that vanish utterly
By day. The nocturnalia,
Muted and aloof, calls from the
Dense wild green, and drifts on scented
Winds to tempt me, as I seat here
Safe and sheltered from the urge
Of night's sweet magic that I fear
But will forever long to know !

LILY S. ANDERSON

ALI IBRAHIM KHAN

A FORGOTTEN ADMINISTRATOR AND WRITER

He was the son of Mohamad Nasir, a physician of Patna, where he was born.

When Ali Verdi Khan left Patna, he took with him several learned men to make them settle down at Murshidabad and Ali Ibrahim Khan was one of these, the other being Mir Mohamad Ali Haji-Abdullah, the historian and Zahir Hosain Khan who was a cousin of Ali Ibrahim Khan.

After the installation of Mir Qasim in 1760, Ali Ibrahim "who was truest of friend and who, to all his innate delicacy in matters of honour and fidelity, joined the incomparable talent of unravelling the most hidden mysteries of administration and of discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts," was appointed as the head of the military finance department where everything was in confusion and the pay of the troops was heavily in arrears.¹ A Hindu financier named Sita Ram was appointed to assist him. Mir Qasim consulted Ali Ibrahim in all important matters of state.

Mir Qasim now began to form many wild schemes of conquests and glory.² In these childish projects he was encouraged by several adventurers whose living depended on plunder and conquest. The Armenian adventurer Gurgin Khan the evil genius of Mir Kasim had a special influence over the Nawab and it was at his suggestion that an expedition to conquer Nepal was organised. Relying on the information about the passes sent by some French priests in Lhasa, the expedition started under the command of Gurgin Khan. Ali Ibrahim Khan, throughout, opposed this wild project and protested against the influence of Gurgin Khan.

¹ Seir, Vol. II, p. 388.

² Seir, Vol. II, p. 447.

But when he saw that the Nawab was bent on the scheme, he advised him to send a body of English troops, but it was all in vain. The expedition set out in 1176 Hijri (1762-63). As was expected, the whole project failed and Ali Ibrahim was sent to bring back the demoralized army and its Commander Gurgin Khan. He found the soldiers discontented and ready to desert. However, by his persuasive power he succeeded in bringing back the army to Patna.

When the breach between Mir Qasim and the Company was widening every day, Ali Ibrahim used to advise the Nawab to be moderate and conciliatory in his attitude.¹ But the Nawab was under the influence of Gurgin Khan who encouraged Mir Qasim's hostile attitude towards the English. "Since the advices of Counsels offered by your well-wishers and which your mind approves never fail in the evening to be obliterated by Gurgin Khan's suggestions, it is needless that either your Highness or your friends and well-wishers, should fatigue themselves any more upon an unfructuous subject; for in the end, we all find that nothing is done but what has been advised by Gurgin Khan.² It is then proper that this affair should be wholly committed to his care, without giving further trouble to your mind, as well as to every one of us on so disagreeable a subject. Let us all do as he shall bid.....it is but what happens every day. In one word,we are unanimously of opinion, that if your princely mind be for peace, Mr. Amyatt's heart ought not to be estranged by actions and words that derogate from the high character which our master bears; and, if you be for a rupture, and for pursuing a plan of military operations on Gurgin Khan's notions and schemes, still, to disoblige a man come on an embassy, is contrary to the rules of a princely behaviour and

¹ Seir, Vol. II, p. 464.

² This letter seems to be genuine because the author knew Ali Ibrahim Khan personally and it is quite conceivable that Ali Ibrahim Khan might have given this letter to the author. See the translator's footnote, Vol. III, p. 83, where the translator says that the author was a personal friend of Ali Ibrahim.

beneath the high dignity of a sovereign. So far from abating anything from the regard and attention which is customary to pay the people of that nation, we are of opinion that some additional token of respect ought to be shown them now, were it because they are come under the safeguard of an embassy. We do not mean to say that the preparations intended for further hostilities ought to be discontinued; on the contrary, they ought to go on. We contend only that such actions as these men complain of, are not of a nature either to add anything to the terror of your name and power, or to detract anything from their own dignity, or from the opinion they entertain of themselves. All these can produce no other fruit, than that of enlarging the foundations of enmity and giving new wings to envy and jealousy."

The words of the above letter fully show his clear-mindedness in his dealings with the English. He recognised the English power fully and always advised the Nawab to keep friendly relations with the Company.

Just before the commencement of hostilities between the Nawab and the Company, a boat of the Company carrying five hundred firearms on its way from Calcutta touched at Monghyr.¹ The Nawab intended to seize the goods. But Ali Ibrahim intervened on the side of peace and reconciliation and objected to the boat being seized. "If peace is in contemplation," he said, "there is no colour in stopping the boat; and if the hostilities are in view then I see no great harm in adding five hundred more masquets to the two thousands already in the English factory. For if we can fight against two thousand, I daresay we can fight against two thousand five hundred."

When the conferences and negotiations between the Company and the Nawab were going on in the early part of 1763² and when Vansittart and Amyatt were conducting these

¹ Seir, Vol. II, pp. 464-65.

² Burgess, *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 219 and Seir, Vol. II, pp. 381-82.

negotiations, Ali Ibrahim Khan was the adviser of the Nawab whom he insisted on telling everything frankly and then to start the guerilla warfare, as he saw no chance of success against the English in pitched battles.

In spite of his opposition to the war, he remained loyal to his master as long as the war lasted. He was with Mir Qasim throughout the campaign. He vehemently opposed the ill-treatment and the subsequent massacre of the English at Patna in 1763. "Ali Ibrahim Khan counselled the Nawab to release the English prisoners named Messrs. Elison, Gee and Luslington and others or at least to send their wives by boat to Major Adams."¹ But the Nawab referred Ali Ibrahim to Gurgin Khan who made all sorts of excuses against their release.

After the defeat of Mir Qasim along with the Nawab Vazier and the Emperor at Buxar in 1764 nearly all the nobles of Mir Qasim deserted him.² But Ali Ibrahim "clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those days." Mir Qasim went to Oudh to take refuge with the Nawab Vazier, who, had an eye on Mir Qasim's jewels. Mir Qasim remained in Oudh for a little while, practically a prisoner in the hands of his late ally the Nawab Vazier. The latter was surprised at the fidelity of Ali Ibrahim and he asked the reason why he (Ibrahim) was so faithful to his master. Ali Ibrahim at once boldly answered. "To my knowledge I have not been guilty of any dereliction to my master, except that after the events of Patna, whilst other officers counselled him to go to Dakhin and secure the support of the Marhattas I alone insisted on Mir Qasim to seek shelter with you, the Nawab Vazier and the Emperor." This bold statement, the author of the *Seir* says, brought tears into the eyes of "even the mean Nawab Vazier."

The Nawab Vazier now demanded a huge sum of money³ from Mir Qasim on behalf of the Emperor, as a tribute of the

¹ "Ryaz-U-Salatin," M. Abdus Salam's translation, B. Indica series, footnotes by translator on the authority of the *Seir*.

² Ditto.

³ *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 538.

Bengal province, which the Nawab Vazier declared that Mir Qasim had failed to pay to the Emperor. Ali Ibrahim who acted as the messenger between the Nawab Vazier and Mir Qasim, was told that his master could be released if he (Ali Ibrahim) could remain there as the hostage. Ali Ibrahim at once replied that he could be a hostage for his master but not for the money, which he promised, his master would send as soon as possible. Failing in this Ali Ibrahim tried to appeal to the Vazier's sentiments by saying that the world would denounce him (the Nawab Vazier) for imprisoning a person who had come as a refugee. But unfortunately this appeal did not move the Nawab Vazier.

Some of the incidents that occurred during these negotiations besides being interesting, serve to illustrate in a remarkable degree the sublime and lovable character of Ali Ibrahim Khan. A French officer named Gentil ¹ who was in the service of the Nawab Vazier came to him at night and offered him protection but he declined this offer with thanks on the ground that he could not protect himself as long as his master was in danger.

Once his tent was surrounded while he was sick in bed. But the officer of the guard came to him and asked him to hide if he had anything of value with him and showed him the utmost consideration.²

On another occasion Ali Ibrahim sent a note of protest to the Nawab Vazier against some ill-treatment he had received. His note was carried to the Nawab Vazier by the women of the harem who showed the utmost regard for him.³

One of the ministers of the Nawab Vazier offered him a nice job, but he refused.⁴ The Nawab Vazier himself tempted him with the offer of the best jobs but he clung to his old master. He was asked to disclose where Mir Qasim had hidden his treasure but Ibrahim refused to betray his master.

¹ Seir, Vol. II, p. 545.

² Seir, Vol. II, p. 546.

³ Seir, Vol. II, p. 547.

⁴ Seir, Vol. II, pp. 547 and 570.

In order to effect the release of Mir Qasim, he advised him to turn a Faqir. This had a profound effect on the superstitious mind of the Nawab Vazier who after that began to give better treatment and gave him freedom to move about.

At last after many devices, Mir Qasim escaped from the clutches of the Nawab Vazier and fled to Bereilly in 1764.¹ When his master escaped Ali Ibrahim Khan was still in the hands of the Nawab Vazier. But in spite of this he sent one thousand rupees to Mir Qasim to help him in his flight. Soon after Mir Qasim's escape Ali Ibrahim was free and went straight to Allahabad and from there he went to Murshidabad.

After his return to India in 1764, Clive made a tour and on meeting Ali Ibrahim Khan he appointed him as an Amin.² On his appointment he was asked to prepare a list of those Zemindars and other officials who had fled or died. In this list he omitted several names by mistake or intentionally with the result that many people suffered great hardship. "But," the author of Muzaffar Nama concludes, "his honesty and trustworthiness are beyond question."

In 1771, Ali Ibrahim was appointed Diwan of Mubarak-Ud-Daula's household at the recommendation of Mohamad Reza Khan.³ When the latter was arrested and tried in 1772, Ali Ibrahim was most actively engaged in his defence. His efforts went a long way in the acquittal of Mohamad Reza Khan.⁴ Making himself familiar with all the papers of Mohamad Reza Khan he prepared the defence and "resolved to make of his own breast a buckler against all the shafts of those times.....His answers had the power of soothing his enemies."

The author of Seir goes so far as to say that it was through Ibrahim Khan's efforts that M. Reza Khan was released.⁵ The

¹ Seir, Vol. II, pp. 568, 569 and 572 and Burgess, Chronology of Modern India, p. 221.

² Muzaffar Nama Folio 202 a and b, British Museum Mss. Add 16702.

³ Seir, Vol. III, p. 68 and Muzaffar Nama Folio 231.

⁴ See note on Reza Khan, *vide* Imtiaz M. Khan's correspondence of Col. Murray.

⁵ Seir, Vol. III, pp. 70-71.

author of Seir says that Reza Khan used to say, "Those that gained Lacs in my service and owe me the very bread upon which they now live, have abandoned and deserted me in the day of need, and have left me alone ; nor has any one been of any use to me in the day of trial, nor am I under the least obligation to a single one of them, save to Ali Ibrahim Khan, my Qibla, that benefactor of mine, who has bought and acquired every ounce of me. No father and no brother would have served me with so much zeal nor done what this man has done."

After his release Mohamad Reza Khan joined Clavering's party in the hope of getting back his post. But "such a step was vigorously opposed by Ali Ibrahim Khan in whose temper, prudence and foresight seem to be predominant."¹ He advised him to wait and see the result of the struggle and to abstain from joining any party. But Reza Khan did not act on this sound advice with the result that twice he was dismissed and reinstated.

In the meanwhile Ali Ibrahim's attempts to enforce honesty in his department alienated all his officials and they all began to intrigue against him.² They all approached Mohamad Reza Khan and excited him against this honest man. The mischief began to bear fruit. Reza Khan began to insinuate in public against Ali Ibrahim Khan's dress and his poems. The author of Seir relates a story as to how Reza Khan got an opportunity of dismissing him from the post. Considering the fact that the author is very favourably disposed throughout towards Ali Ibrahim Khan, it seems quite reasonable to accept the story which unfortunately does not do any credit to him and shows the weak side of his nature. It seems that Rabia³ Begum's daughter Banni Begum had a dancing girl whom Banni Begum at the instigation of Reza Khan encouraged to get into intimate relations with Ali

¹ Seir, Vol. III, p. 80.

² Seir, Vol. III, p. 83.

³ Rabia Begum was the wife of Haji Ahmed, the brother Ali Verdi Khan (see Seir, Vol. II, p. 113 and Vol. I, p. 281).

Ibrahim Khan. The scandal became famous and Reza Khan took this opportunity of dismissing him¹ in 1777-1778.

When Munni Begum quarrelled with Reza Khan she requested the Governor to dismiss him and to appoint Ali Ibrahim in his place as the deputy of the household.² With the approval of Hastings, Mubarak-Ud-Daula and Munni Begum both offered this post to Ali Ibrahim and went so far as to give him a written pledge that they would do nothing against his wishes. But he refused this offer.

Nothing is known about him during the three years that intervened between his dismissal from the Diwani of Mubarak-Ud-Daula's household in 1778 and 1781 when he was appointed the chief magistrate of Benares by Hastings on a salary of Rs. 2,500 a month,³ with three departments under him, the first of which was the Diwani Adaulat with 83 officials, the second was the Faujdari Adaulat with 65 officials and the third was the Kotwali department with 242 officials including a grave digger. Directly under him were (1) a Naib (2) a Darogha (3) 3 Munsifs (4) 2 Maulvis (5) 2 Pundits (6) a Darogha for Faujdari (7) a Kotwal.

The magnitude of the task which was entrusted to him and consequently the great confidence Hastings reposed in him is evident from a letter which Hastings wrote to Wheeler on 1st November, 1781, in which he describes the chaotic condition of Benares since its transfer to the Company in 1775.⁴ "The appearance of public justice," he writes, "was gradually effaced, till at last, without any system of police, any Courts of judicature, any awe of the Sovereign power, the inhabitants of Benares were guilty of enormities of crimes which reflected the greatest disgrace on the government to which they were subject. The

¹ Seir, Vol. III, p. 83.

² Ditto.

³ Parliamentary Collection 16 A (second report of the select committee) pp. 512 and 530. India Office.

⁴ India Office, Parl : Collect., 16 A, p. 527.

relations and dependents of the Raja or the merchants whose credit was useful in the payment of his revenue, might violate the rights of their fellow citizens with impunity, and the sacred character of a Brahmin or the high caste of the offender were the considerations which stamped a pardon on the most flagitious crimes.”

The high opinion that Hastings held for Ali Ibrahim is evident from the following extract of the above letter :—

“ The person whom I have chosen to fill the important station of chief magistrate is Ally Ibrahim Cawn, a man who has long been personally known to myself and I believe to many individuals of our government and whose character for moderation, disinterestedness and good sense will bear the test of the strictest inquiry. On his good conduct must doubtless, in a great measure, depend the success of a plan which is to take effect at so remote a distance from the seat of our government; and it is chiefly from the reliance I have in him personally that I have ventured to delegate a degree of authority to him, which it would perhaps be unsafe to vest in a person of a less established character.”

That the great confidence reposed in him by Hastings was more than justified is clearly proved by the following extract from a letter of Cornwallis to the Prince of Wales.¹ The Prince of Wales wrote to Cornwallis a letter of recommendation for his protegee Mr. Treves whose ambition was to be appointed to the Adaulat of Benares. “ The object of Treves’ ambition at present,” wrote the Prince of Wales on the 30th May, 1789, “ is to be appointed to the Adaulat of Benares which is now held by a Black named Alii Cann. Understanding that most of the Adaulats are now held by Europeans, and as I am informed that it is the intention that Europeans are to be so placed in future in preference to the natives, I should be vastly happy.....if you could place young Treves in that situation.”²

1 Ross, Correspondence of Cornwallis, Vol. II, p. 28.

Cornwallis in reply to the above wrote ¹ on the 14th August, 1790 :—" The great and truly respectable character of that magistrate would have rendered it a very difficult and unpopular measure for any Governor-General to have removed him even if the plausible pretext of preserving an uniformity of system with our other possessions, in this part of India, by appointing European judges of Adaulat, would with propriety have been admitted...The measure of removing Ali Ibrahim Cawn which would be in the highest degree disgusting and offensive to the natives, could neither be defended on the principles of expediency or system."

A further proof of his popularity at Benares is to be found in an appeal which he made to the residents and in which he says (summary) "Since the day I have been appointed to this post by the Council I have tried my best to put down abuses, thefts, and the excesses of the priests over the pilgrims. Justice is administered strictly according to Hindu and Moslim laws. Hindus swear on Ganga Jal (holy water of the Ganges) while Moslims swear on the Qoran. In 1783 there was a severe famine in Benares. I induced the governor to abolish the tax on the import and export of corn and I saved the city from disaster. Now I appeal to the residents to certify my statement....."

This appeal which is now preserved in the British Museum (see Supplementary Persian MSS. Catalogue p. 259, MSS 405 : add 29217) is 27 feet long and is full of signatures in Persian and Nagri character. The probable date of this appeal seems to be 1784, because this is the latest date in these signatures. This appeal with all its signatures would have carried very little weight if it were a solitary evidence in favour of Ali Ibrahim but when it is examined in the light of what is generally said about him and specially in view of the above letter of Cornwallis in which he speaks of Ali Ibrahim's popularity at Benares, its value as an evidence increases very much.

¹ Ditto, p. 84.

Last but not the least is the opinion of a man who had himself appointed him to the chief magistracy of Benares and who, in the words of the author of *Seir* had "the eagle-like keenness of sight." Writing to his wife on 8th March, 1784, he says :¹—"I have been joined by Ally Ibrahim Cawn and Beniram Pundit whom you know that I reckon among my first friends. To the first I am indebted for having raised my character and made it known to every quarter of India by his wise administration of the city of Benares."

How he commanded the confidence of others is further illustrated by an incident which happened at Benares, while he was the chief magistrate there.² When Prince Jahandar Shah Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Shah Alam, was on his death bed, he called Ali Ibrahim and entrusted to him his family and children expressing the hope that his family would be well looked after under his care and asked him not to allow his family to go to the Emperor.

He died in 1208 Hijri (1793-1794 A.D.)³ The Company in recognition of his services appointed his son Nasiruddin Ali Khan in his place and a pension was granted to his family. The Court of Directors approved this just recognition of his services.

* * *

Ali Ibrahim as a Writer.

(a) Literature :

He was the author of several works mainly on history and literature. He was ⁴ himself a poet and wrote under the double Takhallus of Khalil and Hal. The fact that Mir the father of Urdu poetry and the famous blind Urdu poet Jurat notice him,

¹ S. G. Grier, "Hasting's letters to his wife," p. 276.

² See Calcutta Gazette of 12th June, 1788.

³ De Tassy, *History of Hindustani Literature* (French), Vol. II, p. 1, and his son's letter to Murray, B. M. MSS. 19502, Folio 91, and Dispatches to Bengal, 6th April, 1798 and 20th March, 1797, India Office Records.

⁴ Tassy, Vol. II, p. 2.

shows that Ali Ibrahim was not an obscure poet in his days. According to Tassy he was in his young days very closely connected with Mir and took up Mir's style, which, all the critics of Urdu literature agree in saying, was very pure, chaste and simple. ¹

As a literary critic ² three of his works are famous. (1) *Gulzar-I-Ibrahim* ³ which contains the brief notices on *Rekhta* (Urdu) poets and which was composed at the request of his friends while he was engaged in compiling his two other *Tazkirahs*. This work contains notices on 300 Urdu poets with a few extracts from their works. (2) *Khulast-UI-Kalam* ⁴ and (3) *Suhf-I-Ibrahim*. These two works contain biographical notices on 3,263 Persian poets. N. Bland prefers this work to all others on the subject. "Preceding writers on the subject," N. Bland says, "had usually limited their researches to a particular age or to poets who had excelled in one or more styles; but a later author grasping the whole circle of criticism and biography, had given us a complete survey of poetical literature, from its earliest dawn to the very recent period at which he finished his compilation....."

"However," continues Bland, "what in my opinion renders the collection of the Nawab of peculiar importance is the very valuable mass of biographical information it contains not merely in point of quantity of matter only, but for the great critical acumen displayed in selecting and comparing dates and circumstances, and on an attentive comparison of several notices in the *Suhi-I-Ibrahim* with those of the *Atis-Kedah*. I am induced, decidedly to give the preference to the former. The judicial habits of the Nawab must have been favourable to his critical discrimination, which his intimacy with Europeans

¹ See Mohamad Hosain Azad *Ab-i-Hayat* (Urdu).

² See Add 27319.

³ Translated into Urdu with many additions by Mirza Ali Lutf. See *Seir-UI-Musannadin* by Mohamad Yabya.

⁴ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Old Series, Vol. IX, pp. 158-65.

must also have tended to improve.....Ibrahim Khalils Suhf is justly entitled to preference over all others as the ground work of Persian poetical biography in an European arrangement."

Sir William Jones, the famous Orientalist, in his preface of Hatifi's "Deila Majnun" (Calcutta, 1788) says, as regards Ali Ibrahim Khan's work on the biographies of the Persian poets:—"For the short account of our poet...we are obliged to the kindness of Ali Ibrahim Khan, one of the best-bred, most learned and most virtuous Musalmans in the British territories."

(b) *Histories* :

Ali Ibrahim Khan's position, as a historian too, is quite eminent. Two of his historical works are available¹ (1) *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan* contains a detailed history of the Marhathas from 1171 to 1199 Hijri (1758-1785 A.D.) and was written, as the author says in the beginning "to expose the audacious attempt of Visvas Rao on the throne of the Timurides and to record its signal punishment." It was written during the administration of Cornwallis whom he extols in the usual oriental way in his preface. It was translated almost in full for Elliot by Major Fullerton who thinks it "very valuable for the succinct account it gives of the Marhathas."² (2) "Account of the rebellion of Rajah Chait Singh of Benares. The period embraced by this work extends from 19th Shaban, 1195 when the author arrived at Buxar with Hastings on 27th Ramzan in the same year (11 August to 18 September, 1781). He was thus an eye-witness to the events which he records."³ (3) Besides these two histories, he also wrote "A treatise on the forms of oath of the Hindus."

¹ Elliot and Dawson, Vol. VIII, p. 257 and B.M. Add 26272.

² See British Museum of 1865, II.

³ India Office, Jones MSS. No. LXXX

His Character.

It does not require any extraordinary charitability of imagination to describe the character of a man against whom not a single contemporary has anything to say. He has been mentioned by four different persons of entirely different positions and temperament. The first is Hastings who was his personal and intimate friend and who was indebted to him for having raised his character and “made it known to every quarter of India by his wise administration of the city of Benares.” The second is Cornwallis, who, setting aside the recommendations of the Prince of Wales for Mr. Treves, wrote to that Prince saying that he could not remove Ali Ibrahim Khan whose “great and truly respectable character” would render such measure very unpopular. The third is the author of Seir who was personally known to Ibrahim and who is loud in his praises. But all the same the author does not hesitate in mentioning his friend’s weakness for the fair sex which gave Reza Khan the opportunity for dismissing Ibrahim from the household Diwani of the Nawab Naziem. But before condemning Ibrahim too severely for this single weakness—for there is nothing else on record—it must be remembered that in the 18th century in India, it was almost a fashion in the Aristocracy and Royalty to have their harems full of dancing girls. The fourth is the author of Muzaffar Nama who was a protege of Mohammad Reza Khan as he himself says in the preface, and therefore had no reason to be biased in Ali Ibrahim’s favour in view of the quarrel between his patron and Ali Ibrahim. Consequently his opinion about Ali Ibrahim when he says that “his honesty and trustworthiness are beyond question” must carry a great weight.

Even if these opinions were not available, and if the historian had to rely merely on the facts recorded about him, the verdict would have been as favourable as ever. Ibrahim stands before his biographers in many different capacities. First he

appears as the Councillor and servant of Mir Qasim to whom he adheres "with a fidelity uncommon in those days." The advice which he always offers to his master is anything but unsound. But in spite of his being overruled by the influence of Mir Qasim's "evil genius," he does not desert his master when everybody else has left him in his adverse days.

Secondly, he appears as an executive officer in the corrupt Nizamat regime of Mubarak-Ud-Daula, where he alienates everybody for enforcing honesty on the people for whom dishonesty¹ was the means of their living. Reza Khan whom he befriended in his misfortune and who at first acknowledged his obligation in the most glowing term dismisses him. Munni Begum and Mubarak-Ud-Daula offer him the post again with a written guarantee but he refuses, as any honest man would have done.

Thirdly, he stands before us as a Chief Magistrate and Judge of a city which was in a very disorderly state before his appointment, which had recently been annexed to British territory and which contained population which could not love a man of Ali Ibrahim Khan's religion. Yet he succeeded and succeeded completely in his work of evolving order out of chaos. Cornwallis' testimony will go far in proving this.

Lastly, he appears as a man of letters, as a literary critic and historian. In the first capacity, his position is undoubtedly most eminent as is proved by the criticism of such distinguished Orientalists as N. Bland and Sir William Jones. He moved in the best literary circles of the time and was respected and honoured by men like Mir and Jurat, the founders of Urdu poetry.

Ali Ibrahim's character shines all the more gloriously when it is contrasted with those of his contemporaries. "The

¹ See notes on Mubarak-Ud-Daula and Nasir-Ul-Mulk, *vide* Imitiaz Mohamad Khan's "Correspondence of Col. Murray," London University Library.

character of the Princes and other public men, " writes ¹ Vincent Smith while discussing the 18th century, " had sunk to an extremely low level. Nearly all the notable men of that age lives vicious lives, stained by gross sensuality, ruthless cruelty and insatiable greed."

¹ V. Smith, Oxford History of India, 1923 edition, p. 487.

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN.

THE JOY

Be cold, drop icy words upon my heart ;
 Be hard and tell me " Go ! " With keenest dart
 Of angry glances pierce my pleadings through :
 I'll forfeit not the joy of loving you !

Refuse the worship of my prostrate soul ;
 Frown, when with vermiel from the broken bowl
 Of my poor life I tinge your lotus-feet :
 The joy of loving you will still be sweet !

Someday, somewhere, with unveiled eyes you'll see
 The wounds that could not wound my constancy ;
 Your tears may bathe these wounds that now must pine;-
 Will not the joy of loving you be mine ?

Or if before the dawn of that fair day,
 My heart be laid to earthy worms a prey,
 My soul shall watch beside you, ever near :
 That purer joy, Belov'd, will be more dear !

CYRIL MODAK

BODH-GAYĀ FROM HINDU POINT OF VIEW

To survey the history of Bodh-Gayā from a Hindu point of view is to witness how from the very beginning it presented the scene of a struggle between Śaivism and Buddhism. So far as Śaivism is concerned, this struggle was rather for the assertion of right to existence than for the establishment of supremacy. The verdict of the historian is bound to be this that throughout this age-long struggle the Śaiva has generally been on the defensive and only occasionally on the aggressive. In other words, the purpose of the present article is to show what apology Śaivism actually had and still has for being where it is.

Buddhaghosha has utilised a legend invented by the Buddhists to account for the growth of Uruvelā into a sandy tract. In spite of the fantastic character of the legend, it may be cited here to show that even in Buddhist belief long before the advent of the Buddha the region was once hallowed by the religious rites and austere penances of a class of Vedic hermits, legion in number,¹ who may be rightly described as precursors of our much-acquainted matted-hair Jaṭilas. The stage in which these old-world hermits are made to appear points to a time when they had not as yet developed a sense of corporate life under a commonly acknowledged leader, everyone doing his work in his own way without waiting for the dictation of anybody else. The legend seeks to keep these hermits distinct from the Jaṭilas by representing them as a body of *religieux*, far more ancient, observing the particular solemn ceremony, the *Kṛittikā-vrata*, connected with the asterism *Kṛittikā*² [(the

¹ *Papañcha-sūdanī*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 202 : *Atīte kira anurupanne Buddhō dasasahassa-kulapattā tāpasa-pabbajjāṃ pabbajjitvā tasmim padese viharantā.*

² *Papañcha-sūdanī*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 202 : *Kattikavattāṃ akāṃsu.*

Pleiades of western astronomy) constituting the first constellation of the Lunar Zodiac,—a holy rite so exuberantly extolled in the *Brāhmaṇas*, especially in the *Śatapatha*.¹ The legend distinctly says that the tradition of such an observance by these ancient hermits furnished the pious posterity with a good excuse for commemorating it by demarcating the site, fencing it round, and raising it into a place of special sanctity.²

Leaving aside these ancient Vedic hermits who had no rival to encounter, we may come down to the historical period and witness how just prior to the rise of Buddhism and at the time of Buddha's enlightenment the distinguished body of the *Jaṭilas*, the predecessors of the *Śaiva* ascetics, were holding unquestioned sway over the region of *Uruvelā*,³ unmindful of what was portended by the appearance of a new star on the horizon. Their hearth and home was the hermitage (*assama*) overlooking the glassy flow of the *Nerañjarā* which in its downward course also washed the village of *Senāni-gāma* and the sombre site of the Bo-tree. Performing as they did the sacrificial rites, daily ablutions and other duties they were spending their time in perfect peace and contentment without brooking any cause of fear. The princely ascetic *Siddhārtha* was completely at liberty to move about and act as he pleased and seek a religious career as well he might. Even his great attainment did not excite their grudge or jealousy, and his movements and ponderings immediately following it did evoke any feeling of suspicion neither. If we can rely upon the authenticity of Buddhist records, both canonical and post-

¹ *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (S.B.E) : " He may set up the two fires under the *Kṛittikās*, for they, *Kṛittikās*, are doubtless *Agni's* asterism. So that if he sets up his fires under *Agni's* asterism (he will bring about a correspondence between his fires and the asterism) .. Moreover, the other lunar asterisms consist of one, two, three or four stars, so that the *Kṛittikās* are the most numerous (of asterisms). Hence he thereby obtains an abundance."

² *Papañcha-sūdanī*, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 203 : *Pacchimā jānatā chetiyaṭṭhānaṃ akāsi.*

³ *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, IX.

canonical, we cannot but admit that even when the Buddha wended his way back to this tract with the sole object of subduing the Jaṭilas of the place and entered into their hermitage, they unsuspectingly accorded hospitality to him treating him as their distinguished guest. When on his first arrival at their hermitage he enquired if they had any objection to allowing him to stay for a night in their fire-room, which was undoubtedly the *sanctum sanctorum* in their dwelling place, it was frankly pointed out that they had no objection whatever, and that if they had any scruple in the matter, it was due only because of their fear that his life might be in danger from the fury of a Serpent-king who jealously guarded the hearth. They were all very glad that he took up his abode in the charming woodland near by and found there a suitable place of sojourn. During all the time of his stay at Uruvelā they paid respectful attention to him. The only instance of exception to be noted is that at the approach of the day of 'great sacrifice' (*Mahāyañña*), the annual function celebrated as the most joyous occasion by all the inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha, they wished in their heart of hearts if he would think well not to make his appearance at their residence on that particular day, fearing lest his superior personal dignity and charm might overpower the credulous multitudes who would assemble, and serve only to increase his gain and fame and decrease those thitherto enjoyed by them. But even with respect to this the Buddhist account carefully points out that that, too, was nothing but a passing thought. For although to allay their fear the wise Buddha had retired of his own accord to a place far off, they felt sorry that he was not to be found in the locality when they wanted to greet him also on that day with their usual hospitality.

The reformist zeal which actuated the move on the part of the Enlightened One of great hypnotic powers naturally carried with it the love of conquest and the spirit of aggression. Thus we need not be astonished to see that the Buddhist chronicler

has aptly described the conversion of the Jaṭilas by the Great Buddha as *Jaṭila-damana* or Infliction of defeat on the matted-hair ascetics of the Gayā region by the employment of all stratagems consistent with his position. The matter did not stop here. The account glibly proceeds to narrate that the powerful victor made an open exhibition of these convert-captives in the great metropolis of Magadha to the very people who had so long paid their unstinted homage to them.¹

The muse of history is strangely mute over the long roll of events affecting the interests of the Jaṭilas as Jaṭilas within the bounds of Uruvelā during the succession of centuries. The life of this region as portrayed in the informative itinerants of Fa-Hian breathes altogether a Buddhistic atmosphere, although the Chūlavamsa would have us believe that Buddhaghosha, who was destined to figure as the greatest among the Pāli commentators, hailed from a Brahmin family of Bodh-Gayā and had excelled in Vedic lore with all the auxiliary sciences and arts and drunk deep of the fountain of Patañjali's system,²—the acquisition which he succeeded in bringing to bear upon his interpretation and defence of Buddhism. If this story be true, the gifted Brahmin youth saw the light of the day in the same neighbourhood of the Bo-tree where after the great event of Buddhahood the sage of the Śākyas happened to meet and converse with an erudite Brahmin vaunting of his knowledge of Vedānta, the Brahma-lore. The Buddha is said to have been pressed with the inquiry as to the qualities that go to make a real Brahmin (*brāhmaṇa-karaṇā dhammā*).³ It will not be far from legitimate, we think, to infer that the even tenor of Brahmanism remained unbroken in Uruvelā, and that the light of Vedic lore was kept ever burning and it did not extinguish even under the glamour of the new-born

1 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, 22.

2 *Bodhimandaśamīpamhi jāto Brāhmaṇa mānaro
Vijjāsippakalāvedī tisū Vedesu pāragū
parivatteti sampuṇṇapadaṃ rattim Patañjali-matam*

3 *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, I, 2.

faith which dazzled the place and the people. Brahmanism never ceased to be the living force.

Brahmā, according to Buddhist tradition, is the supreme Brahmanical deity who prevailed upon the Buddha to proclaim the new faith to the world for the good of mankind. It is again the Vedic or earlier Brahmanical deities Śakra and Brahmā who at every important step looked after the comforts of the Enlightened One preaching his new gospel. With the tide of time the tradition changes its complexion, Śakra retires into the background, Brahmā is in a mood to retire yielding place to Lord Śiva under the iconic form of Maheśvara on whom devolves the benign work of acting as the guardian angel to Dharmeśa-Dharmesvara, the Buddha transformed.¹

The protracted law-suit fought between the present Śaiva Mahanth of Bodh-Gayā and the Anagarika Dharmapala of the Mahabodhi Society is popularly known as a case between the Hindus and the Buddhists for the ownership of the Bodh-Gayā temple and its sacred area. The Mahanth's claim to ownership, which the court of law has in some sense upheld, is said to have been based on "some *sanads*, or grants, given to his predecessors in the 16th or 17th century A.D. by one of the Mughal emperors, either Akbar, Jahangir or Shah Jahan." Without entering here into the merits of the case which has been a cause of much chagrin of feelings to the Buddhist world we may maintain that the Buddhist leader would have pressed a wrong issue if he had instituted a title-suit at the first instance for the possession of the shrine, the apple of contention. If *de facto* possession be the main incidence of the law of real property, it could not be denied that the Mahanth was in actual possession of the shrine at least in the sense that it was situated within his undisputed jurisdiction and as such he could not but appear as a hereditary custodian of the towering temple with the sanctuaries

¹ Maheśvara-devaputra of the *Lalita-vistara* is honoured in two of the Barhut Jātaka-labels by the designation *Arahagutadevaputa* (*Arhadgupta devaputra*).—Barua and Sinha's Barhut Inscriptions.

around from a date when there were no Buddhists in the locality or anywhere else in India proper to take care of it. The first decision of the court of law has indeed allowed the Śaiva Mahanth to enjoy the fetish of legal ownership over the site of the greatest known Buddhist shrine in India, and has even recognised his claim to act as its *sebayat* or beneficiary, investing him with the right of regular worship within its holy precincts. But it has not at the same time debarred the Buddhists from the right of entering into the sacred area and conducting worship in their own approved ways.

In point of fact, this decision, interesting in itself, coupled with the provisions of the Government of India Act for the preservation of ancient monuments of India, has served just to push the question of ownership into the background and bring the question of control to the forefront. Neither the Śaiva Mahanth, the acclaimed owner of the holy site and *sebayat* of the temple, nor the Buddhists of the world who are tormented with chagrin of feelings that the ownership does not formally belong to them, possess any longer the right of making structural additions and alterations within the shrine itself or its compound, removing anything of antiquity from the sacred area, or preventing each other from performing religious rites and paying worship in the approved ways of each. One of the responsible officers deputed by the Public Works Department to act in behalf of the Department of Archæology remains placed in charge of the great temple and all other ancient monuments to be found within its wide surroundings. Just at the lower end of the sacred area a passer-by has to turn aside to mark the imposing sight of the high wall surrounding the impregnable citadel of the Śaiva Mahanth serving as a Brahmanical monastery ; so walking higher up his eyes are sure to be pleased to get a sense of relief at the sight of the open doors of the welcoming Buddhist rest-house built in recent times under the auspices of the Mahabodhi Society, while close by on his right stands, half hidden from view, the quarter of the P. W. D.

officer who is really vested with the power of control. The rest-house prominently stands overlooking the towering temple and the entire site remains open, day and night, to all pilgrims, official visitors and sight-seers. While certain employees of the Saiva Mahanth lie in wait to catch hold of some of the credulous Hindu pilgrims, decoy them into some dark recesses tempting them with the rare sight of the figure of the five Pāṇḍava brothers and other unimportant Hindu divinities, and sluggishly proceed to delude them into the belief that the shrine is a Hindu one, the trained guides appearing prominent with the badge and livery of the Department of Archæology take the inquisitive visitors and sight-seers round the temple drawing their attention to all lingering antiquities of importance and filling their hearts with overwhelming awe at the sight of the undying works of Buddhist devotional piety. Though the question of ownerehip has thus been thrown into the background and the power of control virtually rests with certain departments of the Government, strangely enough, the apple of contention continues as before to trouble the two worlds, Hindu and Buddhist. And sad it is to find that the leaders of these two communities have hitherto failed to set the remaining question of approved modes of rites and worship at rest by forming a committee of experts from both the sections of people to determine the modes that would be prejudicial to none !

The case of the Mahanth of Bodh-Gayā, even as it stands to-day, gives rise to these two important issues, each calling for a definite opinion from the impartial historian : (1) whether or not, the Mahanth as the acknowledged head of a sect of the Śaivas or worshippers of Maheśvara, who have permanently settled down in Bodh-Gayā can claim to act as a hereditary custodian of the Bodh-Gayā temple and its sacred area ; and (2) whether or not, the Mahanth as a recognised head of the Hindu community can legitimately claim the right of worship of the Buddha-image, the Bo-tree as well as the Hindu divinities in the sacred area of Mahābodhi in his own approved ways.

As for the first issue, we have already noted that a time came when in the Buddhist legend itself, the Śaiva Brahmanical deity Maheśvara was entrusted with the benign work of acting as the guardian angel to the Buddha. The testimony of Hwen Thsang clearly proves that as early as the 7th century A.D. the Buddhists themselves freely recognised the very temple in dispute as a magnificent erection of the devotional piety of a Śaivite Brahmin who undertook the costly work under inspiration from no other deity than Maheśvara, the Lord of Mt. Kailāsa. The belief then current among the Buddhists of Bodh-Gayā indeed was that when Maheśvara, the supreme deity of the Śaivas, generously inspired his Brahmin votary to erect the great shrine to the Buddha, he inspired also the younger brother of this Brahmin to excavate the tank, the *Buddha-pokhar*, on the south side of the temple. If we can rely upon the testimony of the great Chinese pilgrim, the life-like image of the Buddha which he found enshrined in the main sanctuary of the temple at the time of his visit was the wonderful handiwork of a skilled Brahmin artist employed by the builder of the temple. If the two Brahmin brothers had afterwards become votaries of the Buddha, for that, too, the credit is due at the first instance to Śiva-Maheśvara, the Brahmanical deity ungrudgingly rendering distinct service to the Buddha.¹ To quote Hwen Thsang in his own words :²

“ On the site of the present *vihāra* Aśoka-rāja at first built a small *vihāra* (shrine). Afterwards there was a Brahman who reconstructed it on a large scale. At first this Brahman

¹ So long as the fact remains that the Śaivite Brahmin created the temple to the Buddha for the fulfilment of a worldly desire, namely, the securing of the post of minister to a reigning monarch, the question as to whether he commenced the pious work as a lay worshipper of Śiva or as a lay worshipper of the Buddha is immaterial. A Hindu openly professing to be a devotee of Śiva or of Brahmā or of Viṣṇu may proceed to make a religious offering even in honour of a Muhammadan saint or Fakir in all sincerity of heart for the fulfilment of a worldly desire, say, for having the birth of a male child in the family, without ceasing thereby to be a Hindu.

² Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 119.

was not a believer in the law of Buddha, and sacrificed to Maheśvara. Having heard that this heavenly spirit (god) dwelt in the Snowy Mountains, he forthwith went there with his younger brother to seek by prayer (his wishes). The Deva said, those who pray should aim to acquire some extensive religious merit. If you who pray have not this ground (of merit), then neither can I grant what you pray for.'

The Brahman said, 'What meritorious work can I set about to enable me to obtain my desire?'

The god said, 'If you wish to plant a superior root (growth) of merit, then seek a superior field (in which to acquire it). The *Bodhi-tree* is the place for attaining the fruit of a Buddha. You should straightway return there and by the *Bodhi-tree* erect a large *vihāra* and excavate a large tank, and devote all kinds of religious offerings (to the service). You will then surely obtain your wishes.' ''

The Brahmans having received the divine communication, conceived a believing heart, and they both returned to the place. The elder brother built the *vihāra*, the younger excavated the tank, and then they prepared large religious offerings, and sought with diligence their heart's desire. The result followed at once. The Brahman became the great minister of the king. He devoted his emoluments to the work of charity. Having built the *vihāra* he invited the most skilful artists to make a figure (likeness) of Tathāgata when he first reached the condition of Buddha. Years and months passed without result ; no one answered the appeal. At length there was a Brahman who came and addressed the congregation thus : 'I will thoroughly execute the excellent figure of Tathāgata.'

King Śaśāṅka of Bengal, the hated rival of the Pushpa-bhūti royal family and blackmailed in the court-history of Kanauj as the base assassinator of King Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of Harsha, is made to appear in the pages of the Si-yu-ki of Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim and Buddhist priest, as a formidable enemy of Buddhism. The

cutting down of the sacred Bo-tree is mentioned in broad letters as the very first heinous act, of vandalism, on the part of wicked Śaśāṅka, which he intended to consummate by the destruction of the main Buddha-image of the great Buddhist shrine at Bodh-Gayā. How far the blackening of the character of Śaśāṅka by Hwen Thsang was due to the prejudice which the Maukhari court naturally tried to create in the mind of the inquisitive but credulous Buddhist pilgrim and foreign traveller, entertained as its most distinguished guest, is still a problem for the sober historian to solve. Suspicion begins to grow and gain in strength on this point as we find that after the sword had failed to sufficiently retaliate the wrongs done to the Maukhari family by the artful rival from Bengal, the pen of the court-poet Bāṇa was employed to feed fat the ancient grudge. The spirit which enacted this court-record would only find its fulfilment in duping an eminent foreign agent with unique attention, honour and courtesy to act as a very powerful agent, though unconsciously, for broadcasting the stigma it sought to attach to the hated name. It may appear from the procedure followed by the Maukhari court that it did not let off this agent to do its work before it had succeeded in creating these two delusive impressions : (1) that King Harsha was a fervent Buddhist although still paying the customary homage to the god Maheśvara, and (2) that on the other hand, wicked Śaśāṅka of the far east proved himself only to be a fanatical desecrator of Buddhism in the holiest of its shrines while madly acting as an avowed champion of the cause of Lord Maheśvara.

We have already cast our doubt over Hwen Thsang's account relating to the attempt of Śaśāṅka to destroy the Bo-tree by cutting it down. Now with regard to the remaining portion of his account that relates to the Śaiva king's project of replacement of the Buddha-image by a figure of Maheśvara in the main sanctuary of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā, we

¹ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 119-120.

may reasonably maintain that the palpable self-contradiction, inherent in it, alone suffices to indicate that it is not exactly the gospel truth. It will be worth while to reproduce here the words of the Chinese pilgrim to establish our contention.

“Śaśāṅka-rāja having cut down the Bodhi-tree wished to destroy this image (the figure of Tathāgata enshrined in the great temple) ; but having seen its loving features, his mind had no rest or determination, and he returned with his retinue home-wards. On his way he said to one of his officers, ‘ We must remove that statue of Tathāgata and place there a figure of Maheśvara.’

The officer, having received the order, was taken by fear, and, sighing said, ‘If I destroy the figure of Tathāgata, then during successive *Kalpas* I shall read misfortune. If I disobey the king, he will put me to a cruel death and destroy my family ; in either case, whether I obey or disobey, such will be the consequences; what, then, shall I do? ’

On this he called to his presence a man with a believing heart (*i.e.*, a believer in Buddha) to help him, and sent him to build up across the chamber and before the figure of Buddha a wall of brick. The man, from a feeling of shame at the darkness, placed a burning lamp (with the concealed figure) ; then on the interposing wall, he drew a figure of Maheśvara-deva. The work being finished, he reported the matter. The king hearing it, was seized with fear ; his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off, and after a short while he died. Then the officer quickly ordered the intervening wall to be pulled down again, when, although several days had elapsed, the lamp was still found to be burning.”¹

From this account it does not certainly appear that Śaśāṅka, the decried royal promoter of the Śaiva cause, was either a religious fanatic or a vandal, but rather as one on whose mind the very sight of the lovely figure of the Buddha, the

¹ Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 121-122.

lasting work of fame of a Brahmin artist enshrined as the greatest object of veneration in the temple erected by a Śaiva Brahmin, produced the deepest impression. It seems that nothing would be more distant from his intention than the destruction of such an awe-inspiring image. The account itself clearly shows that his mind was so tenderly disposed then that even a passing thought of this kind would be strong enough to fill it with fear and trepidation of heart. It would be simply a misreading of fact to take the account to mean that the king of Bengal marched with his troops and transports to Bodh-Gayā with the sole object of converting the Buddhist shrine into a Śaiva one. The impression which it creates rather is that when he had halted at Bodh-Gayā on his return to his capital after having carried out a campaign in the kingdom of Magadha or further west, he eventually visited the recently built famous shrine. A seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka found on Rhotasgarh¹ may be taken to establish that he was marching by the highway of which we have a familiar description in the Mahāvastu and the Lalita-vistara.

Even if we take Hwen Thsang at his own word, the king's command to his officer was not to destroy the Buddha-image but just to "remove that statue and place there a figure of Maheśvara." How his officer could construe the simple and unambiguous words of the king to mean destruction is something beyond our conjecture. The account proceeds further to narrate that the impending calamity was averted by the officer by an ingenuous plan of seeking the aid of a pious Buddhist devotee to keep the Buddha-image concealed by a brick-wall erected across the chamber with a figure of Maheśvara drawn upon it. This ingenuous plan would, however, prove to be a very poor device if the Śaiva king were, as alleged, bent upon the work of destruction. Whatever might have been the import of the king's command, it transpires that it was anything but the destruction of the Buddha-

¹ Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vol. III, p. 284, The inscription reads *Sri-mahāsamanta Śaśaṅkadevasya*.

image. The task was anyhow left to be executed by a pious Buddhist devotee, and when it was executed, the figure of Maheśvara was assigned a place nowhere else but on the covering wall as if to make it play the humble rôle of a guardian angel of the Buddhist sanctuary. We cannot reasonably interpret the whole affair as tremendously gratifying to the Śaiva spirit for aggrandisement.

If, as it seems, Śaivism became aggressive from the 5th or the 6th century A.D., or even from a still earlier date, under the strong support of such powerful kings of northern India as Śaśāṅka, it must be conceded that it had tried to make its supremacy felt not only at Bodh-Gayā but over the entire region of Gayā. Viewed in its true historical perspective, this work of aggression on the part of Maheśvara was to gain an ascendancy over his rivals Śakra and Brahmā, and so far as the Buddhist shrine of Bodh-Gayā is concerned, he sought to step into the place of these earlier guardian deities, and never to usurp the eminence of the Buddha.

Proceeding further down to the earlier period of the reign of the Pāla kings of Bengal, say, "towards the close of the 9th, or the beginning of the 10th century A.D." which was about to see the full blossoming of the budding architectural and sculptural features of the life of the Gayā region as a whole, we happily chance upon an important epigraphic record of one Keśava, son of Ujjvala, the stone-cutter, clearly showing how the erudite Śaivite Brahmin scholars and their successors were living at Bodh-Gayā side by side with the Buddhists of the place without any feeling of enmity or discord. The record goes so far as to indicate that a devout Hindu was freely allowed to set up a stone-figure of Śiva-Brahmā (Mahādevaśchaturmukha) within the temple of Buddha-Dharmēśa for the benefit of the Śaivite Brahmin scholars of the locality. As Dr. Bloch informs us, the stone containing this inscription, in nine lines, is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and it shows three figures, Sūrya, Śiva and Viṣṇu, "all of very crude fabric,"

Sūrya to the proper right, Siva in the centre and Viṣṇu to the proper left. The inscription itself occupies a space just beside the figure of Viṣṇu. The enshrined object of worship is a Śivaliṅga of the type which is “exceedingly common in North-Eastern India” and is “still called *Chaumukh Mahādev* as in the inscription,”—a phallic symbol of Maheśvara with four faces, which may be looked upon as an adaptation of “the well-known images of Brahmā, by the Śaivas.” The enshrinement of such a peculiar type of Śivaliṅga at Bodh-Gayā evidently resulted from the same process of synthesis or compromise between Śaivism and Brahmanism which found expression in the figure of Prapitāmaheśvara, a Śivaliṅga showing the face of Brahmā, installed at Gayā proper during the Pāla period. The inscription which is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla reads as below :—

a. TEXT.¹

- L1—Om (||) *Dharmēś-āyatane ramye*
Ujjvalasya śilābhidaḥ || *Kc—*
- L2—*śav-ākhyena putreṇa Mahādevaś—*
chaturmukhaḥ || *Sreṣṭha—*
- L3—*me — — — Mahābodhi-nivāsinām* ||
Snātakā—
- L4—*(nām) prajāyās-tu śreyase*
pratishṭhāpitaḥ || *Pushkari—*
- L5—*ṇy=atyagādhā cha pūtā Viṣṇupadī-sa; vā* ||
Tritaye—
- L6—*na sahasreṇa drammāṇām khānitā satām* ||
- L7—*Shaḍviṃśatitame varshe Dharmapāle mahābhuji* ||
- L8—*Bhādra-va (ba)hula-pañchamyām sunor Bhāṣka—*
- L9—*rasy=āhani* || *Om (||).*

¹ Based on Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā* in *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1908-9*, p. 150.

b. TRANSLATION.

[Commenced with Oṅkāra, the Vedic praṇava]

(A figure of) *Chaumukh-Mahādev*¹ has been installed in the pleasant abode (temple) of (Buddha), the Lord of Righteousness,² by Keśava, son of Ujjala, the stone-cutter, for the benefit of the descendants of *snātakas* (the erudite Śaivite Brahmin scholars) residing at Mahābodhi (Bodh-Gayā). A tank, of exceeding depth and holy like the river Ganges³ has been excavated for these good people at the cost of three thousand *drachmas*. (Written) in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla, the enjoyer of the earth, on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, on a Saturday.

[Concluded with Oṅkāra]

We have already tried to show that after the Pālas and during the reign of the Sena kings of Bengal Buddhism fell into decay in the region of Gayā and even at Bodh-Gayā, due apparently to the lack of active royal support, and that the early history of Bodh-Gayā from the Buddhist point of view came to be closed with certain votive erections and pious works done under the auspices and during the reign of king Aśokavalla of Sapādalaksha in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D. Thereafter came the deluge by the onrush of Islamic forces causing a sweeping destruction to the sanctuaries in the Holy Land, in consequence whereof the Buddhists permanently lost their foothold at Bodh-Gayā as at all other important centres of their influence in India proper. The later Gayā-māhātmya, composed in the

¹ A *liṅga* with four faces, being a phallic device, representing of Śiva and the four-faced Brahmā.

² *Dharmēśa* or *Dharmēśvara* is a designation of the Buddha-image worshipped at Bodh-Gayā.

³ Bloch has missed altogether the sense of the word *Vishṇupadī* as used in this inscription when he takes it to mean the footprint of Vishnu. The word *Vishṇupadī* signifies in Sanskrit nothing but the river Ganges.

13th or the 14th century A.D., reveals a changed state of things when the Brahmins of Gayā brought misery on their life by going out of their jurisdiction to officiate as priests at the worship of the Buddha-Dharmesvara at Bodh-Gayā. And Abul Fazal of Akbar's court writing his Ain-i-Akbari in the 40th year of the reign of his imperial master, says that the votaries of Buddhism were nowhere to be found in India of his time except in Kashmere where on his second visit he came across some aged persons yet holding fast to this faith, but none of them could be taken as a learned representative of the religion. He distinctly mentions that the religion of the Buddha had found its stronghold at that time in such distant corners of the earth as Tibet, Tenasserim and Dhaññasiri (Arracan).

Thus we may dispose of the first issue with the observation that from the earliest times till now the Śaivite Brahmins have neither lost nor waived their coveted right of acting as hereditary custodians of the Buddhist shrine at Bodh-Gayā.

And as for the second issue concerning the right of the Hindus to worship the Buddha-image Dharmesvara, the Bo-tree *Aśvattha* in the Bodh-Gayā temple and its sacred area, we have noticed that as far back as the Kushāṇa age it is enjoined in the Epic version of the earlier Eulogium that every pious Hindu visiting Gayā should make it a point to go also to Dharmaprastha or Bodh-Gayā and have a sacred touch of the Buddha-image of the place. The later Eulogium in the Purāṇas enjoins in the same manner that every Hindu pilgrim to the Gayā region desiring to release the departed spirits of his ancestors must visit also Bodh-Gayā to pay his respectful homage to the Buddha-image Dharmesvara as well as the Bo-tree *Aśvattha*, and prescribes a set formula of prayer to be addressed to the Bo which happens to be no other tree than an Indian Fig :

Namas te Aśvattha-rājāya Brahmā-Vishṇu-Sivātmane |
 Bodhi-drumāya karttṛiṇām piṭṛiṇām tāraṇāya cha ||
 Ye asmat kule mātṛivaṃśe bāndhavā durgatiṃ gatāḥ |
 tvad darśanāt sparsanāch cha svargatiṃ yāntu śāśvatim ||

Rinatrayaṃ mayā dattaṃ Gayām āgatya Vrikṣharāt |
tvad prasādān mahāpāpād vimukto' haṃ bhavāṇavāt ||

“ I bend my head low in obeisance to thee, O *Aśvattha*, the lord of trees, standing as a living form of the Holy Triad of our pantheon with thy high fame as Bodhi-druma, the renowned Bo, for the release of the dead forefathers, the makers of the line of descent.

Those in my direct line and those connected with the mother's line, the kith and kin who have gone into the state of woe, may they, from thy holy sight and touch, pass into an eternal state of heavenly life.

The triple debts have I paid, O king of trees, by coming on pilgrimage to Gayā. By thy benign grace am I rescued from the awful ocean of existence and liberated from deadly sins.”

Thus this set formula of prayer or hymn of praise sets forth the Hindu purpose in pilgrimaging to Bodh-Gayā, and paying homage to the Buddha-image Dharmesvara and the Bo-tree *Aśvattha* which is no other than the securing of release of the dead forefathers from the state of woe, the payment of triple debts and the liberation from all dreadful sins. The same is, no doubt, the inner motive which guides the pious action of even the Buddhist pilgrims from some part of India of our time. We must humbly differ from Dr. Bloch¹ when he suggests on the strength of the above hymn that the Hindus do not pay homage to the Fig tree which stands as the living symbol of Buddhism but to a second pipal tree which stands to the north of the Bodh-Gayā temple and is larger and finer than the Bo. The wording of the invocation hardly leaves any room for doubt that the pipal forming the object of veneration is none other than the Bo-tree *Aśvattha*. -

Considered in the light of these historical evidences, on the second issue, too, we have to pronounce our judgment in favour of the Mahanth of Bodh-Gayā and freely recognise his right

¹ Bloch's *Notes on Bodh-Gayā in Archaeological Report*, 1908-09, p. 152.

of worship at the Buddhist shrine in accordance with the traditional Hindu mode.

But the question yet remains : Have the Buddhists themselves ever disputed the Hindu right of worship at their shrines? So far as our information goes, the Buddhists have never and nowhere prevented the Hindus from either visiting or conducting worship at their shrines. As a matter of fact, they have no case against the Hindu devotees coming to a Buddhist shrine for worship. Their shrines remain open to all for worship, without any distinction of caste and creed. The inscription of Keśava, engraved during the reign of Dharmapāla, clearly proves that the Buddhists were liberal and tolerant enough even to allow a Hindu to instal a figure of his deities, Śiva and Brahmā, in their temple at Bodh-Gayā (Dharmēśa-āyatane) for the benefit of the resident Śaivite Brahmins. Even while the Buddhist sanctuaries at Bodh-Gayā were yet under the direct supervision of the Singhalese community of monks (Siṅghala-saṅgha), Aśokavalla, the last known Buddhist king of India who made structural additions in the sacred area of the Bodh-Gayā temple, did not hesitate to engage an erudite Brahmin scholar and poet to compose the text of the votive record and royal panegyric in commemoration of his pious deed. Though avowedly a Buddhist king who toiled like 'a bee on the pollen of the lotus-feet of Jinendra' (*Jinendra-charaṇāravinda-makaranda-madhukara*),¹ Aśokavalla rebuilt in his dominion a fallen temple of Śiva and considered it to be an act worthy of great men, thereby upholding the ancient tradition of the Buddhist king Aśoka of Magadha and the Jaina king Khāravela of Kaliṅga, particularly that of the latter represented as 'a repairer of all temples of the gods' (*savadevāyatana-saṃkāra-kāraka*). Read the votive record and eulogy of Aśokavalla composed for him by the erudite Brahmin scholar and poet in a great hurry (*praśastiṃ drutataram akarot*)²

¹ *IA*, Vol. X, An Inscription at Gayā, p. 344.

² *IA*, Vol. X, p. 346.

and you will be at once convinced of the folly of the unwise step on the part of the Buddhist king to allow the Brahmin composer a free hand in the matter. The inevitable result has been that he has produced a Buddhist record written entirely in his own style and unlike all other known records of the Buddhists in tone and effect :

*Oṃ namo Buddhāya, namo dharmāya śarmaṇe, namaḥ
Saṅghāya śiṃhāya laṅghanāya bhavāmbudheḥ.*

“Obeisance to Buddha—the pure ! obeisance to Dharma the bliss ! obeisance to the Saṅgha—the lion ! for the crossing of the world-ocean.”

Such would never have been the precise wording of the invocation, if the document had been composed by a person imbued with Buddhist tradition. And what is worse, in going to describe the daily worship of the Buddha in the temple at Bodh-Gayā in the light of that of some of the Brahmanical deities in a Hindu temple, he has unknowingly suggested reflection on the character of the whole of Buddhism of his age :

*Pūjāḥ pūjyatamasya pañchamagatair=bbādyais—
trisaṇḍhyaṇi sadā Rambhā-sannibha—
Bhāvinibhir abhito Cheṭibhir (a)tyadbhutaṃ
Nṛityantibhir anaṅga-laṅgima-gatair=ggitā-
dir aṅgair imā yasmāt santi hi
śāsane bhagavatuḥ satkāra- visphāritaḥ.*

“ Since in the religion of Bhagavat, worship is here offered to the most worshipful, always three times a day, by means of instrumental music in the highest key together with Rambhā-like Bhāvinis and Cheṭis dancing round wonderfully with mirth in singing and so on, in a way appertaining to the unions of Anaṅga, (Kāma)-(worship) increased by hospitable entertainments.”¹

⁴ *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 345-346.

⁵ *Barua's Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, I. 16.

¹ *IA*, Vol. X, pp. 342-344.

How a thoughtless poetical description like this, taken uncritically, may mislead its reader will be evident from the following comment of a scholar like Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji :—

“ Bhāvinis are the dancing and singing girls attached to temples. Chetis are maid-servants belonging to temples who perform certain menial services as well as join with the Bhāvinis in singing. Such women are still employed in the Brahmanical temples of Southern and Eastern India. They are of very loose morals; and their employment in Buddhist temples of the 12th century is an indication of its corruption.”¹

If the worship of the Buddha-image and the Bo-tree be left entirely in the hands of the Hindus, it is likely to be utilised to the end of time for the sordid business of releasing the disembodied spirits from a state of woe or obtaining an easy passport to heavenly worlds. It can never be expected to cast off the fear of the ghosts and consciously rise up to the sublimity of Buddhist feeling of pure joy of merit and delight in making a free offering of that joy to the parents, to begin with, to the teachers and preceptors, nay, for the uplift of all sentient beings.² A Hindu pilgrim can never be expected, we dare say, to cherish the *Bodhimāṇḍa* as the very centre of the cultured universe, or to be actuated by that earnest longing for the holy sight, or to be prepared to undertake a long and perilous journey through ‘dust and desert,’ or to be so devoutly inspired by the holy sight as to give a felicitous expression to his feelings in the manner of Chinese pilgrims.

Whatever be the present legal position of the Śaiva Mahanth or the historian’s verdict in his favour, so long as the name Mahābodhi or Bodh-Gayā designates the sacred site, it is humanly impossible to deny that the great shrine belongs

¹ *IA*, Vol. X, p. 344, fn.

² The sentiment has found expression in the Buddhist votive records in such a phraseology as :

Yad atra puṇyam tad bhavato vāchāryopādhyāya-mātāpitṛi-pūrvanṅgamaṃ kṛtvā sakala-sattova rāśer anuttara-jñāna-phalvāptaya iti.

to the Buddhists. From a purely human point of view, the Mahanth appears guilty of these two charges: (1) that by setting up a bug-bear of legal ownership he has unnecessarily checked a free and spontaneous expression of Buddhist religious feeling and piety which is so essential for the resuscitation of the lost glory of the place; and (2) that by his callous apathy towards the shrine he has deviated from the ancient tradition of generosity and by enforcing the Hindu mode of worship and wounding the religious susceptibilities of millions of people he has deliberately acted contrary to the noble principle of Hindu toleration. He is not only unsympathetic but anti-pathetic. If his ownership be a nominal one, he should frankly speak it out, and if a real one, he should try to justify it by effecting a palpable improvement of things in and out. Not to speak it out is to be guilty of hypocrisy, and not to justify it is to be guilty of culpable neglect of duty amounting to irreligion. The onus of proof lies upon him and him alone. At all events, the Hindu verdict in the story of the curse of Brahmā, as we find it in the *Gayā-māhātmya*, is that the Brahmins of Gayā had not done the right thing to go out of their jurisdiction and conduct the worship of the Buddha at Bodh-Gayā, lured by lucre.

B. M. BARUA

TWO MOODS

From white-hot sky the brazen sun glares down,
Searing with fiery breath the drooping palms,
The dusty grass that lies so motionless,
And silencing the song-birds with a frown.
We hate the endless hours of tropic sun,
Long sullen hours that creep on laggard feet,
Until at last the grateful shadows fall
Across our compound walls, and day is done.
The shouting song of day flamed like a fire,
Cleaving its way through skies triumphantly
To end in one brief cadence-colourful,
Vanquished and pale on sunset's funeral-pyre.
Then evening sings her muted melodies
In minor harmonies that soothe and bless;
The full moon rises, like a silver globe
To hang in the branches of crested trees.
And we, forgetting all the ills of day,
Yield to the spell of moon-enchanted night,
And drink the beauty from her dreaming hours,
Thinking how sweet were life if dreams could stay!

LILY S. ANDERSON

A BRIEF SURVEY OF AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN RUSSIA FROM 1861 TO 1920

I.

Even in 1861 when all other European countries had emancipated the serfs, serfdom was the basis of Russian agriculture.

Nearly the entire arable land was owned by the Crown and the Royal princes and by the one hundred and forty thousand families of the Nobility. The estates generally were large and were cultivated by about 50,000,000, serfs. The measure of a nobleman's wealth was neither his income in Roubles, nor the land he owned but the number of serfs he possessed.

The Nobility were the legal proprietors of the land. The estate of a nobleman was divided into two parts. One part was assigned to the serfs, belonging to him, who enjoyed the fruits thereof on payment of a fixed sum. The other part was reserved by the owner for his own enjoyment and the serfs belonging to him were under the liability of cultivating it under their master's supervision. The produce of this part went solely to the master's and the produce of the serf's part went solely to the serfs.

The serfs lived in village-communities and to these village-communities called 'Mirs' belonged the right of distribution of the land to individual peasants. The Mir regulated the cultivation of their soil and settled all questions in connection with it and the Mir was responsible for the payment of the Lords' dues. The right of use of the soil thus belonged collectively to the Mir.

The serfs were the property of the landlord and could be sent by them to Siberia for refractory behaviour. They could not go to towns to follow more lucrative professions without the

consent of the landlord ; and this consent was given only on high periodical payments called ' Obroc.' Even then they were always in danger of being recalled by their masters and compelled to return to the old dependent position. A series of legislation since the days of Peter the Great sought to ameliorate the condition of the serfs. Peter permitted the domestic serfs to enter the army even without the consent of their masters ; and those who gained a certain sum in trade might enroll themselves as inhabitants of town, without their masters' consent. In the reign of Catherine attempts were made to define the liabilities of the peasants, their right to marry at pleasure and the punishment of their masters for cruelties inflicted upon them. But notwithstanding all efforts, the serfs remained in a state of bondage. But in 1861 the serfs could not be sold apart from their land and when the land was sold they also passed on to the new master. Further the liability of the serfs to work up the Lord's land was defined and limited to three days a week.

Besides these cultivating serfs, there was another class of serfs who were attached to the household of the landlord. They did them personal and domestic services. They were also the property of the Lords but no land was assigned to them.

There were about 23,000,000 serfs on the Crown domains, about the same number on the estates of the Nobility and over three millions in domestic service.

It was to end such a state of things that Alexander II, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russians issued the Edict of Emancipation in 1861 and this Edict gave him the popular name of the Czar Liberator.

II.

The domestic serfs were simply declared free and they went to swell the town proletariat. But if the freedom of the peasant serfs were to be made real they must be granted land to live

upon. If the declaration of their freedom simply cut them off from the Nobility and therefore from the land, their dependence on the Nobility would remain as before. Hence a scheme was drawn up according to which the total land fund was divided into two parts. One part was to go to the peasants and the other to remain with the Nobility. The serfs were thus turned into proprietors. Their right of use was turned into a right of ownership.

The land was distributed among the peasants, on condition that they would pay compensation to the landlords. The State issued bonds to the latter to the full value of the compensation due from the peasants who were to pay the amount in forty-nine instalments. The redemption was not to begin at once. Peasants were permitted to enter into temporary terms with the landlords during which they were to pay rents and remain in a state of partial dependence.

The limits to the size of each holding were defined. They varied in each locality with reference to the size of the plot held by the peasants while serfs. A maximum and a minimum were prescribed and when the land held by a peasant exceeded the maximum the excess was taken by the landlord. But if the holding fell short of the minimum, the deficiency was to be made up from the estates of the Nobility. The Edict recognised also a special type of holding called a 'beggarly' or 'gratuitious' holding, the size of which was not to be less than a quarter of the maximum holding. The gratuitious holding was a matter of voluntary arrangement between the landlord and the peasants and it closed all mutual relation between them. In it the peasant was not to pay any redemption charges but he was to surrender to the landlords the excess of his holding over a quarter of the maximum holding prescribed for the locality.

The land thus given to the peasants was the property not of the individual peasant but of the Mir. The Mir distributed the land among the various families. The Mir and not the

peasants individually was made responsible for the payment of the redemption charges to the treasury. The responsibility of the Mir meant that it tightened its control over the peasants. Whenever the Mir had reasons to believe that a piece of land was not adequately cultivated, a re-distribution of land followed. If any peasant was left without cattle or means of cultivation, and became hopelessly involved in debt, his land was taken from him and given to some one else. At an early stage in central and eastern Russia, there arose from this cause a large number of landless peasants.

III.

To sum up the whole change of position, the peasants became free from all former obligations to the landlords and obtained proprietary rights in their land to which they formerly had merely the right of use. For this they lost a part of the land they used formerly and had to pay a redemption charge extending over forty-nine years. Moreover they were placed under the strict supervision of the Mir.

To the peasants the former right of use was as good as a right of property. They did not care for legalism so long as they could enjoy the produce of the land unmolested. The change to their advantage was merely formal but the price paid for it was most material. "We belong to the masters but the land belongs to us"—that was the creed of the peasants. They were freed from their masters but a considerable portion of their land was taken off from them. They looked upon this as sheer robbery. Their freedom again was not unconditional. They were freed from their former masters only to be made subservient to the Mir. Thus their freedom was not won, though they lost a considerable portion of their land ; and the burden of taxation increased heavily. All that they gained for this was a change in the pages of the law-books of the land. No wonder that the economic results of the emancipation were not commen-

surate with the enthusiasm displayed and the expectation made at the time.

Instead of improving the economic condition of the peasants, the emancipation made their lot still harder. The old ill-defined rights as to grazing cattle on the landlords' pasture and collecting wood from the landlords' forests were lost. Space had to be provided now for these purposes from their own share of the land, already reduced by any excess over the prescribed minimum. In this latter way from one-third to one-half of the land formerly occupied by the peasants passed on to the landlords. The provision of pasture and forests absorbed at least one-third of the residue.

Their possession was reduced, but the burden they had to bear increased. The redemption was not calculated on the value of the allotments of land but was considered as a compensation for the loss of the compulsory labour of the serfs; so that throughout Russia with the exception of a few provinces in the S. E., it was—and still remains, notwithstanding a great increase in the value of the land—much higher than the market value of the allotment.

Moreover the landlords craftily continued to deprive the peasantry of those parts of land which were urgently needed by them. Thus sites by the side of a river were essential for a village and these were kept in possession by the landlords so that the peasants were compelled to rent them at any price.

The habit of serfdom was too old and too deeply rooted to be immediately cast aside. The money dues and taxes seemed more burdensome than the labour dues. The pecuniary help in time of need by the landlord was missed at every step. The condition of the peasants was not at all enviable. They often proved "lazy, careless, drunken and dishonest."

The landlords, too, suffered greatly by being deprived of the services of the serfs. Those of them who ill-employed their redemption money were soon bankrupt and went to swell the educated proletariat of the local town. But the careful and

energetic proprietor was rather better off. The effect of the emancipation of the landlords was wittily summarised by one of the nobles thus : "Before the emancipation we drank Champagne and kept no accounts ; since the emancipation we keep accounts and drink Beer."

IV.

Then begins a story of continuous and systematic decay of the Russian peasantry.

The population increased rapidly and the already reduced holdings of the peasants were whittled down into mere fragments. The cause of the fragmentation has been thus described : In 1860, 4·8% decrease on the average, in 1880, 3·5% and in 1900, 2·6% on the average. Land hunger increased rapidly among peasants and rents went up by leaps and bounds.

These fragmentary holdings were again scattered in strips over a long area. The land of a village community lay seldom in a compact block. Intermixture of village land was a common phenomenon. "The blocks of land belonging to the same community were again subdivided into strips, which were sometimes two to three yards broad and some hundred yards long. Each household held a certain number of strips 20-30-50, sometimes even 100-150." One of the results of such intermixture of plots was that the same system of cultivation was followed everywhere.

Such fragmentary and scattered holdings in themselves, shut out intensive capitalistic cultivation. But to this was added the village systems and periodical redistribution of land. This uncertainty as to the tenure of land meant that no cultivator invested much capital in it. Careless cultivation followed and the state of cultivation degenerated from bad to worse. "In 27 provinces the average value of the gross produce of one dessiatina of peasants' land was 8r. and 99k.; while the average cost of production per Des. was 5r. 22k.; so that the net produce per.

Des. amounted only to 3r. 77k." In terms of our own unit the turnout of an acre of land amounted only to a little over a rupee and a half.

To complete the ruin of the peasantry there was a heavy taxation of poverty, "the Agricultural commission of 1872 found that the Squires had to spend on taxes less than 14·5 kopecks per Des., while peasants paid more than 95·5k. per Des. In addition the peasants had to pay the poll tax the amount of which was about 4r. 45k. per soul. The same commission states that in 37 provinces the taxes and redemption payments of the peasants comprised 92·75 per cent. of their net income from land.

A very characteristic symptom of the decay of the peasantry is the fall in the number of horses and an increase in the number of horseless households. "A comparison of the figures of the horse statistics in 1888 and 1893-94 shows that in 31 provinces the number of horses had fallen by 10·88 per cent. The number of horseless households had increased during the same period in 23 provinces of Central Russia from 21·56 per cent. to 26·85 per cent. More than 25 per cent. of the households have no horses at all; another 25 per cent. have only one horse each."

"Assuming that 19 poods of corn per head are the minimum necessary during one year and that 7·5 poods are sufficient for fodder, Mr. Maress calculated that 70·7 per cent. of the peasant population had less than 19 poods per head, 20·4 per cent. had between 19 and 26·5 poods per head."

This is, in brief, the miserably poor story of the Russian peasants after 1861. Much was expected of the emancipation but it only led to crushing poverty. With their holdings whittled down into fragments and subject to periodical redistribution, the peasants could raise from their land only about a rupee and a half per acre, 92·7 per cent. of which had to be paid away in taxes. They lived in dark, dingy rooms, without chimney, with little space to move freely. Diseases were common. Families were large and death rate high. Infants were ill-nourished and many died before reaching manhood. Meat, bacon, oil, butter

appeared on the peasants' table only on exceptional occasions; the ordinary fare consisted of bread, porridge, kvass, cabbage and onion ; and even this ordinary fare was beyond the means of the vast majority and 70·7% were left without the minimum necessary for bare existence. No wonder that the soldiers said to their leader Afanassiev when he was leading them during the Japanese war through the rich estates of the Squires, "Where do you lead us?"

—"To Japan."

—"What for?"

—"To defend our country."

—"What is that country? We have been through the estates of the Lissetskys, the Besulovs, the Padkopailoves Where is our land? Nothing here belongs to us."

V.

The defeat in the Japanese war was followed in Russia by an uprising among the peasants. This at once compelled the attention of the Government towards agricultural reforms.

It was soon realised that an essential condition of improvement of the peasants' lot was an improvement in the methods of cultivation, which demanded, first, an increase in the size of the holding and secondly fixity of tenure.

An increase in the size of the holding was attempted, first, by emigration and, secondly, by new distribution from the estates of the Squires and the domain of the Crown.

The emigration law of 1889 had subjected emigration to strict official control. The emigrants had to pay their own expenses ; they had to satisfy the Government that they had funds enough to construct a dwelling in the new locality and also that their departure would not harm the community in any way. They could be stopped if the local authorities certified

that they could find work in their home. These stringent provisions were removed and Government assistance was extended to emigrants. But the results did not prove much encouraging.

Again, not much was to be expected from new distribution of land from the estates of the Squires and the domain of the Crown. In 1906, the distribution of land among the different kinds of owners was as follows :—

Crown land.....	133,038,883 Des.
Peasants' holdings.....	119,067,754 Des.
Land bought by communities and associations of peasants	11,142,560 Des.
Land bought by individual peasants.....	12,944,154 Des.
Land of the gentry.....	49,287,886 Des.
Land owned by other classes...	22,664,493 Des.
Land owned by various institutions...	6,985,893 Des.

The large area of the Crown land was mainly forest area or lay in the northern or eastern provinces and therefore not tillable. The area of convenient Crown land was only 3,700,000 Des. The addition of other exploitable sources might increase the area up to 45,000,000 Des. But a distribution of these forty-five million dessiatinas among the peasants would raise the size of each peasant's holding by even less than one Des. The insufficiency of the source becomes all the more evident when we remember that about 85 per cent. of the Crown land and a considerable part of the Squire's land were already leased by the peasants.

Stolypin, who was the chief minister in the third Duma, turned his attention to land reforms. The manifesto of Nov.

3, 1905, suspended all redemption payments after Jan. 1, 1906. Then he turned his attention to a complete reconstruction of relations inside the village—the creation of separate holdings and the spread of individual ownership.

In 1861, the legal sanction of the customary commune was considered essential to secure the return of the money advanced by the State for redemption. The land belonged not to individual peasants but to the commune which was responsible for payment to the treasury. The individual's interest in the plot he cultivated was only temporary as the total land fund of the commune was subject to occasional redistribution. This communal system was rather tightened in 1893 by Alexander III who looked upon it as a national safeguard. The statistics of land-ownership in 1905 showed that 23.2 per cent. of the households and 17 per cent. of the land owned by the peasants were held by private tenure; 76.8 per cent. of the farms and 82.7 per cent. of the peasants' land were in communal tenure.

The imperial *Ukase* of Nov. 9, 1906, the Land Law of June 14, 1910, and the agricultural law of May 29, 1911, had for their objects the abolition of communal tenure.

A simple majority of the village meeting could demand the conversion of the village land into private holdings. The land had to be assigned to each claimant, if possible, in a compact block and the formation of compact blocks could not be refused if it was demanded by at least one-fifth of the householders. All the communities in which there was no redistribution since 1861, were simply declared to have passed from communal tenure to individual or household ownership. A land commission was created by the *Ukase* of March 4, 1906, and was charged with the redistribution of land according to the new scheme. The motive underlying the new scheme was that labour and capital are applied to the best advantage under conditions of private ownership.

VI.

“ Before Jan. 1, 1913, the commission had arranged farms on an area of 7,413,064 Des., held by 585,571 households, yet most of those who asked for separation held only a small plot and belonged to the poorer peasantry.” Even with Government assistance these poor peasants could not meet the ordinary capital outlay of starting a new farm. Further the commission had to leave many communes undisturbed as conditions were unfavourable for separate farms in many localities.

One more great attempt was now made towards solving the agrarian problem of Russia since 1861, but did it achieve its purpose? Did it improve the lot of the agriculturists? Far from pacifying the peasants, it only increased the fermentation in the villages and rather paved the way for a great upheaval. The holdings of the peasants remained as fragmentary as ever; their poverty was still crushing. They were economically helpless. The communes were abolished; but the abolition could not achieve its purpose. The economic problem was not solved but the traditional feeling of respect of the people towards communal tenure was wounded. Communal tenure, they believed, meant justice and they accused Government of sacrificing justice to productivity. Productivity, again could not be increased in the face of the economic helplessness of the peasants and the fragmentary size of their holdings. One cause of under-productivity was of course removed but other cause which was as strong remained. The resultant effect of the abolition was only to increase the discontent in the villages.

This is inevitable in a backward agricultural country. Patchwork cannot arrest the inevitable destiny of such a country. 85 per cent. of the Russians depend for their living on land. The method of cultivation are primitive and land soon shows signs of diminishing returns. Population increases fast in such a country. No easy outlet exists for the people

towards industries which show interesting returns. Continuous reduction of standard of living, high birth rate, high death rate, and extreme poverty—these would follow one another in regular sequence. Two patchworks were attempted—one in 1861, and the second during 1906-11. They only increased the rage of the peasantry without any improvement in their economic condition.

(To be continued.)

BINOY BHUSAN DAS GUPTA.

LOVE'S GAME

Behind the silence you
Are playing hide and seek ;
When I lie faint and weak
Your flute-voice calls anew :
Along life's courses I pursue
O Love, my Love, your call and you !

Behind the sunset glow
You oft-times veil your face ;
And when joy-drunk I race
Along the winds that blow,
Your moon-face rises eastward lo !—
And I return—gloom-fettered, slow !

Behind the dawn so pale
You laugh and bid me come ;
Earth wakes in sudden hum,
By every courier gale
Your name is whispered : love's sweet ,talew
'To seek, to find, and ever fail !

CYRIL MODAK

THE BEGINNINGS OF BENGALI PROSE

It is a very curious and peculiar literary coincidence that in most of the civilised countries of the world which can boast of an ancient and well-developed literature, Prose came into existence later than Poetry. The reason must be sought in the common tendency of the human mind everywhere for embellishment and ornamentation. Moreover perhaps in all earlier literatures, the writers thought that poetry was a better and more suitable vehicle for expression of the finer sentiments and feelings of mankind than prose which was the language of everyday life. There being again no means of preserving the literary compositions, it was deemed useful to write in verse as that would enable the audience to commit the pieces to memory and in that way help the verses to be transmitted to future generations.

The earliest specimens of Hindu literature are the hymns of the Rig Veda which were invocative verses to various deities. In Greece also the earliest preserved literature is the cycle of Homeric poems which were sung in accompaniment to the lyre. In England, not till the best Anglo-Saxon poems had been composed, could prose make any headway and when it was done it was mostly translation of Latin work.¹ An English critic says, "When the Angles gathered round the fire at night, each was expected to sing a poem. Caedmon, the stableman, who knew no songs, slunk away in shame. Of course, not every farm-labourer composed immortal verse—only the great bards could do that—but even farm-labourers were expected to remember long poems, most could fill up with original matter any gaps in their memory, and many could turn a tale or a

¹ Taine writes : " We meet with the venerable Bede, and later on, Alcuin, John Scotus Erigena, and some others, commentators, translators, teachers of barbarians, who tried not to originate but to compile, to pick out and explain from the great Greek and Latin encyclopedia something which might suit the men of their time."—*History of English Literature*, Vol. I, Bk. I, Ch. I.

sentiment into artistic form.”¹ Another reason why the writing of prose was not much in practice was the custom of learned men indulging in the habit of composing their works in some classical language so that their works might receive the stamp of authority and weight. Sir John Mandeville, Bacon, Milton, Newton wrote many of their famous works in Latin. In Europe the vernacular literatures had to wait for many centuries before any tangible progress could be achieved. In India, Sanskrit was regarded as the language of the gods and in Sanskrit dramas, only high personages speak in that tongue, while the minor, less important and inferior characters speak in some corrupt form. All the scholarly works were in Sanskrit. Therefore for a long time even after poems had begun to be written in vernacular, no necessity was felt for prose. The learned men could read the originals and therefore translations were not required. But it cannot be said that prose was entirely unknown. Fragments of older Bengali literature are found in which prose was used as a mode of expression.

The oldest specimen of Bengali prose is found in “Sunya Purāna,” a work belonging to the Buddhist period in Bengali literature and of the 10th century A.D.² Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen translates some lines as follows :

“Who is the scholar in the Western Gate? Cvetai with four hundred followers. Chandra the Police Officer.....the messenger is not afraid of thee. Chitra Gupta keeps a register.”³

Although to the modern Bengali reader these do not exactly seem what old English would sound to the modern Englishman, yet the example is of such rudimentary nature that no high value can be attached to it. It, of course, sufficiently illustrates that older Bengali writers could express themselves in prose, though one cannot say that their attempts were quite successful.

¹ A Primer of Literary Criticism by G. E. Hollingworth, pp. 3-4.

² Calcutta Review, August, 1924, p. 361.

³ D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 633.

Chandidas left a small treatise in prose dealing with some of the forms of Tantric worship named "Chaitya Rupa Prapti." Rupa Goswami, who was one of the favourite companions of Sri Chaitanya Deva wrote a small work in prose, "Karika," on Vaishnava theology. Works like Krishna Das Kaviraja's "Ragamayi Kana" contain stray passages in prose. Another minor work, "Deha Karacha" furnishes sentences which are fully expressive. Prose and poetry were combined in many of the works of the Sahajiya cult. Some of these were exclusively written in prose.¹ Some works on Smṛiti written in prose were discovered by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri. Works on genealogy and medicine were elaborately written in prose.² "Bhasa Parichemada," a work on Logic and Hindu Law adopted prose for the elucidation of highly metaphysical subjects. "Brindaban Lila" (a hundred and fifty years old MS. of which has been collected by Dr. D. C. Sen) uses a very simple and unadorned prose style. In a poetical romance of the 18th century, "Kamini Kumar," by Kali Krishna Das there is a passage of simple prose. But the main faults of prose style were the excessive use of alliteration and the adoption of a kind of refrain. The letter that Maharajah Nund Kumar wrote in August, 1756 to his brother Radha Krishna Roy was written in a mixed kind of language composed of Sanskrit and Urdu words. Halhead regretted in the preface to his Bengali Grammar (1778) that pure Indian verbs were mixed with the greatest number of Persian and Arabic nouns.

But the real beginnings of Bengali prose were made in the first quarter of the 19th century. In this connection several important facts have to be taken into consideration. These are the settlement of Europeans in Bengal, the activities of the Christian missionaries like Carey and the foundation of the Fort William College in Calcutta.

1 Most of the manuscripts belong to the 10th and the 11th century A.D.

2 D. C. Sen, Chap. VI of History of Bengali Language and Literature.

The Portuguese were the first among the nations of Europe to settle in Bengal and they left a mark on the language of the land. Many words of the Portuguese language have found a place in Bengali vocabulary.¹ Although some of the Portuguese missionaries translated some Christian religious tracts into Bengali, from the literary point of view they were no valuable productions. It is, however, significant that the Portuguese were the pioneers to attempt at regular publication of Bengali works, though these were in Roman script. The first Bengali Grammar and Dictionary by Manoel da Assumpcao, a Portuguese missionary, was published from Lisbon in 1743.²

Of the Europeans who came in the service of the East India Company, N. B. Halhead (1751-1830), Sir Charles Wilkins (1749?-1836), H. P. Forster (1766?-1815) render considerable service to Bengali prose. The history of Bengali printing must always remain associated with the name of Sir Charles Wilkins. He was the first European to study Sanskrit inscriptions and the first Englishman to gain a thorough grasp of the Sanskrit language. In 1778 he set up a printing machine at Hughly and Halhead's Grammar was issued from this press. Halhead "was so well acquainted with the language as sometimes to pass in disguise as a Native." Forster brought out a Bengali Dictionary, "English and Bengalee Vocabulary" in two volumes. He was like Halhead a good Bengali scholar.

Another important foreign force destined to have influence on the intellectual and social life of the people of Bengal was the Serampore Mission headed by William Carey (1761-1834). Coming to Calcutta in 1793, his early attempts to settle down proved abortive as the Government was not favourably disposed to the missionaries.³ During the first six years of his residence in Bengal, Carey studied Bengali and Sanskrit

¹ Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*.

² *Encyclopaedia Brit.*, p. 735, Vol. III (11th edn.); *The First Three Type-printed Bengali Books—Bengal : Past and Present*, Vols. IX (1914) and XIII (1916).

³ J. H. Morrison, *Life of William Carey*, pp. 53, 129-30, 137-40.

with great diligence. In 1799, he was joined by four others from England. They proceeded to Serampore which was then a Danish possession. From 1800 these missionaries incessantly laboured from their Serampore settlement for the propagation of the Christian Gospel. Here Carey set up a press and began to publish Bengali translations of the Bible. But unlike the English versions of the Bible, these translations exercised little influence, inspite of the directness and simplicity of the style. The English Bible served as a model to many of the greatest English writers of prose—"the school and training ground of every man and woman of English speech in the noblest uses of English tongue."¹ But the Bengali Bibles seem strange and alien, unnatural and foreign.² The Gospel, though it might have been useful in making converts to Christianity could not offer any model of style for subsequent writers.

Of the members of the Serampore Mission, John Clark Marshman (1794-1877) contributed works on non-literary subjects, specially history and his work were not original in themselves. The Dictionary of National Biography credits him with the starting of the first Bengali paper.³ But that honour belongs to a Bengali himself. Carey's son, Felix, was a scholar in several Indian languages. He translated into Bengali, Goldsmith's History of England, the Vicar of Wakefield, Mill's History of India, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and the chapter on Anatomy ("Videa Haravali" from the 5th edition of the Enc. Brit. John Mack (1797-1845) who was for 16 years a Professor at Serampore (founded in 1821) wrote a treatise on Chemistry ("Kimya Videa Sar"), "designed to have been the first of a series of treatise in Bengali on scientific subjects."

Rev. John Long in his "Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works containing a Classified List of Fourteen Hundred Bengali Books and Pamphlets," which was published in 1855 has amply

1 Saintsbury, *History of Elizabethan Literature*, p. 215.

2 Sushil Kumar De, *History of Bengali Literature in the 19th Century*, p. 115.

3 Concise Dictionary of National Biography, p. 846.

dealt with works by both European and Bengali authors. These were on various subjects—Mathematics, Lexicons, Ethics and Moral tales, Geography, Grammar, History, Biography, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Poetry and Drama, Popular Songs, Tales, and Religion, etc. A large number of these works were written in prose. This catalogue is a sure evidence that there was a regular literary activity in those days and the Bengalis themselves were not idle.

The Fort William College which has been spoken of as “the seminary of Western learning in an Eastern dress” was founded in 1800 by the East India Company for the training of the probationers in the Company’s service. To the teachers of the Fort William College Bengali literature and specially Bengali prose owes a great deal. These men were the initiators of prose style and path-finders for the army of writers that came later on. William Carey joined this College in 1801 as teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit, became Professor afterwards and remained a prominent figure here till 1831. Under his guidance, during twenty-five years, a large number of Bengali works were published for the study of the young Civilians. But such works were not inspired by any genuine literary impulse.

Of the Pundits of the Fort William College, Ram Ram Basu, Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Chandi Charan Munshi, Rajib Lochan Mukhopadhyay, Haraprasad Ray and Golaknath Sarma achieved distinction as writers in Bengali. From the point of view of language they afford an interesting study. Ram Ram Basu’s “Life of Pratapaditya” (1800) is half-Bengali and half-Persian in style. Rajib Lochan’s “Maharaj Krishna Chandra Charita” (1811) was written in the older Bengali style. He used Persian words rather sparingly. Mrityunjay’s “Prabodh Chandrika” is full of bombasts and compounds. The style of Ram Basu’s Pratapaditya (as Rev. Long remarks) shewed how much the unjust ascendancy of the Persian language had in that day corrupted the Bengali. The same opinion holds good with regard to the same author’s “Lipi Mala” (1802). Its style,

to quote Rev. Long again, shows how corrupted by Persian the Bengali was then.

Among the Bengalis, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, Akshay Kumar Dutt, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar had active shares in the development of prose. Ram Mohan wrote all his controversial tracts in the essay form. Devendra Nath was instrumental in disseminating many cultured and liberal ideas through the "Tattwa Bodhini Patrika," of which Akshay Kumar was for a long time the editor. Both Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar wrote in a rather florid style. Besides these men, there were others like Krishna Mohan Banerjee (1813-1895) and Rajendra Lal Mitra (1824-1891), who deserve special mention. Under the patronage of Lord Hardinge, Krishna Mohan began in 1846 to write a Bengali Encyclopedia, "Vidya Kalpa Druma" thirteen volumes of which were published. Krishna Mohan's work was mere compilation and did not show any spirit of original research. Rajendra Lal's "Vividartha Sangraha" (1851) was started on the model of the London Penny Magazine and in its day it had an immense popularity of which Rabindranath has in his "Reminiscences" given an adequate idea.¹

But as yet there was no style which was at the same time elegant and learned. Correct prose composition there was, but elegant and easy-flowing prose had to wait for men who had been steeped in the study of English literature and who introduced some of the best elements of English prose into Bengali—naturalness of expression, simplicity, clearness, avoidance of conceits, conciseness, and directness of appeal.² At the beginning of the 19th century, no less than four types of Bengali style were in vogue—the pedantic language of the Pundits with every tendency to Sanskritisation, the language of the Court—a

¹ Rabindranath Tagore, *Reminiscences*, pp. 113-14.

² In this connection it is worth while noting R. L. Stevenson's opinion on "style" in "*Essays in the Art of Writing*," pp. 42-43.

kind of half-Bengali and half-Persian, the language of the common people and the language of the European writers, who mixed up the style of the Pundits with the colloquialisms of the ordinary people.¹ Bengali writers who came in the immediate wake of the European writers followed the style of the latter. About the middle of the last century the choice lay between the ornate and scholarly style of Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar and the plain or “Alali” style of Tekchand Thakur and Hutum, whose language was as natural as every-day talk. The purely literary prose was the creation of a master-genius, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who accomplished that task by blending the two styles referred to above and retaining and combining the best elements of the two. In his hands Bengali prose became perfect in diction and since his time Bengali has attained such an eminence that it is now perhaps the most flourishing literature in India and can fairly compete with some of the modern literatures of the West.

JAYANTAKUMAR DASGUPTA

¹ Dr. S. K. De has fully discussed these styles in Chap. VIII of his *History*.

LOVE

The heart-beats of the Universe but spell
 The mystic name of Love;
 The starry skies above
To man Love's mysteries in silence tell.
My heart has caught the universal beat,
 Mine eyes the starry fire,
 And my contrite desire
Is out on pilgrimage with Love to meet.

Presiding deity of life and death,
 Each noble mind her throne;
 Yet oft alone, alone
She sits in queenly state—to gasp for breath!
More oft in temple of some soul she stands
 To watch a sacrifice,
 In tears then in a trice
To consecrate it with her pierced hands.

And sometimes with the blood of her own heart
 A hero's portrait paints,
 In death-swoon ere he faints
She doth install it in her shrine of art.
Or sometimes while youth at her dust-stained feet
 His life-oblation lays
 With quivering smile she says
“ I grant the boon you purpose to entreat ! ”

To failing hearts she lends a dauntless bliss
 All unafraid to die :
 Ah ! yes, without a sigh
The Christ at her sweet call his Rood did kiss.

Her voice has called a Lazarus back to life;
And at her touch sublime
A Dante sang his rhyme;
Her royal presence quells the wildest strife.

Methinks, a million fairy flowers had flung
Their wealth to thrill the air :
But lo ! a Presence fair
The flower of beauty standing flowers among
Said in soft whispers, “ ’Tis not perfumed dew,
It is my breath you breathe :
I’m Love, and I bequeath
My wealth to man ! ” I looked and saw—’twas You !

CYRIL MODAK

Reviews

The Power of India.—By Mrs. Michael Pym. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1930. Pages 316. Price \$3 50.

In this work the author, an American journalist, who lived in India for several years and had the opportunity of mixing with British officials, Indian Princes and Indian people of all classes, shows an unusual understanding and appreciation of the real India—her religion, social system, art, music and culture. The author's style is charming; and her descriptive power fascinates one who wishes to visualise India in her sublime, delicate and gorgeous beauty. The interpretation of historical background of Indian culture with its spirit of toleration and spiritual outlook of life has been very cleverly and effectively presented through simple narratives. It is a penetrating study of India as a whole.

To the author, things political seem less important than the cultural and spiritual life of the people. However she recognises the fact that economics and politics, indirectly but very seriously, affect the cultural existence of a nation. Therefore she has been forced to discuss certain phases of Indian political and economic problems. It should be noted that the author went to India as a believer in British rule in India and its "sacred mission," but she had to change her views on the subject (page 30).

In the discussions of Indian political and economic problems, this book supplies much worthwhile, unbiased and authoritative information about the nature of British rule and British officials in India, Indian Native States and their rulers. From her wide experience and personal contacts, the author has come to the conclusion that British officials in India may be efficient in their routine work, in writing reports, but they are ignorant of India and her people and their needs. They invariably act with certain preconceived and false notions. While they talk much about protecting the people of India from misery and civil wars, they have no genuine interest in the real welfare of the country. They go there for careers and positions. Those among them who show any interest in Indian life and welfare, are classed as "cranks"; and they never get a chance to do something effective.

The author asserts that the average British official—member of Indian Civil Service, Army, Police, etc.—is not a man of culture and

breadth of vision. It is a pure myth that he is superior to the average Indian official. Of course there are honorable exceptions among British officials; for instance the author thinks that Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy of India, is a man of great spirituality and sincerity. His interest in the welfare of the Indian people, according to the author, is far more genuine than that of Gandhi (pp. 257-265).

The author proves conclusively and with documentary evidence that since the days of the East India Company, Great Britain has been following a policy of merciless exploitation of India which has led to the destruction of her fine arts, industry and national prosperity. The author points out that India used to export salt; but India's salt industry in the Native States were destroyed by British policy. "What seems, in view of everything, to add insult to injury, is that India consumes about two and half million tons of salt a year, and *while all these salt manufactories are shut down*, six hundred thousand tons of India's two and a half million have to be imported from Europe!" (p. 81).

The chapters dealing with the Indian Princes and their relations with the British Government, disclose certain facts which demonstrate that the British Government violated treaties, contracts and solemn agreements to annex territories and to exact cash from Indian Princes. She levels her attack on the officials of the Political Department of the Government of India, who "carry out almost iniquitous deeds from the point of view of ethics, without one small shudder" (p. 274). It is rather refreshing to read intimate and unchallengeable facts which prove that Indian administrators in the important states of Hyderabad, Mysore and others, inspite of serious limitations of freedom of action which is imposed by "British Paramountcy," have done more for education, sanitation and real welfare of the people than the British have done in British India.

The inner significance of British Paramountcy over Indian States is explained from the existing relations of Mysore, one of the major States of India, with the British Government. "Theoretically, Mysore is a major State; actually the Maharaja can do very little without British sanction. Succession to the throne is regulated by the British; the military organization of the State, its enlistment, equipment, etc., are fixed and directed by the British; the telegraph is part of British system; British laws and regulations instituted during the British jurisdiction must be continued. The Maharaja may not employ in his service any person not a native of India, except with express permission; manufacturing salt and opium and the cultivation of the white poppy may be prohibited or limited by the British,

and any regulations they think fit regarding their export and import enforced; the ruler must, at all times, conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council may give him with a view to the management of his finances, settlement, and collection of revenues, imposition of taxes, administration of justice, extension of commerce, or anything else connected with his administration." (p. 107). Because of these limitations over sovereignty, Indian nationalists justly class the Indian Princes as mere "puppets." Indian Princes also resent those limitations, confirmed by the reports of the Butler Commission and the Simon Commission.

It is rather interesting to note that the author, through her intimate social contacts with important personages in Indian States, foresaw long before the convening of the Round Table Conference on India, that Indian Princes will favour an All-India Federation to preserve their interests and to help unify India.

Equally interesting are the author's views on the subject of India's national defence. "The army in India is divided into a Field Army, organized for foreign service, in which the proportion of British troops is about one to three; a *Covering Army which is almost wholly Indian, to keep order on the Frontier*; and an Internal Security Force, really for the protection of the British in India, which is largely made up of British troops. *There are about seven thousand officers, and sixty-one thousand and five hundred British troops, the heaviest item of the military Budget. Analysed therefore, the British army in India does become an army of occupation.* When the Swarajists complain they are thinking of this. When the British talk about defence of the Frontier, as a motive for British occupation of India, Swarajists laugh sarcastically because they think that anyhow Indian troops are already taking care of that, *and all they need is more Indian officers.* Again, changes in this direction could not be achieved instantly. At present ten Indians [are permitted] a year pass through Sandhurst and receive King's Commissions. The Indian Sandhurst Committee under General Skeen unanimously recommended a scheme which would Indianize fifty per cent. of the officers somewhere around 1953, but no action has yet been taken on this. *No Indian serve as gunners in the Artillery, there are none in the Tank Corps, and no Indian units or training of any kind for Indians in the Air Force.* When the British suggest that India cannot defend herself, they are perfectly right. When the Swarajists swear at the British, and ask what the Internal Security Force is, if not an army of occupation, and whether the Field Army is to serve India or the Empire for foreign service, they are also perfectly right" (p. 293).

Her discussion on the intimate life of Indian women, derived from living in Indian homes, their influence in all progressive movements (social and political) are not only accurate but instructive. Some of the facts on these subjects will be revelations to many of the West who have no conception of true life of the Indian people. The author most effectively controverts some of the most mischievous statements of Miss Mayo made in her book "Mother India," regarding Indian women and Indian life.

The author shows considerable knowledge about the growth of the Indian Nationalist Movement and activities of Indian extremists. It is a pity that Mrs. Pym has made a false estimate of Mahatma Gandhi. During an interview, she was not at all impressed with him as a great spiritual leader. She regards him to be a politician who is anxious to have "power." She characterises Gandhi as "the ugly, little Tolstoyan poseur, self-conscious, shifty, destructive, unpleasantly unctuous, yet imposing himself as a sort of saint upon thousands of people in the West who don't know him, because he personifies the elements that made Christianity—at the expense of Christ" (p. 266). The author is free to record her own impression of Gandhi as she sees him; but one cannot but feel that she is prejudiced. Gandhi has at no time claimed to be a saint nor has he ever imposed his personality upon the Western people who do not know him. It is a fact that hundreds of Western people, including some British officials, who know him, have felt his spiritual power and have acclaimed him to be the greatest living religious teacher. Whatever may be the quality of the saintliness of Gandhi, there is not the least doubt that *he is the greatest man in the world to-day*. He is being followed by millions of Indians from all classes and religions. He has been able to rouse the masses of India to demand freedom for their country and to suffer for the achievement of this ideal. Even Gandhi's enemies cannot but recognise his greatness.

The author's analysis of the present unrest in India is interesting. It is not merely agitation for political freedom, but has a greater world significance. She writes :—"India is changing but that very change, one saw, unlike that of other countries, was not towards westernization but to *re-assertion of India-ness*. The conflict, I understood clearly enough, was one of ideals. Others had seen that too. Superficial observers termed it the conflict of Hinduism with—they dared no longer say, Christianity—with Western progress, Western enlightenment, Western ideals. But it was not Hinduism. These people were quite wrong. It was much stronger, something that has since the dawn of

history shaped, influenced, and even at times inspired, Hinduism, the early religions of Egypt, Buddhism, Eastern Christianity, even in some ways, Islam. It was that which produced so many great teachers, pointing the way to reality. '*That*' was flaming up again in India... India will win. Matter is always moulded by spirit. The immediate conflict is, you see now, of importance only in so far as it may create personal bitterness and fear between races. It will decide, perhaps in the next few years, whether India shall retain its immemorial role of interpreter between East and West, of cultural fountain for both East and West, or whether, in spite of itself, it is to be driven into the slowly forming alliance of East against West.....India will never be an aggressive political power except at the expense of all its traditions, all its spiritual force....." (pp. 299-306).

In spite of a few minor inaccuracies of dates and facts about the Indian nationalist movement, the book is valuable. It gives rare insight into the true spirit of India in which lies the real power of India which is a living force. The book should be carefully studied by all, especially English and American peoples, who wish to understand India.

TARAKNATH DAS

Miscellany.—By Dhirendrakumar Mukherji, M.A., B.L., of the Bengal Civil Service. Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.

This is a collection of reprints of some articles written by the author, Mr. Mukherji, some twenty years ago and more, but the topics have still their interest. One-third of the volume is on Burdwan only, where the writer had spent some time, and the remaining portion is of general bearing. The article on *Id-duz-zoha* is extremely short and disappointing and it may be suggested that the essay in two parts, "The Social and Religious Outlook of the Day," should be incorporated into one with the article "The Religious Outlook of the Day," ignoring the original groupings. The language is simple, straightforward, vigorous, and there is a general sanity of view on life, as may be seen from the concluding sentences of the paper on "The Contemplative and Active Life."

P. S.

The Indian Public Debt—By D. L. Dubey, M.A., Ph.D., with a foreword by the Hon'ble Sir George Schuster, Finance Member of the Government of India. Published by D. B. Taraporewala & Sons, Bombay, pp. 382.

It would have been more accurate and true to its contents if the book had been styled " War and Post-War Public Debt of India " or a suitable sub-title (1900-1930) has been added. Judged by the present title the reviewer expected that justice would have been done to the historical investigation of the subject for which materials exist only in the India Office in London.

Such a vital subject as the Public Debt ought to have been examined thoroughly and when the extremist national opinion rightly or wrongly inclined to the view, that a part of the national debt burden can be fastened on the shoulders of the British public, the author ought to have impartially examined this contention and have indicated how far a portion of unproductive debt might rightly be passed on to England. Even some of the English thinkers like Dr. E. Thompson incline to this view (see his articles in the *Spectator*).

Some points of serious omission for which the reviewer feels sorry is the extent to which outsiders *i.e.*, other than Britishers, are holding the foreign indebtedness items. An appeal to the Consular and Foreign Government Delegations in London might have enabled the author to gather this information.

Another point on which much information could have been collected is the flight of capital from the country. When and how India can be made a creditor country ought to have found a prominent place in the discussion of our national debt problem. He mentions this fact on page 99 but glosses over this without any further comment.

Another aspect of the Public Debt problem that has unfortunately been neglected is the possibility of raising, apart from the constitutional objection, the Dollar and the Franc loans at lower rates as Japan frequently does in the case of her large-scale capital requirements. Access to outside capital markets would necessarily have to be made by a Swaraj Government as the floating of loans in the London Market is becoming dearer than before.

If indeed it is only 7% of the Indian public debt that is unproductive and for which no corresponding assets do not exist (see p. 23) the Indian Government is essentially in the strongest financial position which no other country of the world possesses. Yet India is placing her loan issues at higher rates than other countries. Mere political distractions do not account wholly for this anomaly. Increasing competition is undoubtedly

one reason. In the analysis of the reasons for the higher rate of interest he refutes the oft-mentioned bogey, *viz.*, "fall in India's credit which is a "myth" according to the author.

Some reforms which have been suggested by the writer are undoubtedly long overdue as for instance, the management of the sterling debt by the Imperial Bank of India, the creation of a Joint Sinking Fund of a somewhat cumulative type, reduction of the Provincial debt by writing off 8·8 crores, consolidations of advances to the Provincial Governments at a low rate of interest as in the case of the Union of South Africa and the necessity of giving relief to Provinces for the necessity of paying high interest rates—are all important reforms on which there is consensus of opinion. The author has done substantial service in this respect and I hope that Dr. Dubey will make the book more interesting by filling the above gaps suggested in this review. Students as well as teachers would be grateful to Dr. Dubey for the numerous tables he has compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts and other authoritative blue books.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

A First Book of Economics.—By Norman Crump, Macmillan & Co. Ltd. St. Martin's Street, London. 1930, pp. 257.

Mr. Crump, who has obtained some distinction already as a lucid writer on monetary problems, has succeeded in packing an enormous amount of valuable material into these 250 pages. Consisting of 50 short chapters the whole field of economic problems is surveyed with easy lucidity and a wealth of illustration. The different problems of the complex organism of producers, distributors, merchants, shippers, bankers, and so on are carefully elucidated and he explains without prejudice or pre-judgment, what they really mean and how these problems can be solved. The spirit in which the game of life is being played by the people and the rules which the economist would like to lay down concerning this game of life are carefully discussed in this book. Marvelously comprehensive it is worth the careful consideration of all students of economic problems.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Indian Cotton Textile Industry and other Essays.—By B. Govinda Rao, M.A., B.L., with a foreword by Dr. Sir P. C. Ray. Pp. 152. 1930. Price Re. 1-4-0.

Clothing, food and shelter are the primordial needs of man. This monograph deals with the most important problem, *viz.*, clothing. Finding himself handicapped by the earlier publication of Mr. Gandhi the author wisely devoted his energies towards stating the fundamental issues of the present-day cotton industry. The history, rise, development and decline of this key industry are summarised from the excellent treatise of Mr. M. P. Gandhi in the first 74 pages of this monograph. The remaining pages are devoted towards a keen discussion on the Imperial preference proposals in the matter of the cotton mill industry. While deploring the inability of the Government to grant protection to the cotton mill industry he passionately appeals to the readers and the wider public to protect the khaddar and the mill industries buying the Swadeshi products—mill as well as hand-woven cotton fabrics. The booklet is distinctly helpful. The economic implications of the Japanese competition and the rationalisation of the cotton mill industry are carefully stated and considered. The charka would have to supplement the mill industry. As the author rightly says “as nearly as Rs. 40 crores are required to put up additional number of spindles and looms and about 400,000 labourers are to be recruited in new mills for the purpose of supplying cloths to the people under the existing circumstances, this expense and labour can be saved by turning the wheels and looms without much capital outlay and organisation.” He pleads for the realisation of the economics of the home industry. Those who seek guidance in this matter of our cotton industry can hardly afford to ignore the facts and arguments which the author so ably presents.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Hydrostatics.—By D. K. Sen, M.Sc. Macmillan & Co. In the book before us a successful attempt has been made to teach the elementary principles of Hydrostatics. The book is specially suitable for Indian students. The get-up of the book is excellent and the examples given are well-chosen. There are about fifty examples worked out in full, illustrating the various artifices generally used in solving difficult problems.

We are glad to find that the author has not hesitated to make use of the methods of Calculus the adoption of which has enabled him to bring lengthy and tedious proofs within a small compass. The stability of equilibrium of floating bodies has been discussed here at a greater length than in any other elementary text-book. The book will greatly help candidates aspiring to honours in Mathematics and we hope it will soon find favour with this class of students.

M. M. GHOSH

Arithmetical Problem Papers—By E. M. Radford. Cambridge University Press. This small book consists of one hundred problem papers. Each paper contains seven examples covering the whole range of arithmetic, generally taught in our secondary schools. The examples are well chosen and are of a type superior to those usually met with in current text-books. Besides benefiting our school boys this book will greatly help the candidates appearing in competitive examinations, which require a sound knowledge of arithmetic.

M. M. GHOSH

The Personality of Mohammad the Prophet—By A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.). Published by Luzac & Co. Price 1s.

The pamphlet comprises a speech delivered by the author in London on the occasion of the Muslim festival Id-ul-Azha on the 20th May, 1929. The author in short discourses dwells upon the personality of Muhammad the Prophet in its manifold aspects, specially as a moral and spiritual teacher. He has also dealt about his life, family position and the reform he introduced amongst the Arabs. The subject though treated on a small compass, has been ably discussed and is written in a simple and lucid style.

M. K. SHIRAZI

Ourselves

PROFESSOR SURENDRANATH SEN.

We offer our hearty felicitations to Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., on his appointment as Asutosh Professor of Modern and Mediaeval History. An eminent scholar, a popular teacher and a gentleman possessing courage of his convictions he richly deserves this elevation. Dr. Sen's eminence is not confined to History alone—his articles on zoology, orinthology and literature and his various addresses to learned societies speak of a cultured mind with a wide outlook and varied attainments. Dr. Sen is a self-made man and his life serves as an outstanding example of what might be achieved by industry, diligence and the will to surmount difficulties.

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A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Sukumarranjan Dasgupta, M.A. has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the thesis entitled "Indian Spherical Astronomy."

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1931

HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPEECH AT THE CALCUTTA
UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION, ON 28TH FEBRUARY,
1931.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

At the outset it is my pleasant duty to offer to you my sincere congratulations upon your appointment as Vice-Chancellor of this University. There can be few posts in this Presidency which carry greater responsibility and which make greater demands upon the time and efforts of the individual than that of Vice-Chancellor. In view of the important positions which you hold in other directions, I can understand the hesitation to which you have referred in your speech to undertake the additional duties of Vice-Chancellor, but having once decided to accept the responsibility, I know there is no question that you will devote yourself unselfishly and whole-heartedly to the work and I wish you all success.

You are the first member of the community to which you belong to have attained this honour. Your appointment to this high position should be an encouragement to the Muhammadans in this Presidency to remedy that backwardness in educational status which is exemplified by the figures you quoted in your speech just now. Your honourable record, your industry and your cheerful personality should assure for you the respect of the students and your administrative experience and ability should

prove of value in the conduct of the affairs of this University. Whilst welcoming you to the Chair, I desire to tender to your predecessor, Dr. Urquhart, my personal appreciation of the great service he rendered to this University during his two years of office. He brought to bear upon the University life an exceptional educational experience. His scholarly attainments together with a sympathetic devotion to the interests of this University appealed to all and assured him of that support which enabled him to discharge his onerous duties with success and general advantage to the University. It was fitting that his services should be recognised by the conferment upon him of the honorary degree of Doctor of Law.

I listened to your excellent and instructive speech with much interest. In it you have presented an exhaustive review of the activities of the University during the past year. I shall, as far as possible, avoid traversing the ground which you have already gone over, but there are some matters in your speech to which it is necessary for me to refer.

I should wish to associate myself with your expressions of regret and sympathy at the loss, during the past year, of those eminent sons of Bengal and members of this University to which you have referred. The decision to confer honorary degrees upon Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, Dr. Herambachandra Maitra and Dr. Bentley will, I feel sure, be received with general satisfaction and pleasure. It is my privilege to be personally acquainted with all of them and I feel that it would have been difficult to find any in our midst whose record of service in their own particular spheres could be regarded as more deserving of the honour. It was a source of special gratification to me to have the privilege of presenting to Sir Venkata Raman the Hughes Medal awarded for special scientific research and I should like to take this opportunity of assuring him of the great satisfaction which has been universally felt at the bestowal upon him of the unique distinction of the Nobel Prize. I desire also to offer our congratulations to Professor Radhakrishnan on his selection to

deliver the Hibbert Lectures at Oxford and also on his selection as representative of India on the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations.

As you have said, an outstanding event of the academic year has been the completion of the labours of the University Organisation Committee. The appointment of such a Committee had become inevitable, if only by reason of the vigorous growth of Post-Graduate studies and research. The scheme devised by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has passed from infancy to maturity and the necessity of ensuring a stable system for the future, based upon the experience of the past, had become acute. The investigations of the Committee were necessary as much for the academic welfare of the University as its economic administration. Our thanks are due to the Committee and a special measure of praise must be extended to Dr. Urquhart who presided. To his energy and guidance the success attendant on the labours of this Committee is in no small measure due. I trust that the very comprehensive changes proposed in the report will make for the effective development and control of the Post-Graduate side of the University life. The financial implications of the report have not yet been placed before me—indeed, I understand the examination of them has not yet been completed, but it will be readily appreciated that, however desirable in themselves the proposed reforms may be, Government will no doubt consider it necessary in the present state of the Provincial finances to scrutinise with the greatest care any proposals which involve an increased demand on public revenues. It is, however, widely realised that considerable modifications are called for in the present scheme of control and organisation and I hope to see the fullest co-operation between Government and the University in seeking a solution of the present problem consistent with economy and academic efficiency.

I have naturally been watching with anxiety the conditions prevailing not only in this Presidency but throughout India during the past year. It was obvious that as a result of a trade depression and civil disobedience the revenues of the Province

would be seriously diminished which would involve retrenchment in all directions. As Chancellor, I realise that the prosperity of this University must react on the prosperity of the Presidency and we have, all of us, reason for concern when we see the revenues being so seriously diminished.

You have referred in some detail, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, to the financial difficulties of the University. The subject is complex and not free from controversial issues, but in view of the request I have received by a Resolution of the Syndicate to receive a deputation on this subject, it would be inadvisable for me to refer at length to this question to-day. Let me say at once that I welcome the opportunity which such an occasion should afford me of hearing direct from the representatives of the University a full statement of their financial position to-day and the proposals which they may wish to make for meeting it. I shall be glad to receive a deputation on the subject in the early future.

I listened, not without some concern, to your remarks as regards the health and physical welfare of the students of the University. Your remarks, coming as they do from one who is eminently qualified to speak on the subject, must command serious attention. I was particularly impressed by your condemnation of the students' places of residence which (including even some of the "approved" hostels and messes) you have characterised as "appallingly bad, unhealthy, congested and over-crowded." I must admit that I see no royal road to the eradication of the evils either of malnutrition or of bad housing to which you refer, but the question is one which the University and the Colleges cannot afford to overlook and I am sure that within the limits of their financial resources, they will give the most careful consideration to any scheme of amelioration which can be developed and put into effect under your expert guidance.

I have on a previous occasion referred to the problem of unemployment of students when they have completed their University course. I listened to the Vice-Chancellor's remarks on

this subject with much interest. I fear I know nothing of the value of psycho-analytical examination, nor how far the possibilities of a scheme such as suggested by the Vice-Chancellor have been explored in India, but any process which can divert a student to that course for which he is best fitted sounds eminently attractive. I cannot help feeling that many young men waste their time struggling for examinations in subjects for which they are not suited and for professions which are already more than full. If psycho-analysis can help to direct the footsteps of the student when his higher education is still before him, the problem of employment should be half solved. I should like to know what the possibilities are of error in the diagnosis. I shudder to think of the danger of a small error which might divert a budding Raman from his pursuit of scientific truth to the career of a conjuror or illusionist. Psycho-analysis at all events would appear to provide unsuccessful examinees with an admirable excuse for failure. However, I am told that experiments by psycho-analytical examination have proved to be successful in other countries.

It seems to me that the fundamental principle on which we should base our efforts to deal with this question of unemployment among our educated classes, is not so much the finding of posts for our graduates when we have trained them, but the training of our students for the world they have to live in. That is why I personally welcome the Vice-Chancellor's proposal, for his line of attack is fundamentally in the right direction and the chief question is how far it can be made to work in practice.

Tradition and routine are at once the strength and the weakness of all established institutions: the strength, because they ensure continuity and provide the framework for the living tissue—the weakness, because the weight of the past may smother the energies of the present and a skeleton may do duty for the quick and vivid soul. It is well, then, that we should ask from time to time questions that probe deeper than order and organisation, that lay bare the foundations and search the

heart. I wish to ask one such question : what is the aim of a University at this time and in this country ?

None of us can fully answer this question—certainly I cannot. But we will all, perhaps, agree that a modern University has two broad objects. The first is to safeguard and augment the legacy of knowledge, to keep it alive and alert, to save it from becoming stereotyped and formal. I do not under-rate this aim, but I think it is sufficiently recognised and indeed, it is enshrined in the very motto of this University : The Advancement of Learning. All of us must rejoice to note the indications that this motto is still an active inspiration and acclaim the broadening spirit of enquiry and research, the increasing provision of Professorships, laboratories and libraries, the important work already done, the work now in prospect.

I do feel, however, that a University has a more practical utility. Of a hundred who enter its doors, probably only one can look forward to a life to be spent in the service of pure inquiry, as pioneer in the uncharted seas and untravelled lands of knowledge. The others must find their daily work in some more conventional and less exciting business. A University has a duty to these too, not only to give them that basis of general education which will make their principles more sound and their sympathies more generous, but to fit them in some measure for their respective avocations.

The customs of this country make this task difficult. Learning has been too largely literary or philosophical and its practical implications for common life tend to be neglected. The system of mass production, the inhibitions of caste, the lure of the beaten track, these and other causes lead the great majority of University students to law, teaching or the service of the State. All these are necessary and worthy professions, but they are overcrowded and offer prizes only to the few. The time has surely come for students to turn in large numbers to the vast and more sparsely occupied fields of applied science. I once heard Science described as “an entrancing pursuit of the atom and the star,”

it is not only that: it is a study many of the results of which can solve the problems and fulfil the needs of everyday life. Some years ago, there was a marked flow in this University towards scientific subjects, but if this is now decreasing, it may be because enough energy and enterprise have not been forthcoming in the application of scientific knowledge. There is room yet for engineers and architects, for prospectors and metallurgists, for men who will use modern methods and achievements in the innumerable branches of technical industry. If we are wise, our own foresight and prudence and patriotism will be as active as the pressure of economic necessity in guiding many more of the ablest students into these less crowded spheres of activity.

And now it remains for me only to congratulate those who have to-day taken their degrees. Some of you will pursue your training further in the fields of Post-Graduate research and study: others, perhaps, most of you, to-day complete a stage of your lives,—the preparation stage—and stand on the threshold of the careers for which all that has gone before has been designed to fit you. To all I wish every success.

CORRECTION OF ERROR AS A LOGICAL PROCESS.¹

I am said to correct an error of mine when I disbelieve in what I am aware I believed. The correction of the error of taking a rope for a snake may be expressed as two processes. I am now aware that I believed this object before me to be *this snake* and I now believe that this was not a snake. Is the singleness of the corrective process expressed adequately by the complex sentence, 'this that I believed as this snake is not snake?' The clause 'that I believed, etc.' only gives subsidiary information though the corrective function is directed primarily towards what is meant by the clause, towards what *this* was taken to be and not towards *this*. Again what is now taken to be no snake is a content that *was* believed to be fact and is not now believed. It is not believed as a past fact nor can it here be said to be merely suggested to me as a possible fact about which there may be a genuine question whether it exists. The subject of a negative judgment is what is believed or suggested as a fact in the judgment. The complex statement above is no negative judgment and does not adequately express correction.

The predicate of the complex sentence '(this...) *is not snake*' is also open to objection. The disbelief in correction is primarily disbelief not in a certain naming of a previously believed content (that it is *snake*) but in its facthood. I now know that what *this* was taken to be was no fact. Correction has to be expressed in the two sentences, '*this* was taken as *this snake*' and 'what *this* was taken to be was no fact;' and these cannot be combined in one sentence.

Correction not expressible as the judgment 'what was believed as *this* snake is not snake.'

It denies the facthood of the believed content, not its snake-character.

¹ Read before the Calcutta Philosophical Society on the 25th February, 1931.

Not only is correction not expressible as a negative judgment: there is no unitary logical form to express it. By logical form is here meant a form in which there is reference only to the content of a believing or thinking and not to the believing or thinking itself. Correction cannot be formulated in language without reference to the subjective fact of a past believing. It is an epistemological function that has no unitary logical content corresponding to it.

It is an epistemic function without a unitary logical content.

Correction has been so far described in terms of two subjective processes—a previous belief and a present disbelief referring to it. Are the processes rightly designated belief and disbelief? Was the previous consciousness a belief, the content of which could be called ‘this snake’? There is the extreme view that it was no belief, no consciousness at all of the unity ‘this snake.’ There was belief in *this* and belief in snake and these beliefs that were together were simply not distinguished. Or it may be allowed that the facts *this* and snake were the contents of a single belief but they were not distinguished. Or this view may go with the admission of some consciousness of the unity ‘this snake’ other than belief—suggestion or thought or speaking consciousness. There is no error according to these views and therefore also no correction. What is called error is only not distinguishing, the privation of the knowledge of distinction; and correction is nothing but the knowledge of the distinction that was previously unappreciated. Such a position can hardly be refuted except by an appeal to the testimony of consciousness. The appeal is not indeed decisive, for the testimony is indefinite. We are not clear at the time of correction whether the previous consciousness was of a definite unity but in any case we can say that it was not consciousness of an indefinite content, consciousness of *this* and snake as utterly unrelated. What was not appreciated as indefinite may yet have

View that not ‘this snake’ but *this* and snake were believed as undistinguished — rejected.

been indefinite but there is at least a presumption in favour of its having been a definite unity.

Admitting then that there was a belief in the unity 'this snake,' we ask if there is now a disbelief in it.

Forms of the view
that correction is no
disbelief in *this* having
been snake.

That there is no longer a belief in 'this snake' is not disputed but it may not mean that there is now a disbelief in the form 'this is not a snake' or 'this snake is not a fact.' Even if such a disbelief be admitted, it may not mean disbelief in *this* having been a snake when it was believed as such. These may appear to be unreal objections but they gain plausibility when developed. The present consciousness, it may be said, is primarily a belief in *this* being a rope. It refers indeed to the previous belief in 'this snake' but the reference is only a belief in a positive distinction between *this* and snake which ousts the previous belief psychologically but does not amount to a disbelief in it. I may now say 'this is not snake' but the word *not* here only means a distinction and does not imply a rejection. Negation in the objective content means nothing but distinction and even if there be a subjective feeling of rejecting or disbelieving as distinct from distinguishing, it has no content other than distinction. Even if 'this is not snake' means the non-existence of snake here and not simply its distinction from *this*, non-existence being as much an objective fact as distinction, it is the content of a belief and not of the alleged process of rejection or disbelief. Again admitting that the disbelief has for its content the *falsity* of the previous belief, this falsity, it may be said, is only an additional character, the knowledge of which means the psychological cessation of the previous belief but does not affect its truth. There is no contradiction in speaking of the content 'this snake' as both true and false, true in itself when the belief was there and false now in relation to the content now believed, *viz.*, 'this being rope.'

The suggestion throughout is that there is no disbelief in the form 'this was not snake,' no awareness of the content 'this snake' as having been false when it was believed. That there is now only belief and no disbelief appears however to be an extreme statement that is not warranted by introspection. I am aware of having a disbelief and also a belief not only in 'this rope' but also in the non-existence of snake here though hardly in the distinction of *this* from snake. The testimony of introspection is not however clear as to whether the disbelief is in the form 'this *was* not snake.' If it be suggested that the disbelief is only in the form 'this *is* not snake,' the suggestion does not appear to be definitely opposed to my introspection. Not that the snake has now only ceased to exist and that it was when believed. Introspection apparently does not say anything about my present belief being in a snake having existed when it was believed.

But, it may be said, the truth or falsity of a believed content does not mean its existence or non-existence in time. Disbelief in its existence now may be regarded as *belief* in its falsity as an additional character. The content 'this snake as false now' does not contradict the content 'this snake as true then' and may even be said to contain it ideally, to affirm it as not negated but positively transformed. The notion of ideal retention or transformation is difficult to understand in the case specially of perceptual error. But then perception as knowledge would be taken in this view to be an implicit judgment. How is the content of the judgment 'this is snake' contained in that of the judgment 'this is rope'? A judgment cannot be taken by itself: it has to be taken as implicitly cohering in the inferential way with other judgments. A judgment is to be understood as an epistemological condensation of a system of judgments and perception that is knowledge is a further integration of such a judgment into psychological

immediacy. The percepts 'this snake' and 'this rope' are each an integration of a system of believed contents and one may be said to contain the other in the sense that the system integrated in the one is inclusive of the system integrated in the other. The relation of inclusion between the percepts is not indeed perceived and hence it may be called an ideal inclusion which appears to perception as the magic relation of transformation.

The strictly logical assertion in this view is that the content 'this snake' as false to my present belief does not contradict 'this snake' as true to my previous belief. The rest of the view is couched in imaginative language and whether it can be fully presented in literal logical terms is disputable. The metaphors mainly employed are the *implicit* working of one cognition in another and the content of one cognition being present in *ideality* or transformed in the content of another. Implicit working of inference in judgment and of judgment in perception means in strict logic that the included cognition is cognition of a content other than the content of the inclusive cognition, which yet is no new fact. When again the content A is said to be reduced to ideality or transformed in another content X, nothing more is meant than that the cognition of X is the cognition of A in relation to B and that the cognition of this relation is implicitly contained in the cognition of A in the sense explained that it is cognition of no fact other than A. Whatever else appears to be meant by these notions is purely subjective and is only figuratively represented in objective language.

When then the belief in 'this rope' is said to contain the belief in 'this snake' as transformed, what is literally meant is that the belief now is in the content 'this snake' in relation to new contents, the relation being no new fact.

The perceived *this* taken with certain relations to outside facts makes a system which is constructively the same

Literal meaning of transformation or ideal inclusion.

Inclusion only in a constructive sense and even as such cannot be demonstrated.

fact as 'this snake.' (Again *this* taken with the relations to these and other outside facts makes a fuller system which is the same fact as 'this rope.') The facts and relations contained in each system however can never be fully specified and it would therefore appear to be impossible to show that one system is included in the other. Even if this objection is waived, it is hardly justifiable to deny that the percepts integrating the systems are incompatible on the ground that one system includes the other. The percepts 'this rope' and 'this snake' are wholly incompatible characterisations of the given *this*, one of which can be said to ideally include, define or transform the other only in a remotely constructive sense.

The belief in 'this rope' is a disbelief in 'this snake' now but does it mean that 'this snake' *was* false when it was believed? It all depends on what is meant by the content of a belief or disbelief. Is believing a content the same as believing a fact? If a content is believed, it is believed as fact. If later it is disbelieved, taken to be false, it is no longer believed as fact. The disbelief is a conscious reference to the previous belief, to the previous apprehension of the content as fact. Can the content be *now* spoken of as 'this snake?' I can say now that what I believed and could have then spoken of as 'this snake' is false but can I say 'this snake' is false? Can what is known as false be spoken of as *this*? Does not *this* at once mean *this fact* in time? If a content does not mean a fact in time, can we apply the word *this* to it?

The content of the consciousness 'this fact' can be called 'this meaning,' if introspection into the consciousness of a fact as *this* is admitted to be itself the consciousness of the fact as a meaning.

'This snake'—false as meaning to self-consciousness—is neither true nor false but *fact* to previous consciousness.

If what is now disbelieved be said to be 'this snake,' 'this snake' is a meaning and not a fact to the disbelief, though the same expression stands for a fact to the

previous belief. The present disbelief refers to the previous belief and is on a self-conscious level relatively to it which stood only on the conscious level. What then is false to self-consciousness need not be false to consciousness. Properly speaking, however, the concept of falsity does not emerge on the level of merely objective consciousness. We can speak of the content of consciousness as fact or no fact, existent or non-existent but not as true or false. It is meaningless to speak of '*this* snake'—as to the previous belief—as true or false. The suggestion running through the views just examined that a belief that is false in relation and conscious reference to another belief may be still true in itself has therefore to be rejected as futile.

What was taken as 'this snake' cannot be said to have been false. What is now taken as false cannot also be expressed as 'this snake.' Falsity in fact has no reference to the time-position of a cognition at all. What is taken as false cannot be specified in objective terms. If the disbelief is expressed in the form 'this that was believed and could be spoken of as *this* snake was not a snake,' the subject is a mixture of subjective and objective terms. If the disbelief be formulated—preferably for reasons explained—in two sentences 'what this was believed to be is no fact' and 'this was believed (or more accurately, could be spoken of with belief) as *this* snake,' both the sentences are a mixture of subjective and objective terms. The difficulty, it would appear, is not merely verbal.

What is false is a meaning to 'self-consciousness' which is at the same time *this fact* to the corresponding consciousness. As meaning, it cannot be spoken of as *this*, though it cannot be indicated except by a reference to *this fact*. A false content is a meaning with a necessary or constitutive reference to the *this-ness* of fact. It may, however, be held that meaning or content is but the fact that is meant. The content of a belief that is not fact but mere meaning is a chimera.

What is false is inexpressible in purely objective terms.

View that meaning being but fact meant, previous belief was not in the meaning 'this snake' but only a believing of that mode,

Meaning as distinct from fact meant is but the subjective function of thinking. It may be symbolically or figuratively spoken of as though it were objective but it is not objective at all. What is false then is not the content of a belief but the belief itself. There was the belief formulated by the phrase 'this snake' which however was not belief *in the content* 'this snake.' It was belief in *this* and belief in snake but not belief in the unity 'this snake.' Yet it cannot be said that the two beliefs were simply not distinguished—a view already examined. They were positively combined into a single belief which had however no content. It was not belief *in* 'this snake' and can only be figuratively spoken of as such. Correction indeed is disbelief but the content of the disbelief is the negation 'this is not snake' which however is not the whole content of the corrective consciousness. What is false or is corrected is not the judgment 'this is snake': it is the previous belief which was not a judgment or inference but a perception. But as there was no fact corresponding to the phrase 'this snake,' the perception was only a perceiving and not the cognition of a content or fact which are the same.

Can belief as a mere subjective fact be said to be false? It can be said to be false only in respect of its reference, of what it says, unless the falsity of a belief means nothing but its ineffectiveness in a will-context. Falsity may be ascertained partially by a reference to the will-context but it does not *mean* ineffectiveness. Apparently then this view has to admit a content that is spoken of, thought or suggested without belief. What is false is belief in respect of this thought-content. There was a belief combining the beliefs in *this* and snake, which had no content, no fact corresponding to it. But the belief is now interpreted by a word-conditioned thought of which 'this snake' or 'this being snake' is the content. This thought is formulated at the time of disbelief and is taken to be the description of the belief. The belief then is false not in respect of *its* content—for it

has no content—but in respect of the content that is now thought to describe the particularising character of the belief.

But is this thought content a true description of the belief or is it only a constructive or symbolic description? It is the latter, though as no belief is claimed for it, there is no question of truth or error. The meaning of correction accordingly changes in his view: it is not disbelieving in a previously believed *content* but only disbelieving that the previous belief had a content at all. This is expressed by the negative judgment 'this is not snake' which however does not presuppose the suggestion that the belief had 'this snake' for its content. The negative judgment is ordinarily taken to presuppose an affirmative judgment or a question which suggests a possible fact. Here however the judgment 'this is not snake' would be taken to presuppose a belief that has no content and is only characterised by the thought 'this being snake' at the time of the judgment. The belief is false in respect of what is now constructively taken to be its content.

Belief only of the mode 'this snake' admitted also by idealist but as presentation. It is not even belief in snake.

The admission in this realistic view of a contentless belief would bring it perilously near an idealistic view according to which object is nothing but belief with its subjectivity alienated or heterised. There was, according to both, no belief in 'this snake' but only belief *of this form*, belief as factitiously characterisable by the present thought of 'this snake.' In the realistic view however the contentless belief was only a believing and no presentation while in the particular idealistic view, it is a presentation. A further difference is that the belief that is corrected is in the realistic view contentless so far as 'this snake' is not a unitary believed content though it is still belief *in* the contents *this* and *snake*, while in the idealistic view, the belief *of the form* 'this snake' is not only not belief in the unity but not also in *snake*.

The idealistic view here appears to have an advantage over the realistic view, for it is difficult to understand a unitary belief which is only partly determined or characterised by its content.

Snake as in the present thought 'this snake' is imaginary.

Now that we have the thought of the unity 'this snake' or 'this being snake' which is disbelieved, the thought that symbolises the subjective unity of the belief, can we say that the predicate or determinant *snake* in it means the fact snake as remembered to be elsewhere? Is it believed at all within this thought? As the thought of 'this snake' now rises with disbelief, it implies an empty contingency like 'if this could be snake, as it cannot be.' The emergence of the idea of snake may be through memory but does the idea continue to be a believed memory-content within such a contingent thought? Apparently it continues only as *meaning* and for the belief now characterised by the thought of 'this snake,' 'snake' is as little a believed content as the unity 'this snake,' being only the *mode* of the belief—the believing or the presentation.

To the idealistic view, the previous belief is no belief in snake but is still belief in *this* as a presentation, though not as objective fact.

View that this in it also is imaginary. 'This snake' was a presentation and since *this* as believed now is objective fact (or heterised presentation), the word *this* appears to be a specification both of the objectified and of the unobjectified presentation. Taking the disbelief implied in correction to be adequately expressed in the form 'this snake is not' rather than in the form 'this is not snake,' would *this* in it mean a perceived content, the perceived substrate of the snake-character? If neither 'this snake' nor 'snake' be a believed content for the previous belief, can *this* be regarded as a substrate at all? When I imagine a lion on a perceived object like the wall before me, the whole content 'lion on the wall' being imaginary, the term 'wall' in the whole means not the locus as perceived but the imagined character of location of the imagined lion. So here *this* is not a believed substrate but only an

imagined specification of the imagined snake. The previous belief in the mode 'this snake' has thus no content at all or has for its content something that is no fact at all but absolute naught.

The illusion 'this snake' is then a presentation in which there is no belief in *this* or snake or their unity as fact. The word *this* is here not only not the specification of an objective fact but not also of the presentation as a subjective fact. *This* in 'this snake' which is disbelieved stands for no fact at all. The disbelief is absolute and is not capable of being expressed as a negative judgment. If it is at all expressed as a negative statement, its form would be 'this snake is not' which would not be a negative existential judgment like 'ghosts do not exist' in so far as the subject 'this snake' is not even the suggestion of a possible fact. It is not even the psychic fact of presentation, being only the appearance of presentation, if such a phrase could be allowed. At the time of disbelief, we feel it is only *as though* 'this snake' was presented.

Objection: 'this snake' was believed and not merely imagined and so the false can neither be asserted nor denied to be *this* fact.

All this follows from the meaning of *this* in the disbelieved unity 'this snake': every part of an imaginary content is imaginary. The objection to this view is that 'this snake was believed and was not merely imagined like the lion on the wall. I disbelieve it now not in the form 'this snake is not' but in the form 'what I believed *this* to be is not', where the word *this* stands for a fact that is now believed. But then I believed *this* to be 'this snake' in which phrase or thought the word *this* means what is like *snake* no fact. Yet the two *this*'s mean the same perceived content. I cannot say then that what *this* was believed to be was not presented nor that it was presented as *this*. Now that I disbelieve, I cannot assert that I perceived *this* snake nor can I deny that I perceived something as *this*, as an individual fact

before me. I cannot now describe in objective terms what I then believed nor can I say that there was only the subjective fact of contentless belief. I believed in a content which was not fact nor absolute nought.

KRISHNACHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA.

CULTIVATION OF PURE ART IN MODERN GERMANY.¹

III.

There is no fine line of demarcation between pure art and science. In the Universities mathematics, history of fine arts, physics, chemistry, philosophy, botany, etc., are seen side by side. Nor is it possible to classify the academies and Universities according to this principle. Neither can we make such a classification with the help of the particular objectives in each case, as will readily appear from a consideration of such disciplines as psychiatry, sociology, psychology, mathematics, etc. Any attempt to classify the various branches of learning according as they are closely allied to, or remote from, our every day life will be equally futile. Theology which heightens the sense of moral responsibility and obligation in the people, archaeology, the representatives of which discipline by means of excavations and research expeditions discover lost links of relationship with other nations and thus prepare the ground for economic and cultural collaboration, are of no less vital importance for our everyday life than the natural sciences. Pure art and science are so closely related to each other that the two together make up one whole. It is only on account of the meagre modes of expression at the disposal of man and the narrow circle in which he is used to think that this arbitrary division is at all justifiable.

Various forces of different character are now exerting their influence on all branches of learning and particularly on pure art in post-war Germany. Pursuit of knowledge has assumed a different aspect in the modern life and thought of the people. In pre-war days, in wide circles of the cultured men of Germany, pursuit of pure art was a sort of heavenly urge; now it has been left to itself. In this way pursuit of knowledge has also been

¹ Translation from the original German by Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh.

purged of all alien elements and motives and brought nearer home to its own mission—it has now more self-consciousness and power of self-determination. But there is also the other side of the medal. A certain uncongeniality and indifference with regard to the pursuit of knowledge has gradually gained ground, which can hardly be favourable and advantageous to its cause. Various fields of life which were dominated by this desire for pursuit of knowledge are now enjoying more attention than they deserve and are thus overshadowing it. As a result, learning has become foreign to the life of the people. Dilettantism and superstition have got possession of the nation—the most incredible things are now believed; but at the same time it has to be noted that many of these superstitions belonged formerly properly to the region of scientific learning and very often this dilettantism has preserved, refreshed in its isolation, in fossilised form much that is genuine and old. It is the hey-day of occultism, spiritism, astrology, etc. In the midst of such uncongenial paraphernalia scientific learning has naturally to encounter many bitter struggles and suffer many sacrifices. It will now be tested to its bones.

Although this struggle is going on mainly without the precincts of pure scientific activity, there is no want of nuts to crack even inside of them and those of closely allied subjects. Pure art is now being confronted by the natural sciences, which, as is well-known, have imposed their methodology on pure art subjects, in course of the last few decades. A new turn from the age of technique and rationalism is clearly perceptible as the former materialistic vision of life is now losing ground and hand in hand with it there is another tendency which is gradually gaining in strength—a tendency “to liberate pure art subjects from the guardianship of natural sciences, to fully elucidate the special features of art subjects and to present before the world their own laws and to vindicate the independence and freedom of the spirit from nature,” as Heinrich Maier has happily formulated it. This idealistic tendency is also vital and active.

Of another nature are those tendencies which tend to remould the external accommodation of scientific learning. The same tendency towards rationalisation and centralisation which is perceptible in economic life has made its appearance also in the field of pure scientific activities. The distresses of the German people which rendered it imperative to strain all the resources of the nation led also to this rationalisation in the field of scientific knowledge. Therein lies the source of the great idea which gave rise to the "Emergency Society for the Benefit of German Scientific Activity" (Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft)—that wonderful collective structure the central point of all organisational activities, directing all branches of art and science in Germany admired and imitated in every part of the world.

Another peculiar feature in the organisation of German scientific activity is yet to be mentioned, which owes its origin apparently to an external ground—the intensive academisation of Germany—as a result of which all the Universities are now filled to overflowing. Purely scientific research works have grown out of the Universities and are now carried on in the sphere of special organisations which are exclusively devoted to that purpose. A certain distinction between research works and teaching has been made, so that both may be the better treated for it in practical work. These research institutes are auxiliary organisations to Universities, Academies, libraries and museums, their principal duty is to inaugurate new lines of research for which there is no possibility in the University, to call off some scholars from teaching work and get them engaged in purely scientific investigations and lastly to train up young academicians after the completion of their studies before they begin the application of their science in practical life or take up professorial work. In this way nothing is taken away from the University, rather something is being given to it. The University takes up the investigations of the research institutions when they are ripe for it, *i.e.*, when they have stood the scientific test, and dissociate

from them a part of the problems arising out of them and thus can better concentrate itself on its own original mission. This practical division of labour along with the sinking of all fundamental difference between research works and teaching has been more than justified by practical experience.

The great ideals of evangelical theology preached by Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and Ritschl (1822-1889) are still throbbing and vital in Germany. Schleiermacher, philosopher and theologian in the same person, discovered in Religion an independent field of intellectual activity and being a romantist he took religion to be feeling ; his realisation of God is through the Universe and he set down categorically that only the pious may be theologians. For Ritschl on the other hand religion is not divorced of thought and will : If Christ is "God's representative in history," then the ultimate goal of the world is the Kingdom of God. Both Schleiermacher and Ritschl hold that religion is an independent field of intellectual activity and that the faith comes to individual men from the church—the evangelical church. School after school has arisen out of the teachings of these two theologians and in consideration of their great importance for the present day it is not possible to overlook them. Of course evangelical theology has undergone changes to suit the varying tides of time. Research-works in the field of New Testament are now overburdened with a mass of historical technicalities. Various other disciplines such as philosophy, natural sciences, etc., have entered the precincts of theology in the shape of one problem or another and have widened its sphere of activity. The so-called dialectical theology or the "theology of crisis" has carved out for itself a large place in recent times. It claims to be theology of the coming age. The Swiss Karl Barth (Bonn) is the greatest protagonist of this theology and E. Brunner (Zürich), Fr. Gogerten (Jena), O. Piper (Münster) are pursuing it with literary zeal. He lays much emphasis on the "word of God" as distinct from the historical biblical tradition. Theology had become too independent Karl Barth is trying to

make it again subservient to the church. He exposes the black sides of the word and calls upon men to think over them. In existence he finds an insurmountable barrier between God and us men. Man "is" nought. Barth is not particularly interested in the mode of life of the Christians, because God does not demand more than "repentance and atonement" even from the faithful. Barth's attitude towards the dogma of the church is quite remarkable. Evangelical theology has not remained untouched by the spirit of the time—it too has learnt to value practical interests. Let us remember the ecumenic movement, the ecclesiastical congress in Stockholm (1925) and Lausanne (1928), the establishment of a "World Union for friendly co-operation" of the churches and the great influence which this union has exercised on the whole discipline of evangelical theology. It is not at all a fortuitous coincidence that G. Wünsche (Marburg) in a voluminous work has subjoined things economic to theology and it is also evident that the tides of social movements are also gradually drawing evangelical theology into its trammels. The picture of the present condition of evangelical theology will be complete when it is added that the zeal in Lutheran studies has increased for which material and inspiration is sought in the great enterprise—the edition of the works of Luther of which 75 thick quarto volumes have already appeared.

Catholic theology on the other hand grew up and exists under quite different circumstances, belonging to a confessional minority it had to suffer severely in various ways, especially in cultural struggle, during the seventies and the eighties of the previous century, so that the main energies of the German Catholics were consumed in political strife in self-defence and only very little could be spared for scientific studies, particularly for the science of theology. The result of it was that theological studies obtained very poor material support and had to be carried on the basis of meagre resources. It is an index of its admirable courage and unconquerable zeal that, when it

was freed from these outer bounds, in spite of all possible contrary circumstances, Catholic theology could again rise to the level of a scientific discipline of high order. Catholic theology enjoys a peculiar position among all the other sciences. In conformity with the inner convictions of its representatives, it is inseverably chained to ecclesiastical dogmas and does not attempt to present the teachings of the church on a new basis or to interpret them from a subjective point of view as opposed to the conventional formulary of the church. Inspired by a highly developed spirit of community the Catholic theologian never forgets his share of the general responsibility and he never proclaims in public his own theological views and hypotheses, unless they are thoroughly tested, merely out of a personal urge to give them expression. Like every generous sacrifice this voluntary self-subjugation too has borne its fruit. To it owes the Catholic theology the imposing aspect of its homogeneous structure and the fact that Catholic theology is to a large extent free from the influence of varying tides of time, can be only explained in the light of this self-subjugation in its representatives. This aloofness from all worldly influences however does not rule out the possibility of an alternation of interest in respect of the various fields of study within the sphere of Catholic theology. It is now mainly engaged with liturgy, mysticism and scholasticism and bringing them into harmony with the spirit of the age which is unusually favourable to it. When in post-war period Catholic theology was freed from external pressure, it succeeded with the help of the various priestly orders, in filling up the gaps in its personnel, caused by decades of extremely unfavourable circumstances. Along with the great theological journal "Voices of the Time" the Jesuits, now came back from exile, made their way to wide circles of the laity. The liturgical publications of the Benedectines in Maria Laach under abbot Ildefons Herwegen assisted by a newly established scientific school for monks and the "Bavarian Benedictine Academy" started a great movement in connection with church

ceremonials. Catholic theology received welcome inspiration also from History and Philosophy on which valuable publications were made under the auspices of "The Catholic Society for the Culture of Sciences—the Görres Society." Their historical year-book, their sources and research-works in the field of history, their philosophical year-book, their *Callectanea Hierosolymitana* offer a mass of materials which may be used for theology. It derives much light also from the publication of the files of the economical councils as well as of those of Constance and Trient. The best intellects in the sphere of Catholic theology are now exerting themselves zealously over them. And lastly let us mention the most distinctive feature of Catholic theology : its appeal is more effective and goes nearer to actual life than that of most of the other disciplines and it has the peculiar aptitude to shelter into its folds benighted individuals from outside : let us only remember in what a masterly fashion the Catholic theology has availed itself of this favourable turn in time and on the other hand how thoroughly it has popularised great movements (such as about church ceremonials) which had their origin in itself.

Philosophy is the meeting point of the deeper currents of intellectual activity. The last philosophical epoch had surrendered itself completely to naturalism and relativism ; but already in the nineties of the preceding century powerful antagonists made their appearance in the shape of the champions of idealism and absolutism. The struggle was a bitter one. The Neo-idealism was at first engaged with methodology and tried to liberate the pure art subjects from the fetters of natural sciences. Dilthey was the pioneer. The struggle was directed against the naturalistic conception of the philosophy of history, sociology, psychology of association, etc. And at the same time the normative work for the ideal was begun, the ought-to-be became important and it was recognised that the autonomy of the spirit has to be established. In practical life the neo-idealismus led to the ideal of an ethical culture—it wanted to find a "new spiritual

content of life, as Rudolph Eucken, one of the advance guards in this movement, declared. This practical idealism was further supported by metaphysical idealism and thus succeeded in conquering the supreme position for the spirit and crowned with it the world of realities. The German idealism returned from its exile. Conjointly with this neo-idealism absolutism too has assailed naturalism and relativism in their citadel. The negation is no longer tolerated, people have now again courage to set up ideals and to implicitly believe in them—they feel themselves pledged to these ideals. Art, science, law, state—everything acquires new value in the light of this new idealism, and religion too receives its full share of it and renovated by the metaphysical movements for absolutism it began to exert fresh influence in intellectual circles. This gave rise to an intensive interest in the scholastic philosophy for Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. The tendency towards absolutism began to make itself felt more and more also in the region of perception. Relative truth must give place to the absolute which is taken to be independent of the agent and therefore a thing in itself by the representatives of the logical absolutism of truth such as Th. Lipps, Husserl, Meinong and also by the phenomenologists and realistic philosophers (*Gegenstandstheoretiker*). To others like Rickert and Royce this thing in itself is the norm of truth, the law of truth and the quality of truth, but in itself no lasting essence of truth. Inspired by this philosophical tendency people are now giving serious thoughts to the problem of rehabilitating the individual disciplines on a new basis of the theory of perception and a new logical foundation. Out of it rose the philosophy of intuition and experience, based on Bergson's method of intuition and it draws material also from the school of Stefan George and the phenomenology of Husserl. The greatest exponent of this new philosophy was Max Scheler. Through this system mysticism was again introduced into modern life, which on its side again influenced religion. But along with it also many dangerous offshoots have entered the sphere of modern life, such

as anthroposophy, occultism, spiritism, astrologism, etc. In the meantime new ground has been broken for metaphysics from the idealistic and phenomenological side, which to the former implies a turn towards realism and to the latter a turn from the subject to the object. But still it is a turn towards metaphysics in each case. It lends its characteristic stamp to modern philosophy and through it alone can modern man arrive at a cosmic view worthy of himself.

Psychology thrives in combination with philosophy, but in recent times it had to shed its skin very often. Physiological and perceptive psychology has been transformed into the psychology of development, function and configuration—a psychology of pure natural science has been remoulded into that of pure art. Every one followed in the footsteps of Wilhelm Wundt. This transformation however has in no way hindered experimental psychology being appreciated in allied fields. Psychology has to suffer great reverses in public estimation under the tyranny of antipsychologism on account of its relativistic tendencies, but in spite of it, it has been able to attract many dilettantic circles to render voluntary services to it. A great part of the rôle of psychology is now being played in the sphere of active life and there it is rendering useful service to the science of pedagogics. It is indispensable to pedagogics for the psychological foundation to all vocational education and it is actively engaged in exploring the mysteries of the child's mind.

Pedagogics itself, after its classical age under Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Pestalozzi, Fichte, Froebel, Herbart and Schleiermacher was completely thrust back into a subordinate position. It went so far that the whole method of education fell into the hands of the epigones of Herbart and only very few people took interest in scientific pedagogics. It is the Great War which has set things in good order again in this field. It has remoulded the whole system of public instruction and given it the stamp of a national institution. An unprecedented conflict was the immediate result. Sharp discussions took place on

general school-system, instruction in manual labour and the education of teachers. Hans Richert carried out the reform of Prussian High Schools and Universities and animated by a novel idea of German civilisation and culture he tried to realise the ideal of the "German man." E. Spranger, Th. Litt and G. Kerschensteiner paved the way to scientific pedagogics in the field of pure art subjects and philosophy. Out of this circle arose the great compendious work of G. Kerschensteiner "Theory of Education." Practical as well as theoretical pedagogics have combined with each other in the attempt to create a cultural pedagogics, but it will be still some time before they attain this goal.

German jurisprudence has not suffered any considerable loss through the war ; but it was confronted with an inordinate mass of material which had to be handled and luckily for German jurisprudence this new situation arose just after a brilliant age from the point of view of this discipline. German theory of state had then been developed under the inspiration of Labaud and epoch making works for the whole world were written on German civil law by J. W. Plank, Wachs and Kohler, on German criminal law by Binding and Liszt, on German commercial law by L. Goldschmidt, Cosack and Staub and on personal law by Windscheid, Dernburg and Gierke. The science of jurisprudence had to face new problems arising out of war and inflation. The war demanded explanation of the various economic measures taken by the government, such as the law of military confiscation and the so-called law of social interest, and the inflation gave rise to grave problems as to the revaluation of the currency system in the face of vanishing credit and allied questions. One can truly say in praise of German jurisprudence that it did not sink under the pressure of this heavy burden and its ship has safely reached the other shore after carefully avoiding the dangerous shallows.

A new constitution arose and along with it a new law of labour was enacted, law of trade, law of taxation, law of

administration—everything was changed from top to bottom. With the appearance of the *Codex Juris Canonici* of the Catholic church a new chapter was opened for modern ecclesiastical law. It derived equally fruitful inspiration from the reorganisation of the Evangelical churches of Germany. Stutz and J. V. Bredt found it necessary to write comprehensive works on this subject. International law naturally received much attention on account of the war and the peace treaties. This as well as the League of Nations, the question of sovereignty, the duty of the court of arbitration, were the most popular topics of the day for the science of international law. The most important book of reference in this field is the *Recueil des Traités* which appeared under the supervision of Triepel. Also in the field of criminal law the government has been induced by a powerful reform movement to order the drawing up of preliminaries to a new system of criminal law which are now being discussed in detail in the Reichstag. The legal systems of the whole civilised world are being taken into account in this connection, so that the work when completed may serve as a model to the whole world. Penetration of social thoughts into the sphere of this proposed system of criminal law is very remarkable. In its structure the jurisprudence of the present age is characterised by three outstanding features: withdrawal from the standpoint of Roman Law which goes hand in hand with antihistorism, a tendency towards comparative jurisprudence and the philosophy of jurisprudence. In immediate future these two last elements will very probably enjoy a great deal of attention.

Economics is closely connected with jurisprudence in practical life. 150 years ago Adam Smith's work found its way from England to Germany and here called into life the various sciences connected with the state. Historical methods were applied to them and they were enriched by new ideas of progress and evolution; they were made serviceable to the socialistic theory of exploitation and growing factory life, as Karl Marx

developed it from the view-point of the individual and Rodbertus from that of the state. Brentano and Schmoller gave birth to another historical school, characterised by its very cautious attitude towards the classical theories. Their pupils Fr. Knapp and K. Bücher succeeded at least in getting over the methodological conflict between history and theory by calmly adopting both points of view. Max Weber and Werner Sombart went even further than they; the former by methodical elaboration of economic "Ideal Types" and the other his characterisation of "economic types" which he knew how to present in a charming form in his works. Besides them there was also A. Wagner who was perhaps the first to apply international comparative methods and who devoted himself chiefly to the problem of labour. The theory of marginal utility was very long to come to Germany from the Austrian K. Menger over the Englishman Marshall and the Swiss Walras. Those lines of development which have been touched here may be traced from beyond the world war to the present day. But the war has done deadly injury to this science. The economic chaos which was caused by it spread also into the science of economics: the faith in this science was rudely shaken and a host of dilettantes, great and small, were drawn into the arena whose only motive was to make capital out of the present situation. The economic theories of Germany were enriched by fruitful ideas from America where the theory of rationalisation and consolidation had been highly developed. German political economy is now undergoing a process of complete reconstruction and there are already clear signs that it too will one day bear fair fruits which will be appreciated in the academic circles not only of this country but also of the world at large.

All the utterances made in the nineteenth century, from whatever quarter they might be, show the influence of the science of history, so that one may justly call it the "historica" century. This science of history rendered invaluable service in helping the people to form new conceptions of things and it exercised

enormous influence on many of the pure art disciplines, in whose name it bore the brunt of the struggle against the natural sciences. It appeared already to have achieved victory and to rule the battle-field when its compeers, which had helped it to achieve victory, suddenly again filled the battle-field with the din of war and at the end robbed it of its victory and power. The relativistic ideas which this science of history had disseminated were dissolved into philosophy and were directed into other channels of energy. The science of history lost its supreme position of leadership in the field of cultural discipline and had to suffer from a wave of anti-historism which is antagonistic in character and has not yet completely ebbed away. Still, the historians are pursuing and perfecting their work with that tenacity and asceticism which goes hand in hand with love of science. The sphere of history has been enormously extended both in time and space—the civilisations of the Nile and the Euphrates have been revealed to us till in the fourth millennium before Christ. But of late great vistas have been opened in the great civilisations of the Far East—in China and India, and last, but not least, also in Mexico and Peru. The lure of the east is best perceptible in the shape of the great research expeditions of recent years. Let us only remember the great Russo-German-Altai expedition. Cultural relations between the orient and the occident which could hardly be dreamt of are now fairly on the way to being firmly established on historical basis. But this call from afar has not been able to divert all attention in that direction so that one could complain that the nearer fields of research are in any way being neglected. The spirit of the great master Ranke is still alive in German history though it is now developing new tendencies in various directions. Hence the rise of our great historical commissions which are dealing with every German district separately, bringing out historical journals, compiling archives and directing greater publications (such as the historical atlas). The publication of the sources of history now takes place generally in the shape of *regestae*

consisting of extracts arranged in order of time and including all that is necessary. Critical interest has been awakened also in the proceedings of the diets and municipal law as well as in economic notes and sketches, such as Urbariums, Ledgers, etc. The science of history has also discovered new methods of scientific investigation as they are now being pursued in the research institutes. Under the guidance of Paul Kehr the Historical Institute of the Kaiser-Wilhelm Society is engaged in publishing "Germania Sacra", the correspondence of Charles V and the letters of William I. Many scientific societies have established special branches for history. The Görres-Society has brought out the great work "Concilium Tridentium." Various other great publications, particularly those on the sources of history, such as the monumental *Germaniae Historica*, the papal documents of Göttingen, the *Acta Borussica*, etc., have also been undertaken and zealously pursued. Yet the modern representatives of the science of history are inclined more towards other fields such as economic history, cultural history, constitutional history and also towards the problems of the present day, such as war guilt, Rhineland and the more complicated problem of the German nationality outside the boundaries of Germany. They think perhaps that in this way they can get rid of the evil of anti-historism in the shortest possible time and thus again win a high position in the heart of the people. Any way, they seem to have hit on the right track.

There is a number of scientific disciplines holding an intermediate position between the science of history and the natural sciences. It is almost impossible to classify them and formerly they were in a body brought under the comprehensive title of "Ethnology" by which we understand a baffling conglomeration of anthropology, ethnography, pre-history, folklore, native languages, etc. At its initial stage *anthropology* was engaged with the problem of the descent of man, turned to investigations on the shape of the craniums, colour of eyes and hair and latterly to racial biology and hygiene which is now absorbing

most interest in this field. As centres for the culture of anthropology may be mentioned the newly established Kaiser-Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, Human Heredity and Eugenics in Berlin (1927) and the Anthropological Institute of Kiel (1929). At the instance of these two organisations extensive investigations are now being carried on in every part of Germany, the results of which are embodied in the gigantic work "Races of Germany—Investigation of races, clans, folklore and families of the German people." Anthropology is from its nature closely connected with *pre-history*, which is now concerned with works and investigations on the culture of the pre-historic peoples of the old world. By comparing and sifting the mass of materials which has been growing all the time, the science of pre-history made rough sections of the wide areas under consideration on the hypothesis that each of them has been the arena of activity of certain groups of people. But the modern exponents of this science have now shrunk back from this position. The sphere of culture is however the sum and substance of ethnology proper as it has been shown in the great work of Kopper "People and Culture" (1924). It consists of three early stages marking the origin of three new systems of civilisation (Kulturkreis) which however may be mixed up also with other secondary stages. *Folklore*, which has also close relations with this complex will be dealt with in another connection. The fifth discipline which is associated with ethnology is represented by the native languages. The investigation of these languages was begun by commercial men and missionaries who found it necessary in practical life. The whole science of ethnology owes a great deal to these people who still at the present day are rendering invaluable services to science by revealing the modes of thinking of primitive peoples. The science of ethnology is one of our modern sciences which ought to have a good share of public sympathy.

Cultural and political history and the history of art have always influenced and are still influencing each other very

strongly, although the attempts of the latter to free itself from the thralldom of history have to some extent damped the cordial relations between these two disciplines. History of art has not been able to assert and establish its absolute independence, nor has a Schmarsow succeeded in establishing in it the law of evolution, nor has a Heinrich Wölfflin been able to establish the law of evolution "by means of the character and disposition of the artist's personality and through worth and execution"; nor has an Alais Riegl been able to establish his theory that in art one should not look to the value but only to the stages of transformation—which is identical with the law of evolution. Dvorak, who introduced the method of formal analysis to a whole new generation has himself fallen back upon historical methods and has again established the relation with history on the way over cultural history. The history of art is perhaps for ever doomed to be shuttle-cocked between the historical method and the method of formal analysis, because it consists of art and history—the eternal and the transitory.

The time is as little favourable for philology as for history.. The present age, wholly dominated by machines, has a peculiar aspect of tumult and unrest—every nerve strained to grab pelf from the outer world, while the fountain of inner spirit is allowed to dry up, it replaces text by picture and book by newspaper, physical exercise degenerates into sport, the community is dissolved into set societies and the faculty of thinking is giving way to modes of viewing things. This spirit is clearly perceptible also in the present state of the culture of science, both in comprehensive works on the individual disciplines and in special publications and researches on particular themes. Inexactness of expression and hurriedness in execution is everywhere perceptible. As philology is chiefly concerned with specialised researches on particular themes, the number of its devotees is dwindling every day, and in so far as the case is not so the people who take up this branch of learning are by nature more suited to tumult and more inclined to take a

synthetic view of things. Thus in Germanic philology a turn from the linguistic point of view to the literary side is clearly perceptible. It is not at all a fortuitous coincidence that in the post-war period such an important work in the field of the history of German literature could be produced as J. Nadler's "Literary history of the German races and landscapes" in which an absolutely new view-point has been taken, inasmuch as the influence of home and all that is connected with it has been strongly emphasised.

The investigation of German dialects has received much favour in this age and the greatest impetus to it came from the gigantic work—the linguistic atlas of the German *Reich*—the only two published copies of which are in Berlin and Marburg respectively and Wrede is now engaged in bringing out an abridged edition of it under the title "German linguistic Atlas." In conformity with the tendency of the modern age towards cultural history and the historical treatment of the evolution of ideas, the sagas and fairy-tales, popular ballads and country usages—things which are still struggling for a position within the sphere of Germanic philology¹ are being investigated with great enthusiasm. This discipline of folklore (*Volkskunde*), as it is comprehensively called, is one of the youngest shoots in the tree of German scientific activity and has before it a very promising future, as it has been explained in a masterly fashion—anticipating many future developments—in the interesting new publication of Professor Dr. G. Schreiber—"National and International Folklore." With the help of the "Emergency Society for the benefit of German Scientific Activity" a gigantic work—"The Atlas of German Folklore"—has been undertaken in the model of the "German Linguistic Atlas." On a cartographical system, as in the case of the Linguistic Atlas, this atlas will present all that belongs to the life of the German people as found in German

¹ In the German sense of the word,—*Translator*.

home and the household implements, in food, drink and costumes, in private life and economic enterprises, along with all their accessories in religion, law and custom—from the most concrete to the purely spiritual aspects of life—in a complete and comprehensive form. The magnitude of this enterprise may be well estimated when we remember that questionnaires on all these points are being sent to every part of Germany and that to-day already a staff of 30,000 men is working over it. This atlas of popular institutions when completed promises to be in German as well as in foreign countries, one of those ideal scientific works, remarkable for comprehensiveness and the long view of things taken in them, which the poor war-worn Germany may well be proud to call its own speciality.

The lure of distant lands and waters which has always exercised powerful influence on German imagination is strikingly exemplified in the devotion of the German people to the study of the foreign peoples, languages and countries. Thus by the side of Germanic philology there grew up, partly simultaneously and partly a little later, English, Romanic, Slavic, Semitic, and Aryan philology along with Sinology, some of which owe their very origin and development to the activities of German scholars and others received in Germany such tender care as was denied them even in their land of origin. The same line of development may be perceived in all these branches of philology. The first stage was almost everywhere characterised by intensive linguistic researches and text criticism, which carried on a great deal of specialised researches on particular themes, possible only through a silent but tenacious asceticism, but which also sometimes floundered in their own meshes being never able to rise above this specialisation. The great masters of this period dissected every individual problem into its different component parts and they served the cause of learning absolutely for its own sake. The state of German learning in this field had undergone a radical change in post-war time. Linguistics and textual criticism does not enjoy much attention any longer, the

scholars have turned their attention to the purely literary and cultural side of it; the languages of the ancient and the middle ages have been left to themselves while the modern languages and living dialects are being investigated with unprecedented vigour and enthusiasm. Now the method is just the opposite—from many to one or from analysis to synthesis. Every branch of philology is evincing this change of outlook typical of the present age. Only English philology still shows any resolution to resist this spirit of the age, but it too will have to submit at last, for the younger generation is already in revolt and is going over to the treatment of literary and cultural problem even though they have none to guide them. Romanic philology has long since surrendered to this new spirit, so that in the Universities of Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna, etc., philologists have been replaced by literary scholars above all by literary historians. Sinology holds a remarkable position in this field. It has no brilliant philological or linguistic achievement to its credit. It is wholly dominated by the new mode of thinking, specialists and their works on minute details have no place in it. Comprehensive studies are its speciality and the historical treatment of Chinese literature, culture and mode of thinking are the most popular subjects of study in this branch of philology. The danger of being lost in the details of specialised researches has given way to the other danger of minimising such labour. The right path lies here certainly in the golden mean.

The old love of learning has not left the German people. With unexampled heroism and tenacious vitality, it has preserved and further enriched its great heritage of learning in an age of cruel hardships which have shaken to its very foundations the edifice of its material existence. On every hand we find new changes and new developments, everywhere signs of new life. The new generations are bursting through the old ideas and conquering for itself new fields of activity. Many a thing will perhaps be dragged low from a high pedestal, but it is necessary, for without burying at least a part of the past it is impossible to pave the way

to greater ideals for future. But above all we shall welcome the dawn of that change in the midst of this changing world of present German learning—which alone signifies more than all these multifarious changes—the change from the worship of matter to that of the spirit.

RICHARD MAI

HOW CAN THEY KNOW ?

How can they know, who only dwell
In cold grey cities made by man,
Aught of the savage ecstasy
Of far horizons; deep blue skies;
Trees and grass incredibly green;
Blooms rioting in flaming hue?
Birds they never heard of fly free
And sing their wild songs, ignorant
Of cages and the muted voice
Of creatures in captivity.
How can they know, who never saw
The Indian moon swing radiantly
To join the star's processional
And march on night's empurpled plain;
Who never heard the jungle's call,
Or passion in a drum's deep throb;
Who never felt the surge of soul
At sight of the Eternal Snows
In India's mighty Himalayas,
Soaring in beauty to the skies ?
How can they know, who never gazed
On Bengal's wide and spacious plains;
On lush rice in the paddy-fields;
On lordly phalanxes of palms;
On miles of teeming fecund soil,
Rejuvenated in the Rains;
Who never felt the sun's hot kiss
Warming the heart with its wild fire.
Or all earth's magic and its bane
That haunts and hold me captive here ?

HENRIK IBSEN.¹

PART V. THE APOTHEOSIS OF IBSENISM.

Four more of Ibsen's plays remain to be considered. The Grand Mandarins of criticism have told the world, again and again, that in these four plays a definite falling off in dramatic power—the power which had had its supremest distillation in '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*'—is only too clearly discernible. In a sense, of course, this is true: but the statement is apt to be highly misleading when not further governed by a qualifying gloss. If by dramatic essence is meant the perfect correlation of exciting bits of action and dialogue, moving, naturally and swiftly, through a crescendo of tense emotion, and breaking off at the appointed apex of tragedy or comic disillusionment—if, in other words, the presence of action, a very considerable measure of action, action that is perceptible to the naked eye, *physical* action, if the presence of such action is to be laid down as a hall-mark absolute of true dramatic power—then, certainly, '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*,' in their wonderful revivification of action and not alone of the disastrous workings of perverse, psychological idealisms, are greater than any other play that Ibsen wrote. But dramatic essence is not a commodity for the making of which—of even of the finest variety—is one only recipe. Action is but the bread drama feeds on: the impulsion of the underlying emotions and passions is the rare wine that imparts to drama its so superior and transcendent illumination. These prerequisites of all drama reveal themselves at their final stage as plot and characterisation: and the dramatist's power is measured more by the success he achieves in unrecognisably weilding these two aspects into an edifice of awe inspiring homogeneity than in his individual triumphs, however pre-eminent, in either plot-construction alone or character delineation. Hence was it that Dr. A. C.

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Bradley placed such exceeding emphasis on his theory of 'character issuing in action,' and *vice-versa*, of 'action issuing in character.'

But what is action? The resourceful Mandarins have their pert answer ready: "the kind of stuff you find in Shakespeare, that is action." Oscar Wilde, Bernard Shaw, and of course Ibsen, have clung to conventions in dramatic technique far removed from those which the Elizabethan playwrights had known and abided by. With an easy satisfaction, therefore, would the traditionally minded critics dismiss the three of them, rather the last two of them (for Wilde, incomparable dramatist as he was, did not quite outgrow his boiling amateurishness) with but a nonchalant snigger that their plays are woefully lacking in action. However, the obstination of these giants and the unswerving enthusiasm of the inspired few have opened the eyes of millions to the greatness of their art, and now, strange to say, pontifical gentlemen find themselves, to their obscure chagrin, bringing out books of eulogy and, at times, in the course of their academical discussions, even drawing elaborately subtle distinctions between the dramatic art of Shaw and Ibsen on the one hand and of Shakespeare and Moliere on the other. Mr. Arnold Bennett has said somewhere that these wiseacres "ought to bind themselves by oaths never to say anything about any author who was not safely dead twenty years before they were born." Indeed, the cramping limitations of their intellect imperatively demand such a convenient ordinance. These unfortunate critics inaugurate their first recognition of a great author's emergence with uppish doubts of a not improbable 'early promise': anon, startled and thrown off their feet by some originality in the rising genius, they direct their steely batteries of criticism towards him, aiming at his instant annihilation. But they only catch a tartar and are much perturbed in the obscurities of their being: accordingly, they change their tactics, yielding to the pressure of cumulative circumstances, and now they view more favourably the new author's claims to greatness.

But they will yet differentiate : with a characteristically naive assumption of self-importance they will look enormously big and will presume that they can teach the new writer a thing or two, will advise a course of instruction under their lotus feet, will *guarantee* excellent results. Every new play from a dramatist, from one already *recognised* on all hands as one of the greatest to have ever lived, but the critics would raise the deafening shriek that here, at any rate, the grip of the dramatist on the rudimentary issues of his art is surely on the wane. And a year or so passes and with that their criticism : the dramatist reigns as supreme as ever in the imagination of all thoughtful people. Witness what Mr. Bernard Shaw said when asked about the adverse criticisms of the highbrow community on his very latest work, '*The Apple Cart*.' 'That is how they always begin their story' was, in effect, all that he said.

It may perhaps be strongly objected to that the foregoing remarks are out of place in an essay on Ibsen. The writer's point has been to do a little spade work the better to shew that no arbitrary standards and conventions of drama (equally true also of other types of literature) ought to be magnified into the Grand Decisive Factor in adjudging the intrinsic merit of a particular play. That there is less 'action' in Ibsen's plays than in Shakespeare's, is true : that, in the plays of Ibsen's last period, there is even less of 'action' than in the earlier plays, is true also. But it is now commonly realised that in '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*' the dramatic atmosphere is much more instinct with vitality than in, say, '*Lady Inger*' (certainly, a terrible play, *all* 'action') and at least as much as in '*Measure for Measure*' and '*King Lear*.' What then, is the true essence of drama? It would seem to be far less connected with the string of incidents, howsoever well-knit they may be but much more with the spiritual forces radiating from the play and reacting successfully upon the introspective mental organism of the spectator. This '*Antony and Cleopatra*', with its brilliant load of 'action', not more effectually brings about than the terribly colourless 'action' of '*Ghosts*'

and '*The Wild Duck*.' Shakespeare and Ibsen, after all, knew more about their craft than all the commentators and mandarins fused together: they knew, too, the times in which they lived and could trim their sails to the prevailing winds. It is a pious fiction that Shakespeare's plays were executed in their present cast just in minute concordance with the bent of his genius. Shakespeare had only too often to give way to popular agitation, had almost always to carve his dishes in such wise that the public may find them thoroughly full of relish. Levin Schucking and E. E. Stoll, two of the sanest of Shakespearean critics, have taken this as amounting almost to an axiom: hence little they find to wonder at when Shakespeare if so liberally obscene or scatters in his plays a profusion of thrills and murders and love-makings. The Elizabethan audience was far less introspective than the normal one of to-day: and, what was worse, the control that an Elizabethan audience had over the work of playwrights, of Shakespeare himself, was far more direct, decisive and all-embracing than when the phenomenon stood while Ibsen was revolving the problem of his plays in the pitiless pivot of his brain. Did Shakespeare really have any high opinion of Henry V? Certainly not: all the platitudinous pomposity of verse treasured up in that play was demanded by the hallowed Elizabethan audience and Shakespeare gave it in abundance. The very anachronisms, coarse jokes and sham heroics were an attempt of Shakespeare's to ensure the uninterrupted attendance of theatre-goers at 'the Globe' in those unfortunate days of the fiercest competition between the different theatres for the greedy gold of public confidence. Shakespeare's plays were fashioned not in the pure radiance and white heat of his genius but were ever hampered and warped by the oscillations of public opinion. That, even as they are, they are so inexpressibly grand, only bespeaks to the magnitude of Shakespeare's genius. Yet the point must be conceded that they form but a particular manifestation of dramatic power, nothing more.

Henrik Ibsen, on the other hand, was surrounded by a

changed and still rapidly changing world. Freedom of opinion had become no mere chimera inhabiting the vacuity of a dreamer's brain: it was something real, something deadly in earnest. And the public of later nineteenth century winked at a wider freedom in the choice of subjects and gladly swallowed every innovation in technique, every advance in stage craft. (The conservative few, with eyes in the back of their head, as Shaw would describe his 'second pioneer', of course raised their parrot cry till it choked them.) Working, then, in a comparatively more enlightened age, an age whose very predominance was due to its passion for introspection, Ibsen was able to discard those artificial trappings of drama that Shakespeare had perforce to utilise as stimulant, to coax the spectator's appreciation. In other words, Ibsen, relegated 'action' to a strictly subordinate place and with the steady growth of his fame and surer hold on the profundities of his art, reduced the 'action' of his earlier plays to their absolute minimum in the canvas of his last four plays. And this the Grand Mandarins, as I said at the outset, could not courageously swallow.

What had happened then? In the plays of the last period—in '*The Master Builder*,' '*Little Eyolf*,' '*John Gabriel Borkman*,' and '*When We Dead Awaken*'—'action' figures less and less and comes down very near the vanishing point in the very last of the plays. But the plays, are they the less drenched in sheer tragic emotion? the less successful in impinging on and causing perturbations within the mental fabric of the spectators? Not at all. These plays constitute great drama in its most fundamental sense, and no doubt. What, then, is the truth about the matter? Simply this: Ibsen has substituted a rarefied form of action for the physical one—a form of 'action' which is one and indivisible and cannot be differentiated from character. There is no point now in speaking of action and character as separate entities, the one inevitably issuing from the other: here, it is a question of one entity and one alone, now striking against the membrane of your consciousness with force and violence, anon

coolly parading before your tranquil reason in the guise of character. What Einstein accomplished with Space and Time, had been done years ago, by Ibsen with regard to Action and Character. And the four marvels of the new art—it grows more marvellous with each succeeding play—of Ibsen's, are the four solid exhibits of the apotheosis of Ibsenism. It would be silly to think that a play that contains reading matter for a couple of hours only can be judged off-hand in as many minutes: those who come to scoff at Ibsen may well kneel long at the altar of Ibsenism with a view to a fuller understanding of the dramatist, and if still he should leave them cold, might it not be, even then that there may be something radically wrong about themselves? Would it, in any case, be too much to ask that they reserve their opinion till they have thoroughly explored the matter and are fiendishly certain of their ground? Enough of this, however: we proceed with the discussion of the plays.

In the four plays of Ibsen's final period of creative dramatic activity, the quintessence of Ibsenism does indeed forge its ultimate fulfilment. An amazing originality in technique, a wondrous fertility in the choice of themes, an extraordinary intuition in the vivid presentation of the material: these are factors inherent in the mould of these plays. With the possible exception of '*Little Eyolf*' these plays more or less conform to a definite formula, a formula that indicates with sufficient accuracy the limits within which the impetus of the interactions issuing directly from the tragic characters has gruesome display. A bid for an idealist achievement; a brief spell of power and of shadowy security; an imperceptible but sure disintegration and decay of this sham achievement; a sudden, arbitrary impact, yet conscious in its purpose *viz.*, the resuscitation of lost splendours; the climax, the grim struggle and fateful agony of desperate human hearts, the culminating fifth act of the tragedy: there we have the rough and ready formula ('*Little Eyolf*' does not quite fit into it) for the '*The Master Builder*,' '*John Gabriel*' and '*When We Dead Awaken.*' Within this circumspect formula

Ibsen plays an astounding variation in details, kaleidoscopically rich in their symmetric inevitability. The plays do not begin, as do Shakespeare's, with an elaborate development and unfolding of the plot. They are merely concerned with the spectral pathos of the spiritual crisis, the simple fifth act of the tragedy. The first three variables of the formula do not figure in the actual framework: they are taken for granted, when given out bit by bit, in the retrospective recitals at the various stages of the play, and, during the culminating height of tragedy, are dragged into the meeting ground of warring destinies, invisible yet, but full of a dire potency. It is always the fourth variable that is responsible for the swift promulgation of action and this part of the play scarcely occupies more than the first few pages. The rest are wholly taken up with microscopically depicting the several heart-rending crises, the lightning chess play of the dark issues of destiny, the peeps into the infinity of weird poetry, the killing inarticulate oppression of life's many ideals and their vengeful roll call of destruction. Consequently, these last plays of Ibsen's are brimful of concentrated drama: the past, the present and the future thrillingly commingled and the entire tragedy represented as being sparkingly implicit in the end. It may well be maintained that most of Ibsen's plays are really concentrated monuments of crises: however, there is a vital variation in the spiritual themes made manifest in the plays produced in the different periods. In the earlier period, Ibsen, while concentrating on the present, amply looks far behind in recapitulating the divergent threads of action and character and bringing them into one focus of tragic intensity. In the great plays of the middle period, Ibsen's concentration on the present, exploration of the past and dashing peeps into the future are welded together with the sensational clarity of genius. In the plays of the last period, a new process has set in: the vivid fixation of the living crisis is part and potent but not extensive; and the meaning glances at the panorama of the past are disquieting and lacerating but neither throbbing with life nor

pregnant in their self-sufficiency : it is the future that matters and it is a future full of challenge and exceedingly perfidious. In '*The Master Builder*' and its successors, there is the incessant thought of the morrow but a thought nurtured in the clouded brain of the dreamer who gloats over the past and would find in the future a brilliant reflection of the recollected past : there is, too, an eternal attempt at the formulation of a workable philosophy for the future. The present itself is extremely shadowy : it is a dying, dead present. The characters dimly look forward to a future clothed transcendently with all the vanished splendours of the past. They are no better than unsubstantial shadows wooing alternately the beautiful past and the possibly still more beautiful future. They are one in their delusion : they have no idea that for all practical purposes they are indeed dead, that for them there could be no resurrection. They like Gray's ' favourite cat drowned in a tub of gold fishes,' linger long at the brim watching with eager devouring gaze the gold-fishes at the bottom, know not that the reflection is not the reality and with an intrepid movement, mad for their prey, are themselves delivered quick from their mortifying selves. The atmosphere of the plays is literally fed up with the illusion of the day that is no more, but midst all the hoary repulsiveness of the actual present, is childishly expected to transmute itself to its original grandeur. In short, in these four plays, there is little of the ' present ' and less of the seething, vigorous ' life ' : the future is dreamily, magnificently, picturesquely imagined, coned, turned into poetry and lived happily in the impregnable airy castles of the imagination : but the past gives nourishment to this imagination and enables it to soar the higher and to construct the castles in its own image; till in the end, an ungenerous item of the present impudently and rudely shakes the edifices and everything crashes to the ground and the very groans and the whispers are no more heard. With this cross manipulation of the spirit technique (if there be any such pharse) veering right about the cherished themes of the early period, Ibsen's

art had finally come full circle. We will develop this point further in the concluding paper.

'*The Master Builder*,' then, is the first of the four plays in which a new departure, undreamt of by the most professional of prophets, is, perhaps fully consciously, undertaken. For one thing, Ibsen's chief characters are no more as serenely in possession of sanity as in the earlier plays: they are dreamers, poets, blind self-deceivers: they are tasting of the reminiscent glamour of the bright sun in the absurd unreality of their sleeping visions: they have been mystically transmuted, thanks to their unflinching adherence to their pet idealism, into individuals about to cross the borderland of Bedlam. Halvard Solness, the Master Builder, is a weak and an ineffectual personage, ridiculously vacillating and vain, and perceptibly failing in mind and body: none has gauged this with more sober certitude than Aline, his wife. Thirteen odd years must be swept back if one would get a clear idea of the insufferable sense of importance of the present Halvard Solness and of the incomprehensibly vague docility of Aline. Plainly, Solness had not been all of a sudden projected into the world as a Master Builder: Time and the beaming good luck of the allocation of choice circumstances had told in his favour. He had begun life as an insignificant boy from a country village and in one of those surprises of his life had found himself married to the loving Aline. Her old castle stood on an extensive area and every inch therein, every relic and tiny lump of rubbish in the castle, was sacrosanct to Aline: but in the obscure depths of Solness's mind were strange and dubious projects. A clean demolition of the dilapidated building and erection on its ruins of a row of villas, were the feats that persistently danced in the Master Builder's visions. But he knew that Aline would have none of it: hence, he left matters to take their own course, which, he felt convinced, could only be to his own advancement. Though well aware of a crack in the chimney, he held his tongue and only thanked his fates for this timely godsend. After all, God Almighty was fashioning all things

fair: Solness would be out, wife and children out too, the household hearth blazing, the chimney accidentally catching fire and then—crash timber, fall roof, and the robber's castle in an instant (Blessed be Providence!) a heap of ashes! Even so resplendently rosy was the vision alluring that the good Halvard Solness found himself hourly toying with. But there was a hitch in the plan nevertheless. At dead of night, quite unexpectedly, the castle caught fire and the providentially executed chimney crack had nothing whatever to do with the fire. The mother and her two dear children had to be hurried out of the house in great agitation and the little ones never recovered from the shock. Poor Aline was inconsolable: she was buried midst the ruins of the family castle. Her fleshy form, however, still roamed restlessly in her husband's visible rounds—a mere ghost in search of the nine lovely dolls burnt down with many another family treasure in the disastrous fire. Incidentally, Aline is the faithful wife also and with a weird melancholy she oscillates between solicitude for the welfare of her husband and killing remorse for the nine lovely dolls.

But automatically with this disfigurement in the structure of Aline's mental organism had arisen splendid villas jubilant on the wasted family enclosures: and Halvard Solness was a mad man, known far and wide as the Master Builder, and at the very forefront of the profession. He got fat contracts for building houses, of churches even, and made money in ever-increasing rates. Solness was an artist to whom (this aspect is further explored by Ibsen in his study of Professor Rubek in 'When We Dead Awaken') his art was more than other things. He passionately exclaims to Dr. Hardel: "Only think to be Solness, the Master Builder! Halvard Solness! What could be more delightful?" Yes, Halvard Solness, much as he is devoted to his wife, is a being apart, a spiritual constituent of his own art. He would do anything to attain pre-eminence in it: he would do anything to retain his pre-eminent position in the profession once that is secured: and his

soul would unreservedly hover in homage around any person who could love and revere the artist in him rather than the mere flabbiness of flesh parading as Halvard Solness.

He was almost a happy man: how he wished he were perfectly so! There was one little gnawing disability that harassed him and gave him no peace of mind. The poor man was helpless at any considerable height from the ground: yet, once, urged on by the divine refulgence of the splendid devotion to his art, he did ascend a high church tower he had built, and cheered and maddened by the enthusiasm of a little girl down below, Miss Hilda, he but miraculously escaped a pulverising fall. In the banquet that followed, he met the girl in her fascinating white frocks and, momentarily bewitched, told her that she was a little princess and that he would come back again in ten years, like a troll, and carry her off to a kingdom which he should then buy for her, and make her its wonderful queen.

Years passed and Miss Hilda was forgotten though *she* did not forget,—the imaginative castle builder that she was. Aline's melancholy deepened into a fixed gloom and Solness thought that it was all for the death of the little ones. Remorse and the increasing effervescence of the searchings of heart left him no sobriety in thought or action, and without, as yet, admitting it to himself, he found himself declining in health and losing his grip over the grim forces of actuality. Others in the heyday of youth and vigour, the competent younger generation, especially as typified in his assistant Ragnar, were imperiously knocking at his door and demanding his retirement from the profession. But Solness was Master Builder or nothing: he ever would stamp his feet and declare, "I'll never give way to anybody! Never of my own free will. Never in this world will I do that!" Hence with a blindly monstrous unscrupulosity he put down Ragnar year after year, made Ragnar's father disbelieve in him, made him distrust his own considerable abilities. Fate too played into his unscrupulous hands. Young Kaia, nearly betrothed to Ragnar, paid a

chance visit to the Master Builder's office and conceived an over-mastering passion for him. Quick to understand the situation, Solness eagerly spread his trap and caught Ragnar and Kaia with malignant triumph. He fanned Kaia's fervour with soft words and seeming endearments but sternly forbade her to break off her betrothal to Ragnar. She was given a clerk's post and perpetually chained to a desk in the Solness office. Ragnar, madly infatuated with Kaia, had no mind to break with Solness, for, that would have meant separation from Kaia as well. Thus was the Master Builder's incredible triangle drawn with artistic nicety : Solness, hot in mad, desires to keep Ragnar with him at any cost, Ragnar mindful of Kaia and her only, and she, poor deluded creature, nurturing the rosiest pictures of her middle aged lover, the far famed Master Builder.

In my general analysis of the subject matter of the plays earlier in this paper I had occasion to speak of "a sudden, arbitrary impact, conscious yet in its purpose, *viz.*, resuscitation of lost splendours," as the fourth stage in the evolution of an Ibsen theme in its final manifestation. Yes, we have now come to that stage in the story of the Master Builder and with this sudden impact, as prelude to the rapid unravelling of the crisis, the play opens.

Ten years to a day have passed since Miss Hilda had driven Solness mad when high on the Lysanger Church tower. A new house has been constructed and next evening they are to hang up the wreath on the very pinnacle of the commanding tower. All that Aline has just now to do is to think about shifting to their inviting residence. But Aline is a dead woman, a mere ghost, motherly, watching with reverent solicitude over that other ghost, her husband. Her talent for building up the souls of little children, "in perfect balance and in noble and beautiful forms," is lodged in her useless—has long had to be, even so, that Halvard Solness may force his ambition to its highest realisation. Now he bitterly bewails his lot, yet

only in so far as it reverberates on his own happiness: "the troll within me has darwn all the lifeblood out of her. ... And now she is dead...for my sake. And I am chained alive to a dead woman. I—I who cannot live without joy in *life*."

Precisely that which the Master Builder forgets is that he has no more *life*: only a short of faded existence, a long drawn out trot in the valley of the dark shadow. The situation is like this. Solness spends hours with Kaia, making her believe that he is in love with her in very sooth: Aline is troubled but the half demented Solness pretends "to find a sort of salutary self-torture in allowing Aline to do me an injustice." Rangar is swimming in the sea of indecision, at one time deciding to go his own way in the profession without interminably playing second fiddle to the ungrateful Solness, but at the very next moment, realising with a pang that life without Kaia (who of course will not leave Solness's service for all the world) will be an impossibility. His father, Old Brovik, is flaggelated in his declining years by the one bitter thought of his son's perpetual dependence on Solness. At the commencement of the play, we find Old Brovik making one more earnest appeal to Solness to set Ragnar on his legs as an independent builder. All Solness has to do is to approve of certain drawings that Ragnar has prepared about the proposed villa at lovestrand and let him have that building commission. But Solness is helplessly obdurate: he cannot, he will not do that! He is what he is and he, Master Builder, so ridiculously jealous of his pre-eminent position, cannot by one poor scruple change the obstinacy of his nature! The unhappy father returns home utterly disappointed.

The scene is set: enter Miss Hilda Wangel. There is no nonsense about her mission: she has come to claim her promised kingdom, now that, to a minute, the pre-ordained time-limit was over. With little difficulty she makes Solness remember all the things that happened on the fateful day ten years ago, and in kindling in his heart a new glow that is soon to blaze forth in

extravagant fury. Next morning Old Brovik has a serious relapse and Ragnar pathetically requests the Master Builder to write a few words of commendation on one of the drawings that he may produce it for a doting father's dying gleam of consolation and hope. But Solness cannot do a thing that is beyond his power,—no, Old Brovik must really manage to die without any such satisfaction. Hilda's glorification of the Master Builder receives in this brutal refusal a clumsy shock: once alone with him, she tells him how ugly a thing he had done. She argues, she hedges, she rages, she threatens. At last the Master Builder, in the firm clasp of this dæmonic woman is persuaded to write on the drawings—very nicely and cordially—and to despatch the portfolio to the dying father. And at the same moment, he disentangles both Ragnar and Kaia from the intricate note of his thralldom. All the same father Brovik dies unreconciled with his persistent doubts: too late the annotated portfolio reaches him: one more of the ironic twists of fate!

The ceremony of hoisting the wreath on the tower is to be performed in a few hours. There is the picturesque bustle of excitement and expectation. Miss Hilda has waited long, she can wait no more! The kingdom, her promised kingdom, must instantly be hers! Her desperately prolonged longing must be satisfied at last! She must be given that which was promised her, which is more to her than her very life. "And what is that?" asks Solness bewildered. She answers: "the longing to see you great. To see you with a wreath in your hand, high, up upon a church tower!" A little later he assures her: "this evening, then, I will hang up the wreath—Princes Hilda." And sure enough the Master Builder means what he says—though it is only too true a fact that he had ever avoided, except on that solitary occasion at Lysangar, climbing up even a paltry bit of scaffolding. Suspecting his intentions, Mrs. Aline moves heaven and earth to avert a catastrophe: however, Dr. Herdal's assurances and precautions, Mrs. Aline's irrepressible miss-givings, Ragnar's suppressed raillery and scorn, all commingle

and give way before the dæmonic urge of Princess Hilda. Solness goes up indeed and climbs and climbs. Miss Hilda is in mad frenzy, provokingly jubilant: she sees her Idol great and free again: she hears mighty song, she sees him waving his hat: is it a vision amazing or a mere waking dream? She snatches a white shawl and shrieks with wild intensity "Hurrah, Hurrah, for Master Builder Solness!" The many ladies present take up the frantic refrain and very chaos is let loose upon the impossible scene. Suddenly the vision splendid alters and, swiftly disintegrated, scatters wide the many fragments of the tragedy. The Master Builder falls down dead with a loud crash, Mrs. Solness totters and swoons, Ragnar tauntingly exclaims, "So after all, he could'nt do it," and Miss Hilda, still petrified and spell-bound in her triumph, eloquently flashes forth the killing retort: "But he mounted right to the top. And heard songs in the enraptured air. Frightfully, frightfully thrilling!"

(To be continued)

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

A STRANGER TO MYSELF

I.

I am a stranger to myself—

Ah! what was I before my birth,
And what shall I be when this frame
Is one with what they call this earth?
I ask the wise “ what am I ” ?

For me and all what bears a name
And not called I in name or thought,
Tho’ I and all regard as same—
Was ouce call’d earth and then called food
By wondrous magic is called I
And yet the truth is not concealed
The part expelled’s nor I nor my.
The sages say of what I’m now
No speck no spot wilt e’er endure
Beyond the circuit seventh of sun
Yet, I am I—what magic, sure!
The I of day was dung before,
And will be loathsome dung again
And may be worm or may be sage
—The wheel of life benumbas the brain —
O, let me find in truth what’s I.
Not rest be mused with I in thought,
Draw up the curtain of my mind
And free me from my weary lot.

II.

In mother’s womb or when asleep
Thou thinkest what thou art
And art thou not thou, tho’ unthought—
All or naught—ask thy heart.
Of there and here, of then and now
The thought forget and thou art thou.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

II

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE FEATURES OF “ ABSENTEEISM ” AND “ MIGRATION ” IN INDIAN LABOUR

The feature of monthly incidence may also be studied by expressing the ratio of the mean rate of absenteeism in each industry to the mean rate of absenteeism in the aggregate of all labour month by month. On this basis the computed values (expressed as percentages) are entered in Table VIII from which we can see how the several industries are ranked in the different months of the year and what displacements there are in their relative ranks. Generally speaking passing from the worst to the comparatively lighter rate of absenteeism, the order is E(D),

TABLE VIII.

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June
E(D)	147	150	146	153	162	148	152	151	145	144	146	140
E(W)	140	126	125	134	137	140	138	132	139	137	137	144
T(S)	124	119	121	122	124	135	135	134	134	150	147	143
T(B)	122	129	134	131	106	94	112	106	120	106	110	111
E(P)	89	90	91	100	106	94	99	93	98	87	95	86
T(GB)	80	118	104	85	77	78	79	92	93	102	90	81
E(K)	76	76	80	74	80	93	84	77	74	74	71	78
T(A)	32	35	36	39	41	37	34	35	30	29	26	27
T(V)	10	17	19	26	21	10	24	39	28	18	20	23

E(W), T(S), T(B), E(P), T(GB), E(K), T(A), T(V) which is more or less consistent in every month. Thus out of 12, T(A) and T(V) occupy their ranks 11 times, E(D), T(B), E(P) and E(K) occupy their ranks 9 times over, and none less than 5 times.

These statistics however fail to give any clue in regard to the regularity of attendance and when absence occurs, its duration, or the interval after which it is again repeated in individual employees. This is an unfortunate omission and all the information that we have in regard to this important aspect of the question is that in Ahmedabad, Bombay and Sholapur, respectively, 56% , 48% and 31% of the operatives worked without any absence in August, 1926.¹

Having now discussed absenteeism in relation to extent, incidence and variation, and regretted that lack of suitable material for analysing the feature of 'duration of absenteeism,' we will now consider, as far as may be possible, the causes and consequences of such absenteeism as is found. The commonly understood factors contributing to this absenteeism have already been briefly enumerated. It only remains to examine those which can be tested from a purely statistical point of view; and we proceed now to determine what correlation there exists between this factor and a few representative, economic, seasonal and psychological factors which could be statistically estimated *viz.*, (1) local health conditions, (2) incidence of stoppages of work through trade disputes, (3) cost of living and (4) departures from factory areas. We are again confined to the statistics of Bombay city inasmuch as even the scanty material that we have is limited to that city.

As an index of the health of the town of Bombay, the monthly indices of "fever admissions to hospitals" given in Dr. Bentley's Report on Malaria in Bombay, are utilised. As an index of the stoppages of work through trade disputes the monthly indexes obtained in another paper by K. B. Madhava and

¹ Bombay Labour Gazette, May, 1930, p. 897.

V. N. Poornapregna, are reproduced as well also as the indexes of certain coastal monthly departures from Bombay, discussed at greater length in the subsequent part of this paper, are utilised. A monthly index of cost of living from the data published from time to time by the Bombay Labour Office has been also specially determined for this purpose. These essential statistics together with the indices just obtained for Bombay Textiles (and for wider comparison, for Bombay Engineering workshops) are reproduced in table IX.

TABLE IX.

Variable	Abbreviation	Jan.	Feb.	March	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Textile worker in Bombay	T(B)	91	87	109	98	104	100	98	104	118	114	96	81
Engineering workshop	E(W)	95	91	107	107	110	110	95	86	93	100	105	102
Fever admissions	F	84	72	80	82	86	86	102	119	124	143	123	99
Trade disputes or strikes	S	125	93	108	124	111	81	93	90	69	114	96	95
Exodus out of Bombay	E	135	150	172	38	21	33	83	106	102	124	113	123
Cost of living	C	57	57	59	58	56	54	57	52	51	53	53	55

In every case the correlation co-efficients have been computed first by pairing off the indices in identical month, secondly by pairing off the index of absenteeism of each month with the index of the other factor for the succeeding month (distinguished as $+1$), and, lastly by pairing off with the index of the preceding month (distinguished by the suffix -1). The results as obtained are furnished in Table X.

TABLE X.

F	F ₊₁	F ₋₁	S	S ₊₁	S ₋₁	E	E ₊₁	E ₋₁	C	C ₊₁	C ₋₁
T(B) 0.509 0.677 + very small			-0.173 - very small -0.428			-0.101 -0.390 -0.132			-0.390 -0.533 - very small		
E(W) -0.278 -0.353 - very small			0.308	0.250	0.323	0.447 -0.659 - very small			0.316	0.450	0.213

In review of this part of the work it is to be stated with much regret that it has generally proved abortive either owing to the obscuring of the true relationships in the heterogeneity of the statistics, or perhaps owing to the uncertainty of proceeding to the causes from consequences. However,

(1) as fever rates in Bombay increase, absenteeism, at least in textiles, tends to increase, and this tendency manifests itself with greater force with the factor F_{+1} implying that admissions into the hospital follow (rather than precede) increased absenteeism;—but the negative values of the co-efficients in Engineering trades at once throw doubt over this, otherwise very remarkable verification of a commonly recognised feature!

(2) as strikes tend to increase, absenteeism, at least in E(W), tends to increase and this tendency manifests itself with slightly greater force with S_{-1} implying that stoppages in the preceding month on account of strike continue to manifest in increased absenteeism in the month following as well—but this time the textile trades seem determined to break company and

prevent us from realising a verification of a very remarkable feature;

(3) as regards correlations with cost of living, almost similar conclusions with almost the same obstinence from Textiles could be repeated;

(4) in the correlations with exodus from Bombay, both Engineering and Textiles seem to cast off their hostility and unite in pointing out that just preceding increased activity in the exodus from Bombay, absenteeism would tend to diminish—a conclusion which may either be correct as implying that workers try to earn as much as they can before they leave Bombay, or which may very well be rejected as not being in conformity with certain experience.

As stated already we hesitate to press any of these tentative findings which are mere explanations of the results arrived at, rather than conclusions enunciated.

A general explanation of absenteeism must however be sought for in conditions of the work relative to the place of his work, and the profit and treatment awarded to him in his work. This brings us directly to the physical, mental or material reaction that the work has on the worker, and the most significant discoveries have been made correlating the environment in factories, such as ventilation, humidification, etc., on the fatigue, health, or inclination of workers which generally lead him to leave his post of duty. The report on “ Humidification in Indian Cotton Mills ” by Mr. T. Maloney, lately Advisor on Humidification to the Government of India, definitely establishes ¹

(i) that conditions in cotton mills generally, and weaving sheds particularly, are worse than in other mills and workshop ;

1 Extracted from the Bombay Labour Gazette,
October, 1923, p. 32.
November, 1923, p. 29.
March, 1923, p. 34.

(ii) the high rate of sickness is September and October in Bombay;

(iii) the effects of atmospheric conditions on (output and) fatigue;

(iv) also that the effect of artificial and external conditions is disastrous to the physical comfort of those inside the department;

(v) that conditions in spinning rooms are very easily liable to atmospheric reactions.

And it is not surprising therefore that at the end of a day's work many of the weavers complain that they have no energy left, have no great desire for food and need only drink and rest which he has, if need be, by absenteeism. The report of the lady doctor appointed by the Bombay Government in connection with the maternity benefits to women workers¹ tells the same tale in regard to conditions of work, ailments and absenteeism. In this connection it is interesting to note—partly to ascertain the contribution to absenteeism by women—how long before and after delivery women do absent themselves.² Out of 183 cases studied the absence before delivery was in 8 cases not even one day, in 14 cases between 1 to 8 days and in 6 cases 15 days and in all the others there being longer absence; on the other hand the absence after delivery was in 8 cases 12 to 15 days. Some information in regard to the tendency to absent from work may also be derived from the results of an inquiry on the "Length of service of Cotton Mill workers" in Bombay city conducted by the Bombay Labour Office.³ It is found there that 52·3 per cent. of the workers have served in more than one mill and surely the transfer from one to another mill must have been attendant with an absenteeism small or large. Likewise as many as 74 per cent. of the workers gave as causes "bad

¹ Bombay Labour Gazette, September, 1922, p. 31.

² Bombay Labour Gazette, December, 1924, p. 384. An interesting account of Dr. Gellhorn's investigations on the general effect on health of women workers, on the regularity of their work, is given in Bombay Labour Gazette, May, 1925, p. 935.

³ Bombay Labour Gazette, January, 1930, p. 45.

treatment," "low wages for bettering prospects," "absence due to illness," "insufficient work," "place of work being distant from residence," etc., in fact all other than "for going to native place," "for leaving the mills;" and there must have been absenteeism while the workers were compelled to look for employment in other mills. In view of these and similar circumstances we are led to think that there is great truth in the simple statement of the Manager of the General Motors in Bombay, quoted in the beginning of this paper, and that that goes far accounting for absenteeism.

But, what are the remedies? "It is not easy" we read in the Report of the Indian Textile Board, "to suggest any method by which the percentage of absenteeism can be reduced."¹ The consequences of this state of affairs are wide spread and they obviously reflect both upon the industry and the worker—to the industry an inefficient worker, and to the worker an insufficient earning. It is, therefore, necessary that efforts for minimising absenteeism must be made both by the workers and by the employers. The Tariff Board examined, however, various methods that have been made to reduce the amount of absenteeism. One method (actually adopted in a mill in Bombay) was "for the management to examine each case of absenteeism and to refuse employment for a few days when it was found that the operative's absence has not been due to sickness or domestic reasons. The mill which has followed this system has reduced its absenteeism from 15 to 1 per cent. and has thus been able to dispense entirely with the 'badli' system." Another system was to keep a certain number of spare hands up to about 10 per cent. in each department, except in the weaving department, on regular pay rate so that in case of short or unavoidable absenteeism, the industry may not suffer with an inefficient casual worker. This in effect comes to 'holidays with pay'—a scheme which has

¹ Report of the Indian Tariff Board (Cotton Textile Enquiry) 1927, p. 135.

now come much to the forefront in the rationalisation of industry in various countries. Further the following results of a survey by the United States' Women's Bureau¹ shed light on the nature of the relation between the length of the hours of work, and lost time both on account of personal illness and through other causes :—

Absenteeism among

Mills working	Men.	Women.	Sexes together.
Less than 10 hours a day	10·6	16·3	13·2
10 hours or more a day	19·2	25·6	21·7

Personal illness accounted for 23 per cent. of lost time. As possibly the experience in each mill might vary intensive investigations by the authorities in each mill in regard to this factor of duration of work, and others of an allied nature such as double shift, night work, holidays, might lead them to work out remedies along the lines most suitable for their individual conditions.

In other ways as well, by affording facilities for amusements and recreation, for shopping, medical help and things like that, and even for communication with their village homes, would absenteeism be greatly reduced. Mr. A. C. (now Sir Atul Chatterjea) speaking at the Indian Industrial Welfare Conference in Bombay in April, 1922, emphasised that in view of frequent absence and constant return to their village homes "the need for welfare work was much greater for industrial workers in India than in Western countries."² Obviously such efforts cannot but bind a workman to his work within regularity, efficiency and devotion.

We may now consider what has been termed the migratory character of Indian Industrial labour. Dealing with the con-

¹ B. L. G., Aug., 1927, p. 1096.

² B. L. G., April, 1922, p. 15.

ditions in Bombay city which are more or less in evidence in all other parts of the country, the Bombay Government Review of Labour Situation in Bombay¹ remarks, "Industrial labour in Bombay city is largely drawn from the surrounding districts who are attracted to the city by the higher wages paid there as compared with agricultural wages and also because there is not enough work in the Moffusal to support them. The bulk of the immigrants come from the Ratnagiri District,... .. In a recent enquiry made by the Bombay Labour Office into the length of service of mill workers, which covered about 1,400 mill hands, it was found that not one of them had been born in Bombay city, 63 per cent. were born in the Konkan and 27 per cent. in the Deccan, the remainder coming from different parts of the country. The labour force in Bombay is therefore not permanent in the sense that the workers have permanently settled in the city where they follow industrial or other occupations and have lost all contact with their villages. On the contrary contact with the village is closely maintained. The family itself remains domiciled in the Moffusal and the centre of the family life is in the ancestral village, to which the women folk return to bear their children and the menfolk when old age or disability comes to them, or when death causes a vacancy in the agricultural workers in the family." In pursuance of this position and in answer to an enquiry from Sir Alexander Murray during the sittings in Bombay of the Royal Commission on Labour as to whether approximate figures for the yearly ebb and flow of population into Bombay from the Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts and Janjira State, could be procured, the Director of Information and Labour Intelligence undertook, on behalf of the Bombay Labour Office, to collect information on the points raised. We are informed that the figures were required in particular for the working class population, so as to get some idea of the extent to which the industrial labour of Bombay is

¹ Reprinted in Bombay Labour Gazette, Feb. 1930, p. 560-576.

derived from the Konkan coast and what special importance if any, could be attached to the Ratnagiri District as a source of labour supply for Bombay. The Labour Office after a detailed consideration of the available railway facilities in the areas concerned, and the comparative costs of railway and steamer travel, came to the conclusion :

“(a) that the facilities for railway travel were few;

(b) that this means of conveyance in most cases involves a good deal of inconvenience, hardship and travel either on foot or by some form of local conveyance to the nearest railway station (*e.g.*, Belgaum or Kolhapur); and

(c) that the journey would be so much more costly than the voyage by sea, as to make it unlikely that the railway would be used by the working classes, quite apart from its inconvenience.”

It was therefore decided to collect the statistics of the number of passengers moved between Bombay and the districts of Ratnagiri and Kolaba including the Janjira State, month by month. It is these figures, reproduced in table XI, that are analysed with a view to determine the indices of seasonal variation in these movements, particularly as from the chart given on page 719 of Bombay Labour Gazette—March, 1930 ; it was evident that there were pronounced seasonal fluctuations.

TABLE XI.

To Bombay.	Kolaba + Janjira			Ratnagiri District.		
	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
March	29835	25190	29237	51354	32300	46765
April	23124	26988	24986	37321	56033	35837
May	26635	25462	23907	38156	44123	23627
June	15662	14187	12877	1874	1336	444
July	8742	9802	6716	420	353	139
Aug.	16248	18541	13407	794	1640	213
Sep.	19198	20174	15114	16440	25406	6685
Oct.	17247	18726	22758	35231	32441	48973
Nov.	21790	17583	22758	45843	30678	42597
Dec.	23789	24957	24111	47839	39097	33649
Jan.	25103	23999	24685	38200	30006	30094
Feb.	21570	24586	14565	31837	26241	15184

From Bombay.

March	19104	25297	22722	29736	54168	35397
April	23380	21726	25357	41000	42212	44600
May	25360	24911	26364	50061	52022	53250
June	15221	14711	12382	2857	3195	1494
July	9804	9324	6394	1062	734	328
Aug.	12197	19248	10046	1125	1646	453
Sep.	19995	15953	17920	17112	22389	15028
Oct.	19848	20761	16264	33542	30507	17192
Nov.	19669	16522	17675	32752	26006	21160
Dec.	25005	23806	22030	36447	30932	26648
Jan.	20237	23164	18873	35311	34619	23996
Feb.	20198	22316	21075	36677	38181	41776

The calculations were performed by combining the figures for Janjira State with those for Kolaba as that State is practically surrounded by this district and it is known that passengers board indifferently from the ports in either place. The results are given therefore separately for this combined area and for Ratnagiri District and also for the aggregate movement, distinguishing of course the inflow into Bombay from the exodus out of that city. Two different methods have been utilised in the computation of these indices—the first being the method of arithmetic averages and the second the more laborious method of link relatives associating each month with the preceding month;¹ and the average of these two have been taken to represent the final indices of the monthly fluctuations. In view of the pressure on space the large tables are not set forth in detail here, but only the final numbers are set down in table XII. The period investigated was the 36 months from 1926, March to 1929, February.

¹ For details of these methods, see F. C. Mill's "Statistical Methods," Chapter VIII.

The official report draws attention to

(1) a consistency from year to year in the aggregate figures both for inflow and for exodus;

(2) the low figures for June to August occurring in the inflow into Bombay, explaining it to the cutting off of steamer communication during the monsoon;

(3) in regard to exodus from Bombay, the progressive increase up to the month of May when the highest value is reached together with the precipitous decline during the period June to August, repeating after which the former tendency to increase, explaining as before mostly on account of monsoon interference.¹

But it is necessary to draw attention to the following additional features revealed by this analysis. Diagram 4 drawn to reproduce the above figures of aggregate movements enable easy study.

(i) There is a slight (declining) secular trend (-257 in the case of inflow and -171 in the case of exodus) observable in the aggregate figures, which has been allowed for in the calculations—a feature probably reflecting the dull industrial conditions during the period.

(ii) July marks the minimum point keeping the figures for June on one side and August on the other about twice this level.

In regard to the inflow into Bombay the recovery in September is still well below the average.

¹ Bombay Labour Gazette, March, 1930, p. 720 :—one indirect effect of the monsoon is also the disturbance arising out of agricultural activity. "The industrial population of Bombay is drawn from the Konkan and Ratnagiri and is largely made up of people who own small pieces of land which are not sufficient to keep them.

This land is usually looked after by other members of the family but all those little landowners who can do so endeavour to get back to their villages before the monsoon breaks and communication is cut off for three months. Members of the middle classes too, who keep close contact with their native places would naturally desire to visit their homes for the same reason. For these people the Divali holidays in October and November and the Shimga holidays in March are also favourite times for holidays."

(4) The gradual increase thereafter meets with a slight reversal during January and February. The maximum is obtained in the month of March and a slightly lower maximum now observable in the month of December is probably an accidental circumstance, as may be seen by the hypothetically drawn broken time connecting December directly with March.

(5) Also the influx from Ratnagiri District is not merely larger but shows more variability than the other area there being a maximum which is about 25% higher than the level attained in other areas and a minimum with almost a negligible quantity. The cause of this last feature in the differential way in which the movements are manifested—must be sought for in local conditions.

In regard to the curve of exodus from Bombay, it will be seen

(6) that the minimum point occurs at the same position and for the same reason in July, but the maximum intensity is not due in this case until May, or just prior to the call of the monsoon ;

(7) that this is also only one definite maximum that in December being passed over by the hypothetical dotted line drawn again here—both probably being accounted for by a holiday period coming in that month, and

(8) that during the part October, November, December, January, February, probably March also there is an excess of inflow over the movement in the opposite direction, this being compensated almost entirely by the large excess in exodus in May, while during the monsoon months the figures are naturally well balanced.

An attempt was made to determine, if possible, the number in which migration—both into Bombay, abbreviated (I) and out of Bombay (E)—was correlated with certain other economic feature. In Table X we have already dealt with the association between absenteeism and exodus for corresponding months (E_0) and by giving lead (E_{+1}) and lag (E_{-1}) of one month to the latter figures. In table XIII we reproduce co-efficients of

correlation between each of E_0 , E_{+1} with movement into Bombay (I), cost of living index (L) and as measures of mill production quantity of yarn spun (S) and of goods woven (W) — taking the relevant data for the 36 months during May, 1926 to February, 1929, from various sources in the Bombay Labour Gazette.

TABLE XIII.

	I	L	W	S
E_0	·7835	·2846	·1743	·1802
E_{+1}	·6730	·3628	·5016	·3323
E_{-1}	·4497	—·0365	·1317	·1157
I	...	—·1305	·2819	·3205

(Also $r_{I,W} = +·74$; $r_{L,S} = +·72$; $r_{W,S} = +·98$.)

It will be seen that only two co-efficients are negative :

(1) *viz.*, r_{IL} , implying that as cost of living in Bombay tends to increase the flow into Bombay tends to reduce itself ;

(2) and the one between E_{-1} and L, whose measure is however very low.

Also the correlations between I and the various adaptations of E all fairly high, features to which attention has already been drawn. Finally the last correlations of L, W and S are with E_{+1} , meaning that the most visible effects of either bases of production, and of the cost of living of any month are on the exodus from Bombay in the month following, rather than in the same (or previous) month.

K. B. MADHAVA

K. V. KRISHNA SASTRI

PATIENT LOVE

I.

Like summer night comes silent sleep—
 A well-bred, skilful thief—
 To steal away from flesh and heart
 What men call pain and grief;
 Repentant thief by stealth restores
 The store of grief and pain
 The while thou livest loveless life
 And countest loss and gain.
 This life of man—a poison'd rope
 Whose coils are long-drawn death of Hope.

II.

My fear of what's in Future's womb—
 'Gainst Love a dire offence.
 Whatever comes—a gift from Love
 Of joy to soul and sense.
 When troubles come to flesh of mind
 With gruesome grunt of fear
 May Love descend as patience sweet
 In silence ipls to bear!

III.

O Love, Thy name untouch my life
 All thought may die in Thee to dip!
 My troubled life but dust of way
 To reach Love's loyous breast,
 In all forgetting Peace to dwell
 In life's eternal rest.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN RUSSIA FROM 1861 TO 1920.

VII.

The high-handed autocracy of Russia, affected terribly by the old cancers of corruption and favouritism, was not only helpless to remove the innumerable ills but increased them a hundredfold by spreading disorder everywhere. Even the army was not exempt from corruption and from hopeless disorganisation. The generals individually were excellent; the soldiers too fought with valour; but the onslaughts of Hindenberg and Mackensen had to be met by soldiers "many of whom had to man the trenches with sticks, in expectation that the death of comrades might give the chances of picking up rifles; batteries were forbidden to fire more than a couple of times an hour." Russian blood boiled at such cruel play with human lives. "The Revolution of 1917," it has been said, "was prepared on the battlefields of Gorlice and Cranostav." Already there were bitter sores in the heart of the people—sores made grievous by the memories of the Russo-Japanese war, the reactionary activities of the Government and above all by the increasing burden of taxation. The defeat in the German war precipitated the crisis. The Duma grew troublesome and on March 11, 1917, the Tzar dissolved it; but the Duma refused to dissolve at the behest of the Autocrat of all the Russias and voted for a provisional Government. After this almost spontaneous collapse of the Autocracy, follows a period of turmoil and uncertainties, which is filled by the gradual crystallisation of leadership out of the interplay of many parties opposed to or favouring a social revolution in a country exhausted by war and for the most part inhabited by peasants hungry for land. On Nov. 7, 1917, the Bolsheviki seized the Government. Since then, the Bolsheviki have been the leaders of Russian events through many vicissitudes and many changes of policy.

VIII.

On the very day of their accession to power the Bolsheviks issued a decree concerning land. This decree sought to placate peasantry by trying to satisfy their land hunger.

The institution of private property was to be abolished through the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the mass of the population was peasantry, strongly imbued with the idea of private property and individual ownership. In order that the leaders of the proletariat might carry out their programme of socialisation in the towns, it was necessary that the peasantry should be kept neutral. Their support was not available and their opposition would prove decisive. Hence the tactics of Bolshevism required from the very beginning to achieve the neutrality of the peasantry.

The Land Decree of Nov. 7, 1917, declared all land held by landowners confiscated without compensation. The land belonging to peasants and Cossacs were specially excluded from confiscation. The Soviet Government issued a set of provisional rules to regulate the new agrarian arrangements, operative until the Constituent Assembly formed new rules on the basis of these rules.

Under the plan proposed, all land confiscated from the landlords as well as left in the hands of the peasants or the Cossacs, were declared to be the property of the whole people. The right of use only was given to those who would actually work on them. This divorce of ownership and use was fine theory indeed; but to the peasants it made little difference. If they were secure in the use and enjoyment of their land they would care little whether the purely formal rights of ownership belonged to them or to the state. To the common mind ownership is measured by the security of use and enjoyment.

Former estates with a high degree of efficiency should not be cut up, it was declared, but left intact for utilisation by

the state or by communities. All the technical equipments on such estates should be confiscated by the state, while tools and cattle in the possession of the peasants should be left undisturbed. All forms of hired labour were abolished. Thus lands belonged to the estate and individual citizens used them. Agricultural implements belonged partly to the state and partly to the peasants. The land in any locality was to be divided equally among the whole working population according to local conditions. Periodical redistribution of land was once again provided for and if the land proved insufficient at any such redistribution, the surplus people was to be moved to other localities at government cost.

The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets met as the highest legislative body and approved practically the entire plan.

IX.

The provincial authorities were charged with carrying out this redistribution of land. Consequently there was no uniform system. But these local authorities were quite unequal to the task and the organisation they set up for the purpose was hopelessly insufficient. The rules were recklessly violated and force was the only method of redistribution. The estates of the great landowners were seized by the peasants and divided among themselves, not, of course, in an orderly or systematic way, but by the very practical method of each peasant or group of peasants arming against every other, grabbing what he could and holding it if he had the power. The landlords saw their estate taken from them by a rabble of peasants who only 60 years ago had been only serfs, a species of domestic animal less valuable than the best horses.

But the peasants soon were faced by a rival who proved inimical to their property tradition and who was largely used by the Soviet authorities as an entering wedge of communism into

the villages. The army and the city rapidly began to empty into the villages large number of men who had formerly left the villages for industrial centres and who now began to go back to share in the new lands benefits. Proletarian in character, not affected by property tradition, these people, called the "Village Poverty," became a great instrument in the hands of the Bolshevik Government. The "Village Poverty" organised into bands seized land by force and began to carry on agricultural operation on a collective basis. This commune movement grew of its own accord and was eagerly watched by the Soviet authorities who soon began to encourage it. On January 11, 1918, the Soviet Government issued the decree concerning the organisation of the "Village Poverty." The decree for the first time recognised them as an instrument of class war in the villages and defined their official status. A committee of Poverty was to be organised in every village or rural community, and the franchise was extended to all except the rich or the middle peasantry who had surplus grain in their possession or owners of industrial enterprises, hirers of labours, etc. The duties of the committee were two-fold : they were to control the distribution of grain, the articles of prime necessity, and the agricultural implements supplied by the Government, in the community in which it operated. The second function was to help the governmental agencies in the extraction of surplus grain from the peasants who still held them. But more of this anon.

Another movement grew in the village, which also was encouraged by the Soviet authorities. Though the decree of Nov. 7, 1917 placed the entire arable land at the disposal of the people, it added but little to each individual holding. Only 15,800,000 dessiatinas were available for redistribution and the individual peasant's holding was increased by scarcely a dessiatina each. Large-scale operation was still impossible and the peasants took to group work. They did not undertake the obligations of collective ownership but prepared simply to band together for purposes of collective work. These agricultural associa-

tions were preferred by the authorities to individual holdings; but the village communes managed by the 'Village Proverty' were still more preferred. The associations were accepted as good only because the middle peasantry stubbornly refused to go into communes. With all attempts of encouragement and help extended to the communes, there were only about 500 communes by the end of 1918, not a brilliant record of course.

X

On February, 14, 1919 was passed the Decree, entitled, "The Regulation Concerning The Socialistic Agrarian Arrangement And the Measures for Organising Agriculture on a Socialistic Basis." The immediate object and the ultimate aim of the scheme in the Regulation were distinguished. The ultimate aim was :—

" The basis of the agrarian scheme must be the determination to create a single, unified, rural economy, that would supply the Soviet Republic with the greatest possible amounts of economy, benefits with the least possible expenditure of the people's toil. In conformity with this, the new agrarian scheme embraces all the measures of technical character, directed towards the introduction of collective principles in the use of land, rather than the individual ones."

But as all agriculture could not immediately be organised on a collective basis on account of the stern repugnance of the middle peasantry, individualistic holdings were also permitted; but it was declared—

" Large Soviet estates, rural communes, group agriculture and all other forms of collective use of the land are the best means of achieving the object, and therefore all forms of the individual use of the land should be regarded as merely temporary and doomed to destruction."

Thus by the Decree of February, 1919, three forms of collective agriculture were recognised; Soviet estates, Rural

communes, and Collective Agricultural Associations. The first two forms were purely communistic, and the third form, though considered temporary, was accepted nevertheless. The privileges conferred on these forms vary with the degree of acceptability of each. As the Soviet estate approaches closest to the communistic ideal, they are placed in the most privileged position; while the rural communes receive better privileges than the agricultural associations. The February decree states clearly that the total land fund in the ownership of the state "should be utilised, first of all, for the need of the Soviet estates and the Rural Communes, and then for the use of associations and other collective forms, and, lastly for the use of those who till individual holdings for their own use."

The Soviet estates were the property of the state and was managed by the state with the help of hired labourers. Their purpose was two-fold; agronomic association and communistic propaganda. The land taken over for Soviet estates was exclusively the large estates of former landowners. The average size of a Soviet estate in February 1919 was about 900 acres.

The Rural communes were used collectively and the tools and cattle pertaining thereto were owned in common. They were to be cultivated by the members themselves without the aid of hired labourers, except in cases of emergency. Of the produce raised, the members were permitted to keep certain fixed amount of the food products as compensation for their toil; and the rest was to be placed at the disposal of the Government. Amounts delivered to the Government above certain norms were paid for by them and these communal profits, as they were called, must be used for the improvement and extension of the communal estates.

A billion-rouble-fund was administered by local committee for the help of these rural communes. Loans might be obtained from this fund by the communes in the form of money or other agricultural requisites, and could be repaid either in money or in the food products, if the latter exceeded the Government norm.

In the collective agricultural associations the tools, buildings, etc., were not owned in common; but the individual members of the association, owning these, lent them to the association. This was merely a form of group work and therefore not at all communistic. Nevertheless they were officially recognised and the billion-rouble-fund could be used for their help. They could requisition tools and form individual holders, if these latter kept them idle or did not make full use of them. The first charge on the produce raised was deductions for seeds for the next sowing and the maintenance of the capital in tact. Next the numbers received certain portions according to certain fixed norm for the whole country. The rest was to be handed over to the Government.

The land, not worked by any of these collective forms, was distributed among the peasantry in the form of individual holdings. The theoretical ownership, however, always remained with the state.

Thus herein was outlined a very extensive scheme that was to pave the path of progress towards communism and collective agriculture. The 'Village Poverty' was extensively used since January, 1918, and pitched against the middle peasantry. All sorts of premiums were put on collective agriculture and individual holders were discouraged in innumerable ways. Yet according to the statement made by the Commissar of Agriculture, Sereda, at the beginning of January, 1920, out of 24,151,000 desiatinas of land formerly owned by landlords but now dispossessed 20,798,000 desiatinas or 86% were taken over by the peasantry as individual holdings; $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ were taken over by the Rural communes and agricultural associations; and $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ were taken over by various governmental institutions. Add to this large percentage of individual holdings, the vast amount of land already so held by the peasantry, and the progress of collective agriculture will seem to be very small, indeed. The vast area of land was still cultivated in the form of individual holdings.

XI.

Though the peasantry were little touched on the side of production, the distributive mechanism was greatly changed.

The output of food-grains began to shrink even before the March revolution ; but things came to crisis as soon as the Bolsheviki came to power. The figures in connection with one of the principal food producing governments of central Russia will illustrate the matter.

Shipments of grain from the Government of Tambov (in thousands of Poods.)

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jany.
1916-17...	700.	2,800.	2,050.	2,500.	5,650.
1917-18...	2,750.	1,600.	120.	115.	30.

The provisional Government, noticing the sharp shrinkage of food supply and the urgency of war needs, instituted a grain monopoly with fixed prices for food grains. Every peasant was compelled by law to deliver his surplus produce to the Government at a fixed price. As early as the month of October, 1917, the last month of the Provisional Government, signs of unwillingness on the part of the peasants to part with their grain at a fixed price were clearly noticed. With the Bolsheviks taking up the reins of Government, (November) the shipment of food grains came down by a long leap and in January, 1918, it came down from over $5\frac{1}{2}$ million poods to only 30 thousand poods. The state of affairs in other provinces was the same.

Such an enormous reduction in shipment of food grains meant starvation for the towns and other non-food-producing provinces. Production of food grains fell very sharply no doubt ; but it did not fall as heavily as the reduction in Government shipment indicated. This latter only showed the unwillingness of the peasants to deliver their grains to the Government at a fixed price. Smuggling was extensively practised in the face of the Law. Individuals from the starving provinces would go to the

grain-producing provinces and come back with bags of flour, grains, etc. These men were called 'Bag-men.' The trade of Bag-men was highly lucrative. They could sell a Pood of rye in towns at 40 roubles a pood as against a total cost of less than 20 roubles. But then their trade was extremely risky. The Bag-men, if they could be detected, were shot on the way and their bags were confiscated. Half of their trips were unsuccessful.

In spite of all these dangers. the 'Spekulyatsia,' as this smuggling trade was called, grew up extensively. Statistics have been taken for Kaluga, a non-food-producing province of central Russia, for the five months of August to December, 1917. Only 6% of the 627 districts could go on without the help of the Bag-men. In the remaining 94% six hundred thousand trips were made, half of which proved unsuccessful. While the Government could ship into these districts only a little over one million poods during this period the bag-men brought during the same period into these districts three times as many poods. The process was extremely wasteful no doubt; but it was the 'Spekulyatsia' that could keep the people of Keluga from starvation.

The story was the same everywhere. The peasants refused to sell their grain to the Government as stubbornly as the Government refused to give up the monopoly or raise the fixed price. In consequence, Government shipments fell sharply, the 'Spekulyatsia' grew in dimensions, and the 'free' selling price of grain soared to extreme heights.

XII.

The food problem was growing acuter from month to month. During the month of March, 1918, the amount of grain expected to be loaded in various parts of Russia for shipments to the fourteen provinces of central and northern Russia was 10,260 carloads. The amount actually loaded was only 2, 268 carloads.

In April only 15% of the amount expected was loaded and in the first half of May only 3% . Government met with determined resistance at the hands of the peasants. The peasants could easily get rifles and machine guns from returning soldiers who were only too glad to exchange them for food.

Under these circumstances the decree of May 13, 1918, introduced class war into the villages. Government grew indignant with the peasants and ordered in the decree that all grains held over and above the amount required for personal consumption and for seed must be delivered to the Governmental agencies within a week of the Decree. Failure to obey would be heavily penalised by imprisonment of not less than ten years, confiscation of all property, and expulsion from the village community. Any one, who would give information leading to the discovery of concealed grains should receive half their value, when confiscated, determined at the fixed price.

This decree was supplemented by the decree of June 11, 1918, by which the help of the village poverty was registered in favour of the Government in extracting the surplus grains. Various inducements were offered to them for this purpose. They received the right of distributing grains, articles of prime necessity, and agricultural implements among persons whom they considered deserving. If in a locality the village poverty could extract the entire corn by the 15th of July, 1918, they would receive enough grains for distributing free of charge, and all the articles of prime necessity and agricultural implements at 50% of the actual price. But if in extracting the surplus grains they took as long as the period till 15th August, 1918, the concessions would be 50 % price-reduction in case of grains and 25% reduction in the case of articles of prime necessity and agricultural implements. If, however, the work could not be done till the end of August, the reductions would be only 25% and 15% respectively.

This decree could not in the least improve the food situation. Its only results were an intense embitterment of the

feelings of the peasantry and a sharp reduction in the area sown and therefore in the volume of output. Not less than four millions desiatinas were left unsown during 1918, according to the official estimate which is after all conservative. And Government could commandeer only a tenth of what it required for supplying the provinces. There could not be a more appalling situation.

In August, 1918, Government turned to another agency for collecting the surplus grains. The co-operative organisations were reduced to semi-governmental agencies and the peasants were asked to deliver their surplus over set norms of consumption and seed supply at fixed price to these agencies. People in charge of these departments soon discovered that the scheme could not be worked unless the 'Fixed price' was either given up or raised considerably. But the Government would not listen to this suggestion and the co-operative departments too, failed to achieve any result.

With the fall of 1918 large labour organisations, such as Railroad Workers' Union, Factory Committee, etc., were permitted to send out food detachments to the grain producing provinces for the purpose of purchasing grain from the middle peasantry at the fixed price and requisitioning it from the rich peasantry. Early in 1919 the sending forth of such detachments was definitely organised with certain changes. The whole system was placed under the control of the Military Food Supply Bureau, who in conjunction with the peoples' Commissariat of food supply framed certain rules for the conduct of these detachments. Every detachment would consist of 25 men, one commissar and his assistant, and would remain on the pay-rolls of the organisation that sent them. The local food administration organs fix a day on which the surplus food has to be delivered by the peasants. On due delivery, the local executive committee of the Soviet grants them a receipt which renders them immune from a food detachment. On failure to deliver the detachment visits the village and does the work of requisi-

tion. In many places the authorities and the food detachments are rather displeased than gratified if the surplus is duly delivered; for it deprives them of the opportunity of raiding a village. These raids are a regular horror to the villagers. The tax-collectors of Tsarist regime were far better compared to these detachments.

Thus the food supply policy of the Soviet Government passed through three different stages; but the results in each case were far from satisfactory. The Government itself had to purchase grains at the 'Speculyatsia'—an institution which it tried to ban at excessive cost. The 'Speculyatsia' alone could keep the people supplied with food.

XIII.

The food supply policy of the Soviet Government thus simply embittered the feelings of the peasantry without achieving any desired results. The tactics of Bolshevism sought from the very beginning to bring about the neutrality of the peasantry and these latter were placated by the offer of a vast mass of confiscated land. But this neutrality of the peasantry went to pieces on the rocks of the State grain monopoly and the 'fixed' price. The middle peasantry began to harbour intensely bitter feelings against the Bolshevic Government.

This bitterness of feeling borne by the middle peasantry against the Government was sought to be allayed by two open letters written by the two leaders of Bolshevism, Lenin and Trotsky, at the beginning of 1919. Lenin emphasised the fact that the Soviet Government had always recognised three distinct groups among the peasantry. The first group, the 'Village Poverty' is in every country the friend of the socialist; and the second group, the 'Kulaki' or the rich peasantry is everywhere their enemies; but the third group is the middle peasantry. They are not the enemies of the Soviet Government; they can be our friends, and that is what we are striving for. Lenin

appealed to the middle peasantry to co-operate with the Government in the matter of delivering their surplus grains to the Governmental agencies; for, private trade would lead to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

Trotsky assured the middle peasantry that the Soviet Government is and always will be in favour of communistic agriculture, but it "does not compel and never intends to compel" the middle peasantry to change to the communistic form of land tilling.

But with the lapse of a year, force had to be used in the matter of agricultural production. So long force was used only in the extraction of surplus food from the peasantry but production was left free from any sort of control. But the galling institutions of grain monopoly and 'fixed price' soon drove the peasantry to keep their land unsown. They would raise the crop from the land which they thought they owned, only to see it extracted from them forcibly at a nominal price. The price again was paid in worthless paper money which like fairly gold turned to leaves overnight. The peasants were thus miserably helpless against the Soviet Government. Such a policy could have only one result: the peasants would no longer sow their land. The situation has been well described by a Soviet economist: "In order to escape requisition, the middle peasants in many localities plant grass and other crops unfit for human consumption, instead of food grains. They make every effort to reduce the area under cultivation sowing only what they require themselves, expecting in case of need, to receive supplementary quantities from the Government." Contraction of the area sown progressed rapidly till force had to be used in keeping the land under cultivation.

In the Government of Tula practically all the spring sowing was done under the direct supervision of the Soviet authorities and the results were considered good. Encouraged by this and similar other successful attempts, the Soviet Government decided to make a systematic use of force over the whole country in the sowing of the winter crops of 1920. The summer crops had

failed on account of a drought and there was acute distress among the people. People began to migrate in large numbers—specially from central Russia. Stringent orders were issued over the signatures of Lenin and the Commissar of food supply to stop the migration and for the compulsory sowing of the winter crops. All the land suitable for winter crops must be sown. The winter seeds that remained in the country must not be consumed. If any one had not the seed, he would take them from the Government seed fund to return them with a 12% increase after a year. If any one kept his land suitable for winter crops unsown, his land would be confiscated and given over to the communes. If any one receiving seeds from the Government consumed them, he would be punished by the confiscation of his property and by compulsory labour.

Thus force was systematically used in agricultural production also. As soon as it was used in the distribution of agricultural produce, it was sure to make its way into the production side as well. Freedom in production and freedom in distribution must go together. If you violate the one you cannot long help violating the other. Forced production is the inevitable sequence of forced distribution.

XIV

Thus we have traced the course of Bolshevie policy with regard to agriculture till 1920. The Bolsheviks started with the hope of neutralising the peasants in order that they might carry on their industrial programme without any serious disturbance. But they were soon faced by the food problem which grew acuter from day to day. They had inherited from the Provisional Government the institutions of the state grain monopoly and the 'fixed price' and they were glad to accept them as elements in their policy. Throughout the year 1918 various attempts were made for extracting by force the surplus grains from the peasants but with little result. These only alienated

the peasants whom they sought by all means to placate at the outset. All attempts at their pacification by the great leaders failed. They were as stubborn as ever and refused to deliver their surplus grain at the 'fixed price.' The contraction of the area shown progressed fast, and all the desperate attempts of the Government were only leading them deeper into it. Consequently the inevitable outcome of such a policy was to follow. The Government could not stop short of introducing compulsion in agricultural production. Thus the whole country was turned into one huge agricultural factory in which both the production and the distribution of agricultural produce were directed and controlled with unlimited coercion by the sole hand of the Soviet Government. Socialisation of agriculture was thus tried to be achieved at a huge cost in human sufferings.

The policy outlined above was no doubt claimed to be permanent socialisation of Russia; and indeed they were socialistic. But if we compare it with the policies of other European Governments during war, we find only a little difference between them, which is only a difference of degree; and this difference is accounted for by the industrial backwardness of Russia. Every nation has to take to rationing and state monopoly during a war; but in Russia they went a little further. Her industrial equipment being rather poor, almost all the industrial resources had to be turned to the manufacture of munitions. The towns would therefore produce very little in exchange for which they could obtain corn from the villages and consequently agriculture also had to be brought under State control. But the real difference between Russia and other European Governments was in the attitude to all these measures. Other European Governments looked upon them as necessities in war; they are an evil which comes in the train of another evil, *e.g.*, war; and they must be got rid of at the earliest opportunity. The Bolshevics, on the other hand, looked upon these measures as an ideal arrangement of society, to be desired at all costs. To them, war was only a good opportunity for introducing them. Certainly they did not

want to terminate them with war; they wanted to keep them permanently.

Obviously it was an impossible idea to keep them permanently; and the Bolsheviks had to give them up the very next year.

BINAYBHUSAN DASGUPTA

TWILIGHT CALL

Tremulous and frail,
Twilight flung her mystic veil
O'er the verdant vale;
Ashen pale
Gloom on black waters fell—
Black waters of the stream,
Whisp'ring the sweetest hymn !
The half-light dim
Set the ciders all adream !
My soul cast round a lustrous beam,
When lo ! rang out the temple-bell,
“ Hail, the divine in creation, hail ! ”

SUBHENDU GHOSH

PRE-ARYAN ELEMENTS IN HINDUISM ¹*(Part I—Mother-Goddess Cults.)*

It is well-known that besides other component factors, Hinduism is composed of both Aryan and Pre-Aryan Elements. But a great bar to the true appreciation of the Pre-Aryan elements in Hinduism is the "Aryan Myth." The descendants of the Aryans have always assumed that wild barbarous tribes lived in India before the advent of the Aryans and that the civilization of India is entirely theirs. But as a result of recent discoveries and researches we have come to know that the Pre-Aryan peoples of India were as highly civilized as the Aryans. The archaeological discoveries of the Chalcolithic age at Harappa in the Panjab and at Mohenjodaro in Sind have revealed to us the existence of several cults which are very popular in modern Hinduism, but which were either unknown or referred to in the Vedas with much opprobrium. It is a significant fact that Hinduism of to-day has practically no affinity with the religion depicted in the Rigveda whereas it has considerable affinity with the Pre-Aryan religion of India. The Pre-Aryan cults of India, thus, offer starting points for the history of Indian religions. So a scientific study of Hinduism is quite impossible without taking into account that of the Pre-Aryan elements. A problem of such serious import has all along been neglected, too much concentrated attention has been paid to the Aryan aspect of the Indian religion—no comprehensive attempt has been made to enquire to what extent Indian religion is influenced by Pre-Aryan elements. For the lack of any definite evidence to guide us such a study was hitherto considered

¹ The writer wishes to say that every statement made in this article can be proved by documents, so that references are not necessary. He has, therefore discarded the usual and pedantic method of weighting down a page with footnotes,—A. K. S.

to be of the nature of conjecture and guess-work, but in the light of the recent discoveries in the Indus Valley we have been able to stand on surer grounds.

One of the leading cults of Pre-Aryan times was the worship of the Mother Goddess. This is evidenced by numerous terracotta figurines found at Harappa and at Mohenjodaro. They represent a nude female figure wearing an elaborate head-dress, many necklaces and bracelets and nothing else except a girdle. They cannot fail to be identified with the votives of the Mother Goddess so familiar in other centres of Pre-Aryan culture. They have a very wide distribution. They have been found in Beluchistan, in Elam, in Mesopotamia, in Anatolia, and in places as far afield as the Aegean World. Down to the times of the Sungas they have been found throughout the Ganges Valley. In South India,—the stronghold of the Pre-Aryan Dravidian culture—they persist to the present day as votives of the Mother Goddess. From the archaeological evidence we come to know that in Pre-Aryan times there was a certain type of culture in which the idea of the Mother Goddess occupied a very prominent place and which early became diffused over a very wide area. In Europe we first trace the cult of the Mother Goddess in the Aegean World. The Aegean cult of the Mother Goddess was grafted on the Aegean soil from Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia the earliest worshippers of the Mother Goddess were the Sumerians. Her worship formed the very pillar of the Sumerian pantheon. Archaeologists are unanimous in their opinion that the Sumerians were an exotic people in Mesopotamia. Though the Sumerians themselves had forgotten all tradition about their original home, yet various traits in the Sumerian culture show conclusively that they had come from a mountainous country. The cult of their deities on high places and the popularity of mountain animals on the Sumerian seals suggest no less clearly that the Sumerians were an highland folk. Some of their traditions, such as the legend of the culture hero Oannes, a manfish who swam up the Persian Gulf to Eridu,

point to a southern origin and an arrival from overseas. They seem to be connected with India. We know that the first fortunes of Sumer was bound up with Indian intercourse. The regularity and intimacy of the intercourse with India is proved by the occurrence on Sumerian sites of objects imported from the Indus Valley, the oldest indisputable instances in the world of manufactured goods of precisely defined provenance being transported for long distance from the centre of their fabrication. Could not the Sumerians come from Mount Sumeru, which figures so prominent in various Indian legends? But at the moment there is no other evidence to substantiate this statement except the Phonetic similarity between the two names and the fact of the mountainous origin of the Sumerians. The Indian origin of the Sumerian is not a novel hypothesis. It was first broached by Dr. Hall, who connected them with the Dravidians—the Brahui tribe of Beluchistan being the connecting link. That the Sumerian cult of the Mother Goddess was imported into Mesopotamia from India seems to be proved by the similarity of the conceptional aspect of the Mother Goddess of the two places. This is not impossible, for India has always been a land of the Mother Goddess cult. It is a distinguishing feature of the Pre-Aryan Dravidian civilization. The Aryan Hindus have borrowed it from their Dravidian neighbours.

The general character of the Mother Goddess has been admirably summarised by Glotz for the Aegean area as follows and such a generalisation is equally valid for India :

“She is the Great Mother. It is she who makes all nature bring forth. All existing things are emanations from her. She is the Madonna, carrying the holy child, or watching over him. She is the mother of men and of animals, too. She continually appears with an escort of beasts, for she is the mistress of wild animals, snakes, birds and fishes. She even makes the plants grow by her universal fecundity.....
.....perpetuating the vegetative force of which she is the fountain head.”

Furthermore, she is exalted above all other gods. She is the leaderess of hosts in battles. She is a special deity of the mountain and is called the "Lady of the Mountains."

The general cult of the Mother Goddess originated from the worship of the Mother Earth—in the sense of the personification of the vegetative force in the earth. The first attempts to produce food by the cultivation of the soil made men keenly observant of all that helped or hindered him. And while he or his women folk (since among primitive peoples agriculture is usually left to them) would see in the Sun-spirit and the Rain-spirit beneficent aids; the earth, great and kindly, in whose very self the seed was embedded stood forth above all. "In earth worship" says Clodd, "is to be found the explanation of the mass of rites and ceremonies to ensure fertilization of the crops and cattle and women herself." In the religious texts of ancient Mesopotamia the Mother Goddess is frequently described as "Queen of the Earth" and "Mistress of the Fields." She it is who causes verdure to spring forth. "I have heaped up the grain for mankind and I have produced fodder for the cattle" She says in one of the inscriptions. On Babylonian cylinders she is commonly represented with sheaves of grain. That the Indian Devi has also originated from the Earth Goddess is shown by her such appellations as Annapurna, Sakambhari, etc. And lastly, the Kalikapurana contains a sloka which definitely states that the Goddess Kali was originally an Earth Goddess.

It appears from the inscriptions of ancient Mesopotamia that the Mother Goddess was the guardian deity of almost all the leading cities of ancient Sumer. There are reasons to believe that she occupied the same position in the Indus Valley too. Now can we follow the association of ideas that led the highly cultured ancient peoples of the Euphrates-Tigris and the Indus Valleys to select a nude Mother Goddess as their protecting deity? The answer is not difficult to find. The Mother Goddess as she clearly appears from the evidence adduced above was

the personification of the power of vegetation in the earth and of fertility among animals and mankind. Now agriculture being the leading pursuit in the civilization that developed in the Euphrates-Tigris and the Indus Valleys, it is natural that the chief deity worshipped in the various political centres of the earliest periods of the history of these countries should be the personification of the power of vegetation. The conception of such a power rests on the analogy suggested by the process of procreation, which may be briefly described as the commingling of the male and female principles. All nature constantly engaged in the effort to reproduce itself, was viewed as a result of the combination of these two principles. Such being the case, it is natural that she should be represented nude in order to emphasise her character as a goddess of fecundity.

In a lecture delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and subsequently published in the Journal and Proceedings of the same society, the eminent Norwegian Indologist Sten Konow tried to show that the Indian cult of Durga-Kali-Devi is of Aryan origin and an inheritance from Indo-European times. The principal evidence of his assertion is the prevalence of the worship of goddess Nerthus in Northern Europe. Its prevalence among the Germanic tribes is referred to in the following passage of Germania Tacitus :—

“There is nothing else to be marked about these individually than that all worship Nerthus, *i.e.*, Mother Earth (*terram matrem*), and believe that she takes a hand in human matters and mixes with people (*invehi populis*). There is an island in the sea, a sacred grove (*castum nemus*), and within that a consecrated carriage with the cloth. The priest alone may touch in her retreat (*penetrati*), and with great veneration he accompanies her when she drives out drawn by cows. Then follows merry days and feasts at all places which she deigns to visit. They do not begin war, they do not take up weapons, all iron is shut up (*clausum omne ferrum*). Peace and quiet are the only things which they care about, until the same priest takes back the

goddess to the temples when he understands that she has got enough of the company of mortal beings. Then the carriage and the cloth and, if you will believe it, the goddess herself is abluted in a hidden lake. Slaves are in charge and they are drowned in the same lake. Hence the vague terror and the pious ignorance as to what it may be that can only be seen by people who must die. ”

This is all the evidence Sten Konow has to cite to show that the Indian Mother Goddess Durga-Kali-Devi is in her origin an Indo-European deity. His arguments may be summarised as follows. Nerthus is considered to be an old goddess of fertility or some sort of chthonic divinity. He thinks that the word Nerthus is derived from the same root as the Sanskrit Nri, a man. But how could the name of a female deity be derived from a base meaning “man” ? To explain this difficulty he quotes the opinion of the Swedish scholar Joren Schlegren that Nerthus was not the proper name of the goddess at all, but only a metaphorical designation. But why is this cocealment of the proper name ? Konow says that it was tabooed and so could not be uttered by her votaries. To support this view he states—“Every student of Indian religion is conversant with the idea, that it is forbidden to pronounce the name of a deity.” Being not content with deriving Nerthus from Nri he indulges in further philological speculations. He further says—“there is from the point of view of phonology, no objection whatever to identifying this base with the well-known root, Nart, Nrit, meaning “to dance, to act,”. Now it is well known that Nrit does not simply mean “to dance” but rather “to act”, “to represent through gestures” “to mimic.” Nerthus is not the name of a deity but the designation of the image or symbol “acting” at the Nerthus procession and in this connection it is worth while recalling the fact that the Unadibritti gives the meaning “earth” for Nritu. He then mentions festivity, merry-making, singing, dancing and mimicking as so many common features of the worship of Nerthus and Durga. On the ground

of these assumed common features Sten Konow concludes—
‘‘It seems to me to be necessary to infer that the worship of the Nerthus on the one and that of Kali on the other hand are derived from one and the same source, which must have taken place in the Indo-European period. ’’

Frankly speaking, the philological arguments of Sten Konow are not at all convincing to us. He says that the name Nerthus is not a proper name of the goddess Earth but merely a metaphorical designation derived from a root akin to the Sanskrit, Nart, Nrit, to dance, to act, to mimic, etc. To explain as to why the Aryans resorted to a metaphorical designation of their deity he mentions a fictitious fact under the cloak of the phrase ‘‘ well known to the students of the Indian religion that it is forbidden to pronounce the name of a deity. ’’ We are surprised to hear such a baseless statement from the mouth of such an eminent Indologist as Sten Konow. This evidence of Sten Konow has not a shred of truth at the bottom of it. No Indian can ever dream that he or she is not entitled to pronounce the name of a deity. When the Hindu invoke a deity he invokes him or her by his or her proper name and not by any other name. So when the data themselves are false, then the conclusion Sten Konow draws from these data must necessarily be also false. Moreover the identification of the two cults as one and the same merely on the basis of such ubiquitous common features as festivity, merry making, singing, dancing, mimicking, etc., is absolutely unwarrantable. Such common features are the characteristics not only of the worship of Nerthus and Durga but of almost all the divinities of the various civilized and uncivilized races of mankind. That being the case, will Sten Konow be willing to identify all the divinities of the various civilized and uncivilized races of mankind as one and the same merely on the basis of these common features? Certainly he will not be willing to do this, for in that case it will lead to preposterous conclusion. Lastly, if Nerthus means the mother Earth and Nritu in the Unadivritti means

“ earth ” that does not prove anything re : the Indo-European origin of Nerthus and Durga cults. It merely indicates that probably the words Nerthus and Nritu are derived from a common Indo-European word having phonetic similarity with them and which simply meant earth. The fact is as it will be shown just below that the worship of the mother Earth is of Un-Aryan origin and that in every country where the Aryans went they admitted her into their pantheon from their Un-Aryan neighbours. Under these circumstances it is permissible to infer that when the Germanic tribes admitted the Un-Aryan Earth-Mother into their pantheon they designated her by a word which meant “ earth ” in their parlance,—which was either Nerthus or a word akin to it.

It is clearly mentioned in the passage quoted from Tacitus that Nerthus was the name of the Mother Earth. We have already seen that worship of the Earth-Mother was indissolubly connected with agriculture. This cult therefore arose among agricultural communities. Now evidence exists to show that the original Aryans were a pastoral folk rather than an agricultural one. In the domain of Aryan researches no modern scholar stands so high as Professor V. Gordon Childe. In his work on “ The Aryans ” he has devoted a chapter to the primitive Aryan Culture as reconstructed by Linguistic Palaeontology. There he observes : “ In contrast to the developed pastoral terminology of all Indo-European languages, agricultural equations common to the Asiatic and European branches are rare. At the same time according to Schrader the Aryans recognised only three seasons—a cold period winter, a spring, and a hot summer—but had no name for the harvest time autumn.” Przyluski in his article, “ Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan ” has definitely shown that the word for plough “ langula ” was borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from Austro-Asiatic languages. Regarding the European Aryans Prof. Gordon Childe shows that their agricultural terms were mostly borrowed from a race of peasants who occupied the Balkans, and all Central Europe as far north as Magdeburg in

Germany in the New Stone Age. Now when the Aryans had to learn agriculture from Un-Aryan peoples it is quite impossible that the cult of an agricultural deity like that of the Mother Goddess could not have originated among them. It is for this reason that no Mother Goddess could be traceable in the early Aryan literature. Neither does the Indo-European terminology preserve the faintest reminiscence of such a goddess. Moreover it is highly improbable that the Mother Goddess should have a place in a pantheon based on a patriarchal earthly society. By a comparative study of the Aryan and Un-Aryan cultures it can be shown that in every country where the Aryans went they borrowed the Earth Goddess from an Un-Aryan peasant people.

If the Durga-Kali-Devi cult be an inheritance from Indo-European times, then why is the Rigveda silent about it. Instead, the Harivamsa distinctly says that she was originally worshipped by such Un-Aryan tribes as the Savaras, Barbaras, Pulindas, and others. Haribhadra's Samaraicha Kaha also preserves a similar tradition to the effect that the Goddess Chandika—which is another name of Durga-Kali-Devi—was worshipped by the Savaras. In the Bhagavatpurana too, the Goddess Bhadrakali is associated with the Un-Aryan Panis of Sindu-Sauvira (Lower Indus Valley).

Lastly, certain fundamental similarity between the Mother Goddess of ancient Sumer and the Mother Goddess of India leaves no room for doubt that both are derived from a common source. Foremost among these similarities are the following : (1) The Mother-Goddess in both the countries are conceived as a virgin yet she had a consort. (2) The sacred animal of the Mother Goddess in both the countries was the lion and that of her consort was the bull. (3) Besides the performance of her feminine functions she was capable of doing purely male functions such as fighting. In Mesopotamian inscriptions she is constantly referred to as "Leaderess of Hosts in Battles." The Indian goddess as is well known was capable of doing the same

thing. In the Devimahatmya section of the Markandeyapurana is narrated the story of how when the gods were ousted by the Asuras they implored the help of Durga whereupon the latter took up arms and humiliated Mahisha the Asura and his hosts. (4) The Mesopotamian goddess was intimately associated with the mountain. She is constantly called the "Lady of the Mountain." The intimate connection of the Indian Mother Goddess with the Mountain is shown by her such names as Parvati, Haimavati, Vindhya-vasini, etc. (5) And lastly the name of the Sumerian goddess, Nana, is still preserved in the name of the Indian goddess Nanadevi, who has a famous temple at Hinglaj in Gujrat. Those who believe that the Sumerian Kaunakas wore palm leaf skirt would find the use of a similar garment in modern India and above all its association with the Pre-Aryan goddess Parnasavari. Such fundamental similarities as above cannot be explained away as accidental.

Mother Goddesses occupy a very prominent and important place in modern Hinduism. But they have no place in the Vedic pantheon, which was modelled on a patriarchal earthly society. But with the process of time Pre-Aryan feminine deities gradually found reception in the Aryan pantheon. Thus in the later Vedic period we find Kali, Karali, etc. But they were introduced not in their original character nor as separate entities, but as part and parcel of the Vedic cult of Agni or Fire. But as the Aryans advanced towards East India their religious orthodoxy became attenuated and the Un-Aryan deities began to assert their influence on the Aryan pantheon in a most aggressive manner. Thus in the Epics and the Puranas we find mother goddesses in their true Non-Aryan character. Indeed, in some passages of these works, these goddesses have been frankly stated to have been originally worshipped by such Non-Aryan peoples as the Savaras.

The cult of the Mother goddesses underwent further development through the influence of the Tantras—which works reveal to us a religion—perhaps aboriginal—of sexual

orgiastic character, which doubtless in substance is very old and popular.

In the Hinduism of to-day the village feminine deities occupy an important place. In almost every village and town of India may be seen a shrine or a symbol of these deities. There is no doubt that it represents another phase of the Pre-Aryan mother goddess cult more or less modified by Brahminical influence.

Though the cult of the Mother Goddess had no place in the Vedic religion, yet the Grihyasutras incidentally mention some of the goddesses of popular origin. Of such deities mention may specially be made of Vasini, “the ruling Goddess who is probably the Mother Goddess who despite all Vedic influence always was the chief spiritual village power identical with Siva’s wife in various forms.” These goddesses were invoked of as givers of offsprings and longevity. There cannot be any doubt that these goddesses were the direct descendants of the nude goddesses of Pre-Aryan times.

ATUL KRISHNA SUR

“ ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE BY THE SULTANS OF DELHI DURING THE PRE- MUGHAL PERIOD ”

We hear a good deal about the administration of justice by the Mughal Emperors but about the administration of justice by the Pre-Mughal Emperors we do not hear much. This is mainly due to the reason that the materials for our information on this subject dealing with the Pre-Mughal period are very scanty as compared with those of the Mughal period. No such authority like *Ain-i-Akbari*, and *Dastur-ul-aml*s which contain detailed accounts of the Mughal administration are available as our source of information on the Pre-Mughal period.

According to the ancient political ideal which both the Hindus and the Muhammadans accepted, the sovereign was the “ fountain of justice,” and we find the Pre-Mughal sovereigns, like their Mughal successors, administering justice in their own fashion. A perusal of all the available sources of the period under review gives us a clear impression that there were many sovereigns on this period, who deserve no less credit for their keen sense of justice than their Mughal successors. They tried their best to get in touch with the people, to ascertain their grievances, and to administer justice as promptly as possible, showing no mercy or favour to any one, not even their own relatives or high officials of the State.

The first Muhammadan sovereign of Delhi was Qutbuddin. He was a great lover of justice and impartiality and he governed his kingdom “by the best laws till his death.” (Brigg’s *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 199). Hassan Nizami, the author of *Taj-ul-Masir*, who knew him well said that he administered justice with impartiality and his metaphorical saying that during his reign the wolf and the sheep drank water in the same tank shows undoubtedly that he exerted himself vigorously to punish oppressions and lawlessness and was a lover of even-handed justice.

Next to him let us come to the reign of Sultan Altamash who was not only a pious and virtuous sovereign but was also a lover of even-handed justice. He was, as appears from the accounts of Ibn Batuta, ever ready to hear the grievances of the people and to redress their wrongs. Ibn Batuta says—"Among his noteworthy characteristics was the zeal with which he endeavoured to redress wrongs, and to render justice to the oppressed...He placed at the door of his palace, two marble lions, upon two pedestals which were there. These lions had an iron chain round their necks, from which hung a great bell" (Travels of Ibn Batuta, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 591). Whenever any aggrieved person wanted to make a complaint to the king, he had to ring the bell. On hearing the sound of the bell the Sultan promptly called him to his presence, heard his case, and administered justice, accordingly (Travels of Ibn Batuta, Elliot Vol. III, p. 591). These informations of Ibn Batuta were of course, based up on hearsay evidence, as he had come to India much later than these events. But however we may agree or disagree with these details of information, the fact that the "Sultan was very strict in the performance of religious duties and services," and as Minhaj-us-Siraj, the contemporary historian says that there was never "a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kindness," etc. we are inclined to believe that such a sovereign was also certainly endowed with an earnest zeal for redressing the wrongs of his subjects with strict impartiality.

After him the names of Sultana Reziya and Nasiruddin Mahmud deserve mention. Both of them have been depicted by the contemporary historians as lovers of equity and justice.

Sultan Balban is proverbially known for his extreme sense of justice and he did not spare even his nearest relatives or high officials of the State if they had committed any offence. In order to make himself acquainted with the grievances of the people and thus to make his administration of justice efficient and successful he appointed spies throughout his kingdom whose business was

to report to him all cases of injustice and oppression. Through this espionage system he, no doubt, checked crimes and protected many innocent lives against injustice and unnecessary harassments. As instances of his stern justice the following examples may be cited here:—"Malik Barbak was slave of Sultan Balban ; he was Sar-Jamadar, and one of the privileged attendants at court. He held a jagir of four thousand horse, and the fief of Badaon. In a fit of drunkenness, while at Badaon, he caused one of his domestic attendants to be beaten to death with scourges. Sometime afterwards, the Sultan went to Badaon and the man's widow complained to the Sultan. He immediately ordered that this Malik Barbak, chief of Badaon, should be scourged to death in presence of the widow. The spies (barid) who had been stationed to watch the fief of Badaon and had made no report, were hanged over the gate of the town. Haibat Khan....was the slave and kara-beg of Sultan Balban. He also while intoxicated killed a man. The dead man's friends brought the matter before the Sultan, who ordered that Haibat Khan should receive five hundred lashes in his presence and should then be given to the widow. Addressing the woman, he said, "This murderer was my slave, I give him to you; with your own hands stab him with a knife till you kill him." Haibat Khan employed some friends to intercede with the woman, and after much humiliation and weeping they succeeded in purchasing his release for 20,000 tankas. Haibat Khan never after went out of his house until the day of his death " (Tarikh-i-Feroj-Shahi of Zia Barni, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 101.)

After Balban the name of Jallaluddin Khilji deserves notice. He was also a lover of justice and impartiality. (Tarikh-i-Feroj-Shahi of Zia Berni, Elliot Vol. III, p. 143.)

Sultan Allauddin's sense of justice was like that of Balban, and it rather appears horrible to a modern thinker. His espionage system brought him to light cases of infringement of law and whatever happened in his kingdom and when any case of lawlessness or oppression reached his ears, he would inflict the

most exemplary punishment we can conceive of. His idea of kingship was different from that of his predecessors. He was of opinion that religion and politics should be separated and the former should not interfere with the latter. "Royal commands belonged to the king ;" "the orders and rules of Government depended solely on the judgment of the sovereign, and that the law (of the Prophet) had no concern with them." (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, De, p. 170.)

But Allauddin's system of Government did not long survive his death. After the accession of Ghiyasuddin Tughlak "a code of laws for the civil Government were framed, founded upon the Quoran and consistent with the ancient usages of the Delhi monarchy." (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 402.) His son and successor, Muhammed Tughlak, in spite of all the cruel and violent deeds was "the humblest of men, and the one who exhibited "the greatest equity." (Travels of Ibn Batuta, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 611.) Badaoni has given a detailed account of the administration of justice by this monarch. While administering justice he did not care to know whether the offender was the son of a Malik or of a poor peasant ; every case was decided according to its own merit, irrespective of status or position of the offender, and he did not even hesitate to punish the Shaikhs and Sayyids if they had committed any offence.

His court was the highest court of appeal and whenever necessary he would set aside the judgment of the lower courts. But his court was not always a court of appeal, and, when necessary, it also acted as a court of first instance.

His successor Feroj Shah was also very keen in administering justice to his subjects and in repressing crimes and lawlessness, and he disposed of cases according to the laws of the Quran. As his heart was full of the "milk of human kindness," he did away with many of the cruel tortures and other heinous acts which had hitherto been resorted to by his predecessors. In those days even for small crimes the offenders were subjected to inhuman tortures, such as amputation of hands and feet,

ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, etc." (Fatuhat-i-Feroi Shahi, Elliot Vol. III, p. 375.) Feroj Tughlak tried his best to abolish these cruel practices, but as I said in my article—"Administration of the Delhi Empire in the Pre-Mughal Period"¹—(published in the June issue (1930) of the Indian Historical Quarterly),—these practices were so deep-rooted in the soil that they could not be stopped by one stroke of the pen and his benevolent attempts might have mitigated the horrors only during his life-time.

After Feroj's death which had taken place in October, 1388, the country passed through great turmoil and confusion and many good institutions disappeared from the kingdom. Department of law and justice lost much of its former glory and it was not till the advent of Bahlal Lodi to the throne of Delhi towards the middle of the 15th century that this department again received proper attention. Both Bahlal Lodi (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 562) and Sikandar Lodi had great liking for administering justice with impartiality. About Sikandar Lodi Ferishta says "He never omitted to devote a certain time to hear complaints in public" (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 585), and he very frequently went into long and tedious enquiries on intricate cases of law and settled them in person" (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 588).

The sovereign was, no doubt, the highest court of justice in the realm but he did not confine his attention to appeals only; his court also acted as a court of first instance, whenever necessary. It was due to this benign attitude of the sovereigns that at least some of the oppressed people could find relief from sufferings and undue harassments.

From the above accounts it is clear that many of the Pre-Mughal sovereigns were great lovers of equity and justice, and they made every effort to redress wrongs of the people with

¹ There I discussed the judicial organization but in this present article I discuss about the administration of justice by the Royal Court.

impartiality and even-handed justice. Some of them, as for example, Balban, Allauddin and Sikandar Lodi, etc., went to the length of appointing spies throughout their kingdom to know the real state of affairs, and whatever might have been the primary object of their espionage system, it was undoubtedly true that this espionage system had sometimes brought to light the sufferings of the people and thus their wrongs remedied.

Offences which called for severe punishments were apostasy, murder, adultery by a married man with a married woman, treason, rebellion against the sovereign, or aiding and abetting an insurrection and disobeying the orders of the sovereign and treating them with contumely." [(i) (Dee, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 233). (ii) (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Persian text, p. 217).] Punishments for these offences were—for apostasy, death; for murder, death, but if the nearest relative of the victim wanted to have the case compounded with money-damages, called "the price of blood offered by the murderer," he could do it; for adultery the punishment was "stoning to death;" and as for offences against the state, the punishment was also very severe but they depended on the pleasure and sweet-will of the sovereign who decided on the merits of each case what punishment would be inflicted upon the offenders.

In spite of their best intentions these sovereigns could personally dispose of a very limited number of cases on account of the heavy pressure of multifarious duties that they had to perform. Moreover, want of good communication in absence of steamship or telegraphy also acted as a hindrance to the proper discharge of their duties. It very frequently happened that oppressions and lawlessness which prevailed in distant parts of the kingdom could not reach the ears of the sovereign and these things continued there uninterrupted. The people would often brook them in silence than to journey from such distant places and at great perils, loss of time and heavy expenses.

THE CRISIS OF ISLAM

All that we have seen so far, then, only shows that it may be confidently asserted that the development of Islam in the light of modern ideas is possible, that the Modernist tendency, as a little band numerically almost at vanishing point has in principle as good as gained for itself the tacit recognition of its justification in the bosom of the Church, that it has paved the way. But in reality, in the whole world of Islam does not the Islamic law still hold good in its full extent, except for the compulsory repeal of certain parts of it through special circumstances, like the overlordship of the European States? And there does it not more than ever prevail for the mass of the Believers as the supreme ideal?

This is the case, or rather it was the case, till a few years ago. For to-day the demands of the Modernists, even leaving out of consideration the Muslim Soviet States, which of course bear a certain foreign impress, have permeated a country of Islam one of the few independent states of the Islamic world, namely Turkey. And this fact may really be of paramount importance.

For a long time indeed nothing in the realm of Islam has so astonished the world as the events in Turkey since 1921-22, beginning with the declaration of Turkey as a republic and the abolition of the Caliphate. No wonder that the judgment of the proceedings, which are not yet complete, was and is very uncertain. But the fact is that it is exceedingly hard to get at a just picture of the events in Turkey, and harder still to arrive at just judgment. The proceedings of the new Turkey have frequently been regarded as a distinct break with Islam. Even in the East itself this view is often met with among Europeans. The suppression of the time-honoured office of Caliph, the gradual bringing about of the separation of church and state, the secularisation of public instruction, the prohibition of religious orders, all might be advanced in proof of this. And in addition to all this the almost

compulsory introduction of western manners and customs might point in the same direction.

What makes the review of all these events so enormously difficult is that the action of the leading men of the Turkish republic takes place under pressure of special political conditions, both within the country and without. We may not overlook the fact that the position of Turkey hitherto could never be regarded as finally secure, that she was never quite freed from the danger of war. The circumstance justifies even regulations which would be unnecessary under normal conditions. And specially we have to beware of judging measures of Turkish Government by the effect they would have with ourselves, for in fact the hypotheses are absolutely different.

If we consider all these we shall then be compelled to say that all the movements of Turkey really amount to nothing else than the realisation of the aims of that Modernist tendency which we got to recognise above as the Nationalistic. The separation of church and state was certainly one of the avowed items of their programme. The Caliphate, the abolishment of which for political reasons was really inevitable after the Turkish war of Liberation, is in truth a purely secular and not a religious office, even though the leaders of the new state may themselves have been in doubt about it. Dervishdom, however, has often been a supporter of the superstitious "innovations" attacked by all the currents of reform; in fact, it itself is indisputably just such an innovation, and very far from compatible with the original Islam. We shall then only be able to see in the attitude of the Government a move against Islam, so long as we understand by that the so-called "historical" Islam, *i.e.*, the later political and cultural system which threatens to perpetuate the cultural condition of the Middle Ages. But the "original Islam" as the reformers imagine it, the heart and soul of Islam as a religion, is never touched by it. Of course this distinction is not made by the adherents of the old Islam, and therefore for them nearly all reform measures appear as a breach with Islam. But they are

not so intended, nor have they that effect. Indeed, and this corresponds exactly with the ideas of the Nationalists, in place of the so-called Islamic or Oriental civilisation which is bound to be given up, Western civilisation must surely come. And this change is sometimes hastened by drastic means. But in spite of this Islam as a religion is held fast by the populace, even by those who are followers of the new movement.

Of course the question is constantly raised whether this reform can be really sound and strong, whether it is not artificially hastening on the development. For us, in our day, there is no final answer. But one cannot forget that the great psychological change before which we stand in wonder to-day was long in preparation, that the *rapprochement* to the West which began some hundred years or so ago, pressed on with ever-increasing force since the beginning of this century—even making its greatest progress during the Great War, and that finally, and this is actually the deciding point, the frightful experience of the Turkish War of Liberation in 1919 cleared the way for the new movement.

The change in Turkey is indeed a stupendous one. Of course in order to get a just idea of the present situation of the country one cannot judge by conditions in Constantinople, and perhaps still less by those in the new capital, Angora, it is only in the country, in the towns of the interior of Anatolia that we really see that the innovations are by no means only innovations on paper. Externals naturally strike one first, but even measures such as the alteration of dress gain upon closer observation a deeper significance from the circumstances. There is actually a wide-spread and essential change of mind, a set towards the clear perception of the new needs. The new regulation of public instruction, for example, which is thoroughly animated by the modern spirit, and which is far from being only a paper regulation, as it is often called, is welcomed by many in the nation. And the whole social fabric is on the verge of change. This is specially obvious in regard to the position of women. Their

situation, in truth, is already much nearer to that of European women than it is to that of Oriental women of former times. The suppression of polygamy by law in the year 1926 was not much more than a natural consequence.

Of course it must be emphasised that the development is not yet complete. It goes without saying that much that is old lives on alongside of the new, in fact the old often preponderates. Only one who has absolutely no notion of historical evolution could expect anything else. But the general impression still is that in this proverbially indolent country there is activity, and activity of a systematic sort. At times the usefulness of it is to us doubtful, but when we have once or twice made the discovery that things seemingly unintelligible turn out quite comprehensible from the complication of circumstances, then we shall be more cautious in our judgment in cases where we do not understand. In any case the new element is the stronger and is gaining in strength daily.

Certainly all the dangers are not yet overcome. Moreover, if I am not mistaken, they threaten to come more from without than within, and indeed it would only be in conjunction with an external force that a reaction could ever contrive to gain the mastery, more or less, over the new movement. And even so a return to the old narrow standpoint is as good as barred. For many innovations, as *e.g.*, the changes in the structure of society, from their very nature will not suffer a retrograde movement.

If we therefore judge the movement in Turkey correctly, it is not anti-Islamic. The Turkish nation will not cease to be a Muslim nation even if the new tendency completely carries the day. What we see there is only the great endeavour, strenuously made, to convert into a reality the nationalistic idea of Islam as Ziyā Gök Alp first conceived it, in gradual change and development. The Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages is being abandoned. Secularisation of the state and of the whole life is taking place. But Islam as a religion in the form of the

so-called "original Islam" remains untouched. What effect secularisation will have upon it in the long run remains to be seen. It is not impossible that the religion may gain by it. In any case, in my opinion, there is no reason and so far no apparent sign that Islam may not in the end come to a compromise with it just as Christendom has done.

What significance now have the movements in Turkey for the whole of the Islamic world? First it must be confirmed that what happened in Turkey awoke a loud echo in many other lands of Islam. The abolishment of the Caliphate created a situation which they faced at first with utter helplessness, but towards which they found themselves finally compelled to adopt some attitude. The attempt of the newly-made King of the **H**ijāz, **H**usain, to profit by it and himself ascend the vacant throne of the Caliph—not to mention his speedy fall—is, as a purely political move, of less importance to us than the vigorous change of thought in the lands which hitherto we have been in the habit of regarding as representing, along with Turkey, the sphere of spiritual development in the East,—India and Egypt.

In India the end of the Osmanic Caliphate came as an extremely heavy blow to Islam, and certainly the Caliphate agitation was supported even by those of very modernistic opinions, in fact—which was rather remarkable—even by *Shī'ite* circles. The less practical contact they had had with the Osmanic Caliph, the greater apparently was the symbolic meaning which they attached to the title.

But in Egypt the opposition between the orthodox and the modernist tendency found its sharpest expression upon this very question of the Caliphate. A modernistic Sheikh, a pupil of Muḥammed 'Abduh, 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāzīk, excited it by disputing in one of his own writings the traditional idea of its being the lawful duty of the community to instal a Caliph, in other words declared the question of the Caliphate to be irrelevant to the religion. The book evoked tremendous wrath in Azhar circles, as well as almost in the whole of the press, although it appears

fairly restrained in its style and tries to prove the new conclusion more or less along the familiar lines of Islamic scholarship. It was precisely the intrinsic weakness which lies in this scarcely tenable superficiality that gave the Azhar scholars something to go upon in their quarrel with the author, which ended with the deposition of the learned Sheikh from his judgeship, and also—which showed the great effect of the bold declaration—resulted in a ministerial crisis. Although the old orthodox tendency was here victorious, probably it was so only because of the very startling boldness and frankness of the theses of the modernistic Sheikh. And a work like the great book upon the Caliphate by the Egyptian Tanhūrī, who was educated in France, which in sum tries to save as much as possible of the traditional view, and perhaps in this very particular may be taken as typical of the views of many Egyptians of modern education, has in principle abandoned the basis of the strictly orthodox position nearly as much, and only just avoids the indiscretion of drawing the full conclusions. His accommodative theology,—if we may so term the standpoint,—is as such symbolical of the period of transition; but as the product of a compromise which is in reality a false one, it could not, in the long run, be of much value.

It is perhaps no less symbolical of the intellectual condition of present-day Egyptians that a man like Aḥmed ash-Shaukī, the most celebrated and highly esteemed contemporary Egyptian poet, can congratulate the Turks upon the dissolution of the Caliphate.

As in the question of the Caliphate, summarily disposed of by the Turks, we see from other examples also that the present time is for Egypt a time of intellectual schism. A treatise by a professor at the Egyptian University, Tū-hā Ḥusain, upon pre-Islamic Arabic poetry raised a storm hardly less violent than that caused by ‘Abd ar-Rāzīk’s book, as he occasionally subjected even the Koran to a historically critical review. The treatise in fact, was finally suppressed but his dismissal from office, urged by the orthodox, did not this time materialise.

To come to apparently external things (things which however have a very real symbolical meaning), when we see the question raised in Egypt about the covering of the head, then here the effect of the Turkish example is as clear as can be. But when, also in Egypt a law to limit and render more difficult polygamy and divorce is being opposed, coincidence with Turkish measures is certainly not purely accidental. And to-day too, the appearance of women in public places unveiled has incidentally become an accomplished fact.

As these few examples show, the effect of the Turkish reforms upon Egypt is unmistakable. And what is true of Egypt is true of the whole world of Islam in degrees varying according to the distance in space and the stage of modern development. Certainly Turkey alone of all modern domains—apart from the Turks of Russia, who are under special influences—has decidedly and deliberately broken with the civilisation of Islam of the Middle Ages. Here only has Modernism so far gained a complete victory. But its powerful advance is going on everywhere and the Turkish example has strengthened its power of extension. The almost unexpectedly unyielding position of the strictly orthodox circles in Egypt is perhaps not any symbol of strength but rather of weakness, and is to be explained from their recognition of the danger which threatens the position of authority which hitherto has been entirely in their own possession. Also, their preliminary victory over the avowed Modernists, as is to be seen in the case of the Caliphate question, is probably to be explained by the fact that the great bulk of moderate Modernists are still holding back chiefly from fear of the ultimate conclusions. The unity of public opinion plainly evinced in this case was shown in negation or refusal of the ultimate results, but did not take any positive form. For the great majority of Muslims of more or less Western culture, estimated by the “Muslimá World” at, from 6 to 10, millions all over the world, even though it may primarily desire an attitude of suitable compromise, is still no longer orthodox in the strict sense of the

word, but though often hazy and confused is really modernistic in spirit, and will of itself gradually press onwards in that direction.

Naturally it was not to be expected as a matter of course that the other Muslim peoples would blindly follow the Turkish example. For the same hypotheses are not to be found everywhere. The Turks had for long, in fact always, in many respects stood closer to the West than the other Orientals, and it only needed the convulsing events of the Great War to open the way in Turkey to present-day reforms. Neither is the path which Turkey has followed the only possible path to reform. In Turkey, as we have seen, two modern tendencies were in clear opposition to each other. That here the more straightforward, the,—if you will,—less philosophically religious, the more culturally advanced, has gained the day is the result of special political developments. It is not bound to be exactly the same in other lands. But still the direction in which all the main reforms are moving is, consciously or not, approximately the same. And so the example of Turkey cannot be quite without effect. Already it is striking answering chords everywhere. It is no longer merely Western technique, it is the whole of Western civilisation, its thought as well, that the world of Islam has followed, in so far as it is not a question of less civilised Africa or similar new territories of Islam. The most striking example is the political Nationalism which in the war proved far more attractive than the conceptions which arose from the sphere of the Islamic civilisation of the Middle Ages. But it is undoubtedly foreign to this world and altogether irreconcilable with it. By the victory of Nationalism, not only with the Turks, and of course not with them first, the idea of Pan-Islamism is finished with once for all.

Pan-Islamism finished with? Yes, for have not the conquests of Muṣṭafā Kemāl over the Greeks, the heroic resistance of ‘Abd el-Kerīm to the French, found an enthusiastic echo in the whole world of Islam? Was Ghāzī Paṣhā not actually

regarded as the pioneer of the freedom of the Muslim nations all over the world? This is indeed the case; nay more, even beyond the world of Islam the peoples of Asia rejoiced over the Turkish victories in Anatolia. And there is no doubt that to-day among the Muslim nations there exists, with a strength and clearness which it hardly ever before possessed, a feeling of the mutuality of their interests. This feeling, the growth and spread of which is furthered by modern means of communication and by the press, is, to be sure, partly a belated result of the influence of Jemāl ad-Dīn Afghānī. But it has nothing to do with what is usually and properly understood since the era of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd as Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism is a religious and political movement in the sense of the Middle Ages; it aims more or less at the realisation of the old legal ideal of the *one* community, church and state in *one*—under *one*—leader. In reality it takes no account at all of the thought of the nation. It gathers the Faithful, whether as individuals or groups, into a great religious and political unity. The feeling of mutuality which we see to-day pervading the world of Islam binds together—to put it clearly and exactly—not the individual believers but the nation. A modern Indian once said to me,—“Jemāl ad-Dīn Afghānī taught us to feel ourselves Muslims first and Indians after; but Turkey made it clear that we are Indians first and Muslims after.” What to-day binds together the peoples of the Islamic East is not a religious and political aim. The aim is political,—and according to the movement includes also non-Islamic peoples and groups,—it is freedom and independence in relation to Western authority. The movement is the reaction produced by the over-pressure of Western Imperialism, the Asia for Asiatics movement.

Of course what has been said applies only to principles. Naturally it is not to be said that the feelings which we are in the habit of defining as Pan-Islamic are never and nowhere to be met with to-day. No, even the Asia for Asiatics movement, with the masses of the less educated, as also with less advanced nations in general, may now and then have a distinct streak of

Pan-Islamism. In this sense Pan-Islamism may to-day even still represent a force with which, for example, European states with Islamic colonies have occasionally still to reckon seriously. But in this sense only. Pan-Islamism in the strict sense of the word,—and it seems to me of critical importance to make up our minds upon the point,—is a force of the past which is essentially at an end.

On the other hand, even if the fundamental veering round of the general feeling from the political and religious Pan-Islamism to the purely political “Asia for Asiatics” movement has penetrated the consciousness of Oriental nations, as indeed is the case to-day, the peoples who embrace Islam feel far more closely connected with each other than with non-Islamic peoples. Alongside the political bond of opposition to the political and economic dominion of the West which unites the Oriental nations in the “Asia for Asiatics” movement, there is a religious bond as well within the Muslim world of nations. But the mutuality produced by this bond is no more of a religious and political sort than that of the Asia for Asiatics movement. Neither is it, like the latter, of a political sort, but purely religious and cultural. If we review the facts which point to an ever-increasing feeling amongst the peoples of Islam of a community fixed by religion it is evident how far removed we already are from Pan-Islamism. It is an oft-proved fact that the sense of the unity of religion to-day tends to disregard the limits of creed. Not only do people no longer think of regarding, as they did 100 years ago, the Wabhābis as outside the Islamic Church. Even in the relations of the Sunnites with the Shī'-ites we are beginning to see more and more clearly the common element across the gulf once apparently so unbridgeable. The consciousness of this first came to the Russian Turks, who indeed were conspicuous leaders in the modern development of Islam, and influenced the Osmanic Turks in this direction. There, as Goldziher demonstrated in 1910, religious instruction was imparted in common to Shī'-ites and Sunnites.

In Iraq, too, even before the Great War, a *rapprochement* of the two creeds was plainly noticeable. The admission of Indian Shī'ites to the Osmanic Caliphate after the War is only in some degree comprehensible from this new state of things. As a specially notable example we may here refer to the fact that the Wahnābi ruler of Arabia invited—although vainly Shī'ite Persia to the Islamic Congress held in Mecca in 1926. If one now considers that the differences between the various creeds in Islam are in their origin and nature of a political and religious kind, it becomes quite clear that their approach to a Pan-Islamism, which stands for an attempt at the practical depreciation of the old political and religious ideals of the Church, is quite impossible. It is unthinkable without consciously or unconsciously giving up the unlimited authority of the religious impulse, in the sense of the Middle Ages, over the whole of human life.

To-day also, there are political currents and common religious interests binding together the nations of the world of Islam, and both may well occasionally work together for the same end. But they are purely distinct in their nature and have nothing to do with the religious and political bond of Pan-Islamism in the true sense of the word. The best illustration of this fact is offered by the spectacle of the two International Islamic Congresses of the year 1926,—the Congress of Mecca which seems to have had a positive practical significance but no political characteristic, and the Congress of the Caliphate in Cairo, which tried to bring the question of the Caliphate nearer to a solution in the old way, upon a political and religious basis, and failed miserably. These facts are eloquent enough. Unsought and unrecognised but irresistibly nevertheless, secularisation of thought has been introduced, and to-day the quarrel is not so much, perhaps, over its actual accomplishment as over the conviction of it and the drawing of conclusions from it.

In truth the modernisation of Islam has already become a reality—a reality far more powerful than can be grasped from the

outside at a first glance. For it is only occasionally—as, thanks to the peculiar setting, in the case of the Turks,—that this modernisation stares us in the face by a sharp breach between the new mode of thought and the old. The old ways of thought remain long in existence alongside the new, and then the development comes about in such a way that the old forms of thought are gradually and imperceptibly endowed with new meaning, before the new casts off the form which is no longer in keeping with it.

The change is substantiated with astonishment by many close observers of to-day. But its meaning seems to me to be often misunderstood. Thus, as regards the hopes at present being raised in Christian Muhammadan Mission circles, C. H. Becker's opinion might well be taken as correct, that "Islam will be modernised a thousand times sooner than Christianised." Ideas like the thought expressed by Muḥammed 'Abduh, and startling in a man otherwise so conservative, that certain (Protestant) movements of Christendom deviate from Islam only in name and ritual but not in meaning, are on a totally different line from the idea of a Christianisation of Islam. They are on the same level as the assertion made to me by a representative of Turkish Modernism, that the time will surely come when the great religions like Christianity and Islam recognise that fundamentally they are one, and the externals which constitute the difference will be abandoned as such. Such ideas lead right into the midst of the religious perception of the enlightenment towards which Islam probably is really very favourably inclined. They show how far, at least with individuals, modernisation already goes to-day. But just as, say, in Germany evangelical and Catholic ministers of the enlightenment period, who rendered each other mutual pastoral services, did not therefore become any less evangelical or Catholic, so far is the Muslim who thinks thus from ceasing on that account to be a Muslim.

It is startling to see how, in few decades, Islam attempts to catch up with a century-long development of Christianity,

often with an astonishing similarity of ways and means, and perhaps in this again betraying the connection of the origin and being of the two religions. For long it was both so comfortable and so pleasant to predict a speedy end to the seemingly torpid Islam, and what we see to-day seems to many to be the verification of the prediction. We do not claim to prophesy the future, we know not whither it will lead Islam. But indeed there seems to me to be no reason whatever, no symptom to be shown in support of pronouncing upon Islam a judgment so much gloomier than that pronounced upon Christianity. Much rather does it seem that the essential connection of the two sister religions, which divergent lines of development for a time rendered obscure until the most recent history of Islam brings it afresh before our minds, has predestined for both the same fate in the future, be it favourable or unfavourable.

T. H. WEIR

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

FELLOW TEACHERS AND COMRADES,

My first words on this occasion must be words of thanks to you for the great honour you have shown me by asking me to preside over your deliberations to-day. Standing before you, as I pay my humble tribute to your distinguished past Presidents, I recognise my insignificance in the sphere of education. You have had on your rolls Dr. P. C. Ray, the architect of the great school of chemistry in India, who has dedicated his life to the cause of education and of national service. In Sir Provaschandra Mitter, you had the first Minister of Education in Bengal and an imperial statesman in the Chair. Principal G. C. Bose and Principal Herambachandra Maitra, *bona-fide* teachers for half a century, whose lofty ideals and moral character have inspired numberless scholars, gave you the benefit of their accumulated experience and powerful assistance. In Reverend Dr. Urquhart and Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary you found two veteran educationists, two experienced administrators, two of our former Vice-Chancellors. Mr. J. Chowdhury and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee represented fearless criticism and journalistic enterprise. Both of them started life as teachers, both of them turned grey in the service of the motherland, still continue as teachers in their associations, outlook of life and aspirations. In Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, you found a chip of the old block, devoted to the cause of teachers in schools and colleges alike in these provinces.

My gratitude is also due to the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the organisers of this Conference and the local public. Here in Jessore, sitting crowned on the delta of the Ganges and the Hooghly, one's historical imagination is fired when one travels down the stream of time. Is this Yuan Chwang's Samatata? Is this the place where Itsing's Hoh-lo-shi-pota

* Delivered by P. N. Bauerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, at the Eleventh Session of the All Bengal Teachers' Conference at Narail (Jessore).

reigned ? Is this the place where the Pala and the Sena Kings reigned and governed ? Here lies Khan Jahan Ali, the warrior saint in eternal sleep. Here in this "Supremely glorious city" was enacted the tragedy of Pratapaditya. Here did Kalishankar Roy offer stubborn fight against the sepoys of Henkell. Here the Indigo riots of 1860 gave vent to the spirit of discontent and struck a deep blow at the monopolistic tyranny of the planters. And here to-day by your deliberations and your concerted action you will overcome the difficulties which lie deeply-rooted in your way.

I have watched the rise and growth of your association with the deepest interest. I recall to my memory that day eight years ago when I first came across your Secretary, Mr. Monoranjan Sengupta, at the house of a great friend of yours. I was sceptical myself about the success of the new venture which he had undertaken, and a friend of mine who heard your Secretary expound the position of the teachers whispered into my ears the oft-quoted slogan : "these gentlemen are baying the moon, all that they want is to secure a market for their books." Your association, my friends, have to pass through the four stages of the development of any institution in the world : the period of public indifference ; the stage of derision and contempt ; the period of violent opposition ; and the era of absorption and infiltration of your views. You may indeed feel proud of your achievements during the span of the last ten years.

The following figures giving an account of the progress of your organisation tell this tale :—

Session	Members (each school regarded as a unit)	Receipts	Expenditure
		Rs.	Rs.
1924	264	1,460	1,264
1925	462	4 240	3,191
1926	582	10,416	8,987
1927	799	13,266	7,656
1928	827	16,797	9,749
1929	826	20,370	10,372
1930	862	23,272	12,088
1931	(estimated)	36,626	21,565

You have now schools affiliated from every district. You are likely to have in the present year a closing balance of about Rs. 15,000. The Co-operative Relief Society has been started under your auspices for the benefit of the teachers. The Teachers' Benefit Fund opened by you to help the widows and orphans of poor teachers, has this year to its credit about Rs. 7,000. Your annual district conferences afford an opportunity for teachers of the district to meet and discuss important educational problems sometimes in association with distinguished educationists who are not teachers in the strict sense of the term. Circumstanced as we are, every great social, religious, moral reformer of this country beginning from Raja Rammohan Roy to the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee must be and have been educationists as well. Your journal has already secured a niche in the public life of Bengal and bids fair to rise to the authority and position of "the school master" in England. It was as a result of the unceasing activities of your executive that the School Code was passed by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University and the Arbitration Board, although in a truncated form, has started to function. It is a matter of personal gratification to me that my dreams about the School Code and the Central Arbitration Board have partially been realised. I notice with pleasure that fifty per cent. of the income of your association is derived from the sale-proceeds of *Sahitya Chayan*. The story of the adoption of this book by the Central Text Book Committee is indeed romantic and the thanks of the Association are entirely due to Mr. J. R. Barrow, whose premature retirement from service this association has good reasons to mourn.

You are sometimes accused of fostering a spirit of commercialism and of trade-unionism. Our ill-paid and half-fed teachers are called upon by our critics to sacrifice themselves at the altar of knowledge. I ask these critics in all humility how can our teachers enjoy the joy of acquiring and creating knowledge? How can they communicate that knowledge to others when they themselves cannot possibly, under the existing circum-

stances, feel enthusiastic about themselves? The value of any organisation is great, but the value of a professional organisation of teachers is greater even than the well-disciplined organisation of an army : the one gives opportunity to the study of the pure problem of organisation, the other raises passions and strife : the one recognises the individual worth of man, the other bolsters up standardisation. From whatever point of view we look upon this question, whatever argument we apply,—argument from precedent, argument from development, argument from consequences,—we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that a professional organisation of teachers bases its claim on the need for self-protection and possibly, in its initial stages, its views are frankly materialistic, but as the days roll by, when the status is firmly recognised, the organisation develops a national ideal based on sacrifice and service to the community; and by its sheer momentum progresses towards the desired goal. The aim of the association is twofold: (i) to promote and safeguard the professional interest of teachers of secondary schools, to secure for the profession its legitimate place in national life and (ii) to advance the cause of education in general, and secondary education in particular. The lawyers in England have their guild—the Inns of Court; the doctors, their Council of Medical Education and the teachers their strongest organisation called the National Union of Teachers. Founded in 1870, after the passing of the great Education Act, it had to start with only 400 members without any subscriptions. To-day its members number 134,730 and includes among its members teachers employed in secondary and technical schools, training colleges and even Universities. Like our association, the National Union of Teachers in England is a professional organisation; similarly it has one executive, one policy, one set of generally admitted benefits. Its supreme authority is the Annual Conference of representatives elected by local and country associations, which assembles at Easter. The National Union of Teachers by a perfected organisation has raised the

status of teachers, compelled the acceptance of the Burnham scale of pay by the State, freed education to some extent from the trammels of traditional clerical control and, by insisting on a system of registration, has greatly improved the academic qualifications of its members and has given tone to educational policy in general. Macaulay's exaggerated pen-picture of the common schoolmaster in 1847 now appears to be almost malicious :

“ The common teacher is the refuse of all other callings, discarded footmen, ruined pedlars, men who cannot work a sum in rule of three, men who do not know whether the earth is a sphere or a cube, men who do not know whether Jerusalem is in Asia or in America.”

The lot of a teacher in a secondary school in Bengal is indeed sad. He no longer enjoys the heritage of the traditional reverence. He suffers from the psychological illusion of inferiority complex. His pay is ridiculously small. His security of tenure is even now dependent on the pleasure of the managing committee or of the Education Department. His prospects in his professional life are few. His freedom is cramped on the one hand by departmental rules, and on the other hand by the needs of the Matriculation Examination to which he has to direct all his surplus energies after struggle with poverty and want. And his life is scarcely sweetened by the domiciliary visits of inspection.

“ The Secondary Education System,” said the Sadler Commission, “ is suffering from pernicious anæmia. There can be no substantial improvement without reconstruction. The existing system cannot be patched up. What is needed is far-reaching organisation.” The pernicious anæmia has, during the last twelve years that the Sadler Commission report has been slumbering, developed an atrophy of the heart. “ The Matriculation Examination is the mainspring of the existing machinery of Secondary Education in Bengal. It is the key which unlocks the door to all the callings attractive to the respective classes

in Bengal. What the rules for the Matriculation prescribe the high schools endeavour to perform—to pass their boys through the examination which has become their dominant aim. The pressure which forces them to concentrate upon the narrow purpose is great,” and yet in the framing of the curricula of studies the teachers in the secondary schools of Bengal have no share. School reform in Bengal, therefore, can be looked upon from three points of view: academic, administrative, financial. The Matriculation Examination is under the control of the Calcutta University and the University has during the last ten years been attempting in vain to introduce reforms regarding the Matriculation Examination. Ten years ago, two conferences of Head-masters and Managers recommended certain changes. These recommendations were adopted by the Senate and a vigilant Government did not find time or inclination to sanction these changes in the regulations. These proposals have recently been resurrected and the University contemplates vital changes in the regulations relating to the Matriculation Examination. Under the proposed scheme, instruction and examination in all subjects excepting English shall be through the medium of the Vernaculars. In order to secure an efficient knowledge of English the percentage of pass-marks in English will be slightly raised. The proposed regulations also contemplate giving a vocational turn to the Matriculation Examination. To make provision for scientific teaching the traditional interests of the classical languages have been, to a certain extent, sacrificed. Classical language ceases to be a compulsory subject but those who desire to proceed to a degree in arts must have passed in a classical language. This represents a compromise between the classicists and the scientists. The two points of view may well be illustrated by the attitude of two British Prime Ministers—Gladstone and Baldwin. In 1864, Gladstone bitterly complained against “the low utilitarian argument in the matter of education for giving what is termed practical direction.” Stanley Baldwin, in his foreword to Darwin’s

“English Public School” however tells a different tale; “I had many ambitions as a child. One was to be a blacksmith. What more exciting than the roar of the blast, and even now I can still feel the thrill which stirred my small heart when I was allowed to work the big bellows. How exciting too the smell of the smithy! The curious acrid smell of water thrown on the red-hot iron, the warm steam of the cart horses, the burning hoof where the shoe was being fitted...How I longed to have a horny hand!” If the scheme is sanctioned by the Government of Bengal a new impulse may be given to secondary education in these provinces.

We have had, in the year 1929-30, 1,086 High English schools affiliated to the Calcutta University; 1,874 Middle English schools directly under the control of the Department of Education; 57,656 Primary schools, 3,226 Special schools; 62 schools covered by the expression “Secondary Education” intended for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Of these European and Anglo-Indian schools, 14 are Higher Secondary schools, 20 are Higher grade schools, 20 are Primary schools and 2 are ungraded. These are under the administration of the Member in charge of Education and are governed by a Code of regulations for European Schools.

The development of secondary education in Bengal under the auspices of the Calcutta University has been strikingly rapid. In 1906, 635 High schools enjoyed affiliation; in 1917 the number rose to 635; in 1926 the number swelled to 981 and this year we have about 1,100 schools within the jurisdiction of the University. Of these High English schools 48 are Government institutions, including 6 for our girl students; 3 are run by Municipal Boards; 569 schools receive grants-in-aid from the Government and 166 are unaided institutions. The system of administration of these schools is frankly dyarchic. The schools look up to the University for affiliation and disaffiliation and to the Government for the distribution of the grants-in-aid. The function of periodical inspection is carried on by departmental officers on behalf of the University.

Act II of 1857—the Act of Incorporation of the Calcutta University—had not a word to say about the High English schools. Act VIII of 1904 relegated the administration of schools to the Regulations. Under section 25 of the Act, the Senate was charged with the duty of framing regulations with the sanction of the Government. Under sub-section (2), clause (o) the University was empowered to frame regulations for “the conditions to be complied with by schools desiring recognition for the purpose of sending up pupils as candidates for the Matriculation Examination and the conditions to be complied with by candidates for Matriculation whether sent up by recognised schools or not.” Pursuant to the provisions of the Act, regulations were framed by the University and such regulations include the conditions which High schools must observe for their recognition and for the continuance thereof. The administration of these regulations has been left in the hands of the Syndicate, the chief executive authority of the University. Under the heading, “Continuance of recognition,” the University insists on a regularly constituted Managing Committee, and the qualifications, character and experience of the Headmaster and the rest of the teaching staff. Owing to the steady rise in the number of schools and the increase in the complexities in the administration thereof, the Syndicate, meeting ordinarily once a week, hardly found time to deal with the questions of schools. It was on my motion that a School Committee was appointed by the Syndicate to deal with the administration of schools. In my resolution before the Syndicate I requested the Director of Public Instruction to be the President of the School Committee and asked him further to receive suggestions and advice from it about the distribution of the grants-in-aid. Mr. E. F. Oaten, the then Director, declined to serve on the Committee. The School Committee thus came into being. The School Committee is thus a nominee of the Syndicate. It is not a statutory body. It is not a creature of the Regulations, not even a child of the Senate. The

members of a Committee appointed by the University must, under the Regulations, be either members of the Senate or of the Faculties and consequently the very unrepresentative constitution of a preponderatingly nominated Senate is in the main responsible for an unrepresentative School Committee. By a curious irony of fate there does not sit on it one single Headmaster or a teacher actively engaged in teaching in our schools. One of the first acts of the School Committee was to consider the School Code. The School Code was mainly the work of the executive of your association. A committee of the Syndicate considered the School Code for five solid days and finally passed it. Proposals for the establishment of the Arbitration Board formed the pivot of that scheme. All this took place during the administration of Sir Ewart Greaves to whom your thanks are due. In his retirement in England he still thinks about your prospects and your status. After his retirement, the Education Department raised difficulties about the application of the Code to Government-Aided Schools. Frankly speaking, some of its provisions were directly in conflict with the departmental rules. Managers and interested parties violently attacked the Arbitration Board with the result that the School Code has been modified, revised and the Arbitration Board considerably whittled down. The revised School Code no longer constitutes your charter. The aided schools have been practically taken out of its orbit. The life of the Managing Committee has been prolonged from two years to three years : the security of the service of a teacher has been jeopardised by the dangerous provision that the services of a teacher may be dispensed with by the managers "on account of loss of income" or if they desire "to raise the pay of a post with a view to attract a better qualified teacher." When his services are thus dispensed with, says rule 32, he will be entitled to a gratuity not exceeding one month's salary for each completed year of service *less the amount which the school may have contributed to his provident fund and interest accrued thereon.* If these tests are

applied to any service in the world there will be a revolt amongst the men and women in that service. I only hope that these provisions have crept into the rule through faulty draftsmanship or inadvertence.

In our original scheme we provided for a network of district arbitration boards followed by an appellate tribunal in Calcutta. That scheme although accepted by the Syndicate has practically been repudiated by its authors excluding one. The composition of the Central Board in Calcutta is of a distinctly retrograde character. The members are all nominees either of the Senate or of the Department of Education; only one Headmaster of a non-Government school has a precarious seat on the Board. The rules do not provide for periodical retirement of members. The scheme itself is of an experimental nature and a progressive realisation of your ideals can alone be secured by successive stages. You have now covered only one mile-stone in your journey and it is up to you now to attempt to reach another stage in the evolution of your status.

The difficulties in the way of the Arbitration Board are really great. It has a serious rival in the departmental Inspector. Its awards may not always be enforceable against recalcitrant managers. The only weapons of the Syndicate are good advice which a school on the verge of a financial collapse cannot afford to follow, warnings which the disobedient may safely disregard. The only sentence which the Syndicate can pass under the Regulations is a sentence of death. Capital sentences, you know, are rarely resorted to, and if resorted to, the remedy may sometimes be worse than the disease. In my opinion, the Syndicate should retain in its hands the power of dissolving a managing committee and of erasing the names of recalcitrant managers from the voters' list.

I now come to the very important question of the pay of teachers. The salaries which we pay all grades of school teachers is contemptuously low. The inadequacy of the salaries of our teachers has been adversely commented on by reports

on Public Instruction year after year and even by the Simon Commission. Our school teachers in Bengal enjoy the lowest scale of pay even in India.

The pay of a Primary school teacher having charge of 27 pupils is Rs. 9-6a. per month; the pay of a teacher in a Middle English school is a mere apology for a pittance. Aided Middle English schools with 100 boys receive Rs. 150 a year as grant-in-aid from the State treasury. The pay of our teachers in Secondary schools cannot be called even a living wage. Under the rules of the Syndicate, every institution, affiliated to the Calcutta University must be able to spend Rs. 375 per month. Under the rules of the Education department, a school aspiring to aid from the Government must have at least 150 boys on its rolls, must employ 11 teachers and must be in a position to spend Rs. 540 a month. In the case of unaided schools, the University makes a distinction between Calcutta schools and Moffusil schools. In their case, the University insists on having not less than 10 teachers for 8 classes of whom at least three shall be graduates. In the case of schools in Calcutta the following scale of salary prevails :

Rs.
80
60
40
30
30
30
30
25

The following is the scale of salary for teachers in Moffusil schools :

Rs.
70
50
40
30
30
30

Thus, the minimum salary for a Headmaster in a Calcutta school is Rs. 80 and in a school in Moffusil Rs. 70 per month. These teachers have no grades: their provident funds are newly started institutions. As contrasted with their conditions, the Headmasters of most Government schools have now been placed in the Provincial Educational Service. The scale of salaries for teachers in the sister Presidency of Bombay, as compared with the salaries of our teachers, though low, appears almost generous. The grade for graduate teachers in Government schools in Bombay is Rs. 70-200-250-300; in non-Government schools the grade for such teachers is Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 and for under-graduate teachers Rs. 30 to 60.

This brings me to the vexed question of finance and assistance from the coffers of the State. We are perfectly aware of the official recipe. Even a sympathetic inspector like Dr. Jenkins in the course of his presidential address in a district conference lamented the existence of too many High schools in Bengal. He admitted that an efficient school with a contented staff cannot be run at a monthly income of less than Rs. 900 a month. His diagnosis is accurate but I do not agree with his method of treatment. He would enforce rigid uniformity of fees: he would grant aid in mathematical proportion to the size of the school and like a Spartan of old would hurl down the weak schools from the hill-tops. If the University of Calcutta has, without any funds at its disposal, been spasmodically sympathetic towards our schools, the Department of Education has never been trustful or generous in its attitude towards them. The following figures collected by the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, will amply bear out my statement. The total expenditure on education from the Provincial funds in Bombay represents 12.9% of the total expenditure of the Government of Bombay on all departments.

1927-28

	Provincial Funds		Board Funds		Fees		Other Sources	
	Boys' School.	Girls' School	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Bombay	... 51·4	29·5	17·6	3·3	17·7	48·1	13·3	19·1
Madras	... 46·7	26·4	13·5	7·7	18·8	47·6	21·0	18·3
Bengal	... 36·1	19·2	6·1	2·9	41·2	60·8	16·6	17·1
U. P.	... 57·9	51·2	12·8	1·4	15·0	31·7	14·3	15·7
Punjab	... 56·3	36·3	14·0	7·6	18·7	42·5	11·0	13·6
Burma	... 52·6	41·7	17·2	2·3	15·8	33·4	14·4	22·6
B. & O.	... 37·7	31·0	30·0	7·4	19·3	49·3	13·3	12·3
C. P. & Berar	59·1	48·4	21·6	4·2	11·7	35·3	7·6	12·1
Assam	... 58·3	46·9	12·3	3·5	15·5	39·7	13·9	9·9
N. W. F. P.	66·2	57·6	11·6	7·7	8·8	24·4	13·4	16·3

Let us now see where Bengal stands in the matter of her trained teachers.

	M.E. Schools		H.E. Schools	
		%		%
Madras	...	81		78
Bombay	...	12		22
Bengal	...	27		12
U.P.	...	79		45
Punjab	...	68		75
Burma	...	59		59
B. & O.	...	62		32
C. P.	...	64		68
Assam	...	50		34

The Government in this country does not apparently agree with the famous dictum of John Bright: "as the school rate would rise, the poor-rate and the criminal rate will fall." The following analysis of the budget of the Government of Bengal for 1931-1932 as passed by the Bengal Legislative Council is

interesting reading : The net revenue of the Government for the current year has been estimated at Rs. 12,56,67,000.

	Budget estimate, 1931-32 Rs.	Actuals, 1927 Rs.	Actuals, 1928-29 Rs.	Actuals, 1929-30 Rs.
Police ...	2,18,46,000	1,85,35,000	1,95,89,000	2,09,16,000
Jails ...	43,22,000	34,00,000	32,75,000	34,45,000
Education (reserved)	13,94,000	13,98,000	14,53,000	14,11,000
Education (transferred)	1,25,29,000	1,23,90,000	1,25,74,000	1,29,54,000

A further analysis of the education Budget reveals the fact that the Government spends proportionately more money on European and Anglo-Indian education than on education on the transferred side. And on the transferred the cost of maintaining Government schools and supervision and inspection thereof is wholly disproportionate to the results obtained.

1. *European and Anglo-Indian Education.*

	Actuals, 1927-28. Rs	Actuals, 1928-29. Rs.	Actuals, 1929-30. Rs.	Revised, 1930-31 Rs.	Budget. estimates, 1931-32. Rs.
Government Secondary	3,83,000	3,77,000	3,87,000	3,81,000	3,79,000
Non-Govt. Secondary	3,13,000	2,92,000	3,10,000	2,98,000	2,87,000
Inspection	56,000	57,000	58,000	59,000	60,000

2. *Education (Transferred Side).*

	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Govt. Secondary	13,00,000	12,89,000	13,26,000	13,54,000	13,47,000
Non-Govt. Secondary.	14,67,000	14,15,000	15,54,000	14,95,000	14,04,000
Direction and Inspection.	2,22,000	2,26,000	2,33,000	2,22,000	2,23,000
	12,21,000	12,23,000	12,52,000	12,81,000	13,02,000

From the above analysis it would be clear that the cost of direction and inspection is going beyond the grant to non-Government Secondary education.

What then is the scope of inspection and supervision ? Is it public audit ? Is it criminal investigation ? Is it the

policing of schools ? And is this army of inspectors fully qualified to discharge the obligations imposed on them ? Are they really conversant and in sympathy with modern methods of teaching ? I have myself a very faint but bitter recollection of an inspection. In the noontide of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, an Inspector of Schools, just with fresh laurels from the Presidency College, visited our school. It was a great day for us. Flags were flying, the school halls were decorated and there was a subdued tone of excitement running through the school. Below the name of the school appeared in letters of amber and of gold “ Long live the Inspector—.” The Inspector came and visited the school. He cross-examined the teachers ; displayed his knowledge and power. While on the threshold of one of the classes, his eyes got glued to the black board and he came across the ominous words— “ *Bande Mataram.*” He at once called out the boys of the whole school and ordered them to bask in the sunshine in April for three hours : the holiday in his honour was escheated to the Crown. Twenty-five years later I came across the same Inspector in the hall of a great college, standing on his legs, hat in hand, as the college chorus was singing the national anthem—*Bande Mataram* ! In England inspection of schools is protective and constructive. Inspectors are appointed according to their special aptitude and qualifications in the exploration and treatment of special problems or aspects of education. As a rule inspection of secondary schools in England take place at long intervals.

This distrustful attitude of the Government towards our teachers in non-Government schools is further reflected in the grant-in-aid rules. Officers of the Education Department sometimes hold up their hands in horror when non-teachers trespass into the field of education. And yet we are told by the Departmental rules that the Divisional Inspector is the adviser of the Divisional Commissioner and Deputy Inspector is the adviser of the District Magistrate or the Subdivisional Officer as the case

may be. Instead of granting absolute freedom to the Headmaster in academic matters, instead of giving him Dominion status in his realm, Inspectors have been empowered to supervise the promotion of pupils, the selection of candidates for the Matriculation Examination, and may compel the Headmaster to take such measures as appear to be called for. Every appointment in an aided institution is subject to the approval of the Department. The constitution of the Managing Committee, the election of the Vice-President, is subject to the approval of the District Magistrate. The Headmaster has no freedom even in the matter of selection of text-books: he has to limit his choice to the books recommended by the Central Text Book Committee and yet a particular day in the year has been set apart by the departmental rules for loyal celebrations. How can Headmasters of the type of Arnold of Rugby, Butler of Shrewesbury, Thring of Uppingham, Sanderson of Oundle and Almond of Loretto, grow and thrive under the present system?

The whole country is thoroughly sick of this system and the cure proposed by the Government is the creation of a Secondary Board of Education. Even if we exclude the still-born bills presented before the Legislative Council, the bill standing to the credit of Dr. Jenkins does not concede autonomy to his proposed board, or enlarge the scope of its useful activities. His Board of 25 members consists of 8 representatives of the two Universities appointed by a compartmental system, 4 officials, 7 nominated members, 2 representatives of the Bengal Legislative Council, a girl teacher and only 3 teachers elected by the teachers of non-Government schools and of these one must be a headmaster, another a Muhammadan. The third appointment may go to a teacher of the thousand and odd non-Government institutions. The functions of the Board are of a strictly limited character. The Calcutta University will still retain control over the Matriculation Examination and consequently the examination fees. The inspecting, clerical and menial staff are the appointees of the local Government, their

salaries are payable by the local Government. Powers have been reserved to the salaried President which should in truth be exerciseable by the entire Board. The local Government reserves to itself not only the power to veto rules and regulations proposed by the Board but also retains the right of initiative. The local Government further retains the power of dissolution and may suspend the operation of any order or resolution of the Board and also pass a prohibitory order of injunction. Is this the picture of an autonomous Board, where academic interests are likely to preponderate? Do not such reactionary proposals invite our attention with poignant bitterness to the objections of Disraeli to the interference of the State in matters of education? "It is a system of a barbarous age, the system of paternal Government; wherever was found what was called a paternal Government was found a state education. It had been discovered that the best way to secure implicit obedience is to commence tyranny in the nursery."

So long I have been talking about your fundamental rights. Permit me now, Gentlemen, to make a rapid reference to your fundamental duties. You are the builders of the nation. You are devotees in the temple of Learning; pilgrims in search for Truth. You have to dedicate your lives to the cause of education. You will have to fit the boys and girls under your care for the hard struggle for life. You have to develop their personality, their character, their health. The report of the Medical Officer appointed by the Government of Bengal and the report of the Students' Welfare Committee are dismal reading. Dr. Banerjee examined 11,746 boys in 169 different schools in Bengal and his conclusion is that on the whole 62% of the boys have more than one disease or some defect in their systems.

The report of the Students' Welfare Committee is as follows :—

"40% of the 20,000 boys examined in Colleges suffer from malnutrition. Out of every 10 students examined only 3 are perfectly fit and healthy for their age; 6 are on a definitely

infirm plane of health and strength—either from some disability or some failure of development and the remaining one is quite incapable of undergoing more than a very moderate degree of physical exertion.”

What a sad comment on the future builders of the race ! For Greeks a blush, for Greece a tear.

The average expectation of life in England is 48·53, in Japan 43·97, in U.S.A. 49·32 and in India 22·59. We in the University have attempted to make physical education in our schools compulsory in vain. Lack of funds, long hours of work for boys and teachers, long distances which the pupil and the master have to travel to reach the school, starvation wages of the masters, malnutrition of the pupils—have all stood against our efforts. And yet we trust, you my friends will try your best to see that the boys and girls under your charge learn how to take care of their health. Arnold's Monitorial System though rusty has not yet been exploded. Games you will encourage and teach your boys and girls the value of organisations.

Teach your boys and girls truthfulness, obedience to duty and authority. Tell them self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control lead life to sovereign power. On their dutifulness

“ Flowers will laugh from their beds
And fragrance in their footing treads.”

The sense of discipline amongst our boys in the turbid waters of politics may have grown slack and yet they must be taught that they who want to command to-morrow must obey to-day. Let not sneakishness be encouraged amongst your pupils. Let them like Nelson tell you : “ Fear? we do not know what is fear.” Let them learn to love their country wisely and well.

“ Love thou thy land with love far brought
From out the storied past
And used within the present and transfused
Through future time the power of thought
True love that turns round on fixed poles
Love that endures not sordid ends.”

Arnold's greatest ambition in life was to make every boy (i) a Christian, (ii) a gentleman and (iii) an educated person. May you follow the example of this great headmaster! As I close this address, there stretches before me a glorious vista of the future. Our motherland raised to her full stature; the architects of our nation renowned for world-scholarship, for world-invention, conserving the old, stimulating the new, hardening the sinews of youth. We shall by our improved methods of education unlock the gates of joy and wonder in the heart. We shall call for a new burst of poetry; we shall hear the music of the soul; we shall make our homes brighter and joyous. We shall also have our place in the Sun.

Let me now close my address by recalling to your minds the burning words used on a different occasion by one whose memory I hold so dear :

“Unalterable is my faith as to your bright future because I feel yours must be a national organisation, self-reliant though bound in service to the nation, adapting yourself to the manifold and the varying wants of the community from generation to generation. I call upon you, fellow teachers, to join with me in the words of the poet in a solemn pledge of eternal devotion to the Spirit of our Motherland, the protecting divinity of our organisation :

স্বদেশ আমার ! তোমার সেবায় এ ব্রত লইনু আজি—

পূজিতে তোমারে আনিব খুঁজিয়া ধরণীর ধনরাজি ।

তুমি যদি চাও প্রাণ প্রিয়ধন—দ্বিধা না জাগিবে মনে

শুধাবনা কথা, প্রফুল্লবদনে এনে দেব ও চরণে

আমার প্রাণের প্রীতি হবে দেবি ! তব পূজা উপচার

অবাধে সকলি সঁপিয়া তোমায় লইব সেবার ভার ॥

I vow to thee, my country—
 all earthly things above—
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love—
The love that asks no question,
 the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar
 the dearest and the best :
The love that never falters,
 the love that pays the price
The love that makes undaunted
 the final Sacrifice.”

Reviews

Rama Charita of Abhinanda—Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Royal 8vo, pp. 467 and xxxii. Critically edited with an introduction by K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Baroda.

This volume is a welcome addition to H. H. the Gaekwad's Oriental Series and presents us with a poetical work of great merit and elegance. The author, Abhinanda, Abhinandana, Aryavilasa or Satananda flourished during the later classical period and was looked upon as a poet of rare merits even during his life-time. Many of his verses have been quoted by later writers and have found place in anthologies like the *Kavindra-vachanā-samucchya* or *Saduktikarṇāṃṭa*.

The poem is complete in forty cantos and opens with a description of Rama's anguish consequent upon the carrying off of Sita, and ends with the departure of Rama for his capital after conquering Ravana. The general plot is almost the same as in the Ramayana but the author deviates from the traditional account in some places. These have been noted by the learned editor in the introduction.

The peculiarities of style and composition have been pointed out by the learned editor, who also engages in a learned discussion as to the date of the poet and the locality of his birth. He has identified the poet with one of the great writers who flourished in Bengal under the patronage of the Pāla kings. Hāravarṣa, the poet's patron, has been proved by the learned editor to be no one else than Devapāla, the son of Dharmapāla. There are good grounds for accepting this suggestion.

The book has been carefully printed and is free from misprints. Both the editor as well as the general editor are to be congratulated on this.

N. C. B.

Uphill Steps in India—By Miss M. L. Christlieb. Cr. 8vo, pp. 254, published by George Allan and Unwin, Ltd., London, Price 6/-

This small volume of 254 pages embodies the thirty-three years' experience of an English lady in India and each one of the twenty chapters into which it is divided, is full of interest. The writer gives us

a picture of the real life of Southern India which was her field of activity. Her zeal and vocation gave her a chance for studying the conditions of life and to have an insight into the mentality of the people. Her narrative is full of incidents from real life. Dedicating her life to the cause of social uplift in India, she mixed freely with the common folk and this gave her the requisite opportunity for noting the peculiar superstitions and ideas of the people among whom she spent the best part of her life. The pages of her small volume are well written and give vivid descriptions of the social ills which still linger in India. Some chapters are of special interest and of these may be mentioned, the chapter on life 'among the low caste,' and the 'solitary' (Chaps. IX and XVIII).

The book is well written and the authoress takes care not to present us with overdrawn pictures. She condemns caste tyranny and social narrowness but does not fail to point out instances of exceptions. She has much to say against the callous indifference of officialdom to the prevailing conditions, though her zeal as a missionary makes her place too much reliance upon Christianity as the only remedy for the abuses.

N. C. B.

Development of Indian Railways—By Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Econ.), (London), Lecturer in Transport, Department of Commerce, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1930.

This interesting account of the development of Indian Railways is written with the greatest care. All authoritative sources of information have been examined and every statement is properly supported by reference in the numerous footnotes to the authorities. The book will appeal to the lay reader who cares to understand the rise and development of railways and the types of ownership and management through which the Railway organisation has been conducted in the different periods of its history. Railway policy and financial administration have not been eschewed altogether. Realising fully that railway policy with reference to fares, rates and financial administration would vary with the economic needs of the country he has pointed out the necessary changes required in the field of railway law and the scientific determination of rates and fares in the economic interest of the country.

His practical training in railway operation and commercial work has enabled him to discuss intimately the question of gauge, and alignments,

working and traffic results. "Uniformity of gauge on the broad standard should be our objective," says the author. Another important thing which the author rightly recognises is the wise understanding of the transportation problem as a whole. Road, water, railway and air transport problem cannot be isolated and studied individually with any great advantage.

The vexed topic of Company *versus* State management of railways receives proper emphasis and the author inclines to the view that the German example of both State as well as Company management may offer the ideal solution for India. One thing is certain, *viz.*, the reopening of this subject with the progressive development of the democratic form of Government.

Another oft-discussed and least understood subject is "the separation of railway finance" and the author inclines to the view that there ought to be a "complete separation so that in any future scheme there should be no room left for the jealousy either of the Finance Department of the Government of India or of the Indian Legislature."

He has done ample justice to the subject and the historical division of the subject would enable the reader to grasp the broad outline of development easily.

His bibliography is comprehensive and undoubtedly enables the more conscientious reader to have an idea of the more rigid problems of railway management and finance.

Some of his suggestions could be safely elaborated, for example, his wise suggestion of co-ordination in the matter of inland transport. A more scrutinising survey of the results of the separation of Railway finance would have been welcome. Some detailed suggestions in the matter of the revision of the Railway Act of 1890 would have heightened the utility of the book.

As the story of the Railway development is carried down to 1928-1929, it is quite possible that it will hold the field as a suitable introductory textbook on Indian railways for a long time to come. Without bringing in technical terms the author has succeeded in placing a compact survey of the Indian railway system and organisation as a whole.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Types of Economic Theory—By Othmar Spann—English Translation of the 19th Revised Edition, 1930. Pp. 329—George Allen and Unwin.

Eschewing altogether the object of writing a history of economic doctrines the author tries to concisely formulate a critique of some of

the main theories and systems of political economy. The method pursued throughout the book has been to briefly expound the theories of the earlier writers and then enter upon a critical dissertation of the theory. There are good though brief snapshots of some doctrines of economic theory such as mercantilism, physiocratic doctrines, individualism, free trade and protection. As a keen student of English Text Books on Economic theory the reviewer has undoubtedly seen better and more lucid expositions of the above doctrines but what interests most the Indian students in general is the chapter on Political Economy in Germany. It is refreshing to note that many of the latter-day trends in economic thought were first dimly envisaged by the German thinkers—Adam Muller, Von Thunen and Fredrech List.

The Evolution of Socialism is also systematically dealt with and the teachings of Marx are evaluated on an intelligent basis. As the author rightly says, "every one of his theories is faulty and full of numerous contradictions" but the effective importance of his writings grew out of his trenchant and destructive criticism of the existing order of things. His defiant personality enabled him to cut a bold figure in the field of social science as Darwin could in the field of biology.

The chief tenets of the older and younger historical school are also carefully dealt with. The main tenets of the mathematical and the Realist descriptive school are briefly referred to. Of the modern writers the author mentions his own contributions (pp. 279-282). The recent contributions to the doctrine of money, the exchange rates and crises are referred to.

So far as the thought-trends go, a brilliant exposition of the historical and realist schools is not to be met with. The contributions of the English and the American Economists have been grossly under-rated and some of them have not been mentioned by the author. We cannot recommend this book seriously as a comprehensive general exposition of the doctrines of economic theory but certain of them receive adequate attention from the author. As a universalist he devotes sufficient time to criticise effectively the teachings of the individualist school and ends his treatise with the somewhat significant statement "to us universalists it seems unquestionable after our critical survey of the whole field that truth lies on the side of universalism and that the universalist will ultimately prevail."

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

The Economic Development of India—By Vera Austey—Longmans Green & Co., 1929. Pp. 579.

As one of the outstanding publications in the field of Indian Economics the book has already earned a reputation and has been included as a text-book on Indian Economic History in several of the Indian Universities.

It traces in detail with abundant documentation the economic development of the Indian nation. Though no new material has been gathered the development of the economic organisation of the country and ideas up to the time of the present-day transition and semi-westernisation forms the main theme of the book.

Throughout the seventeen different chapters of the book the main strand of thought runs as follows. Present-day India has still upheld rightly or wrongly a mediaeval outlook in her everyday life, religious habits, social customs, industrial outfit, agricultural methods, and commercial organisation. Though here and there, like an oasis in the desert there have been certain improvements, neither the present nor the future economic problems of the country can be solved without that intense whole-hearted co-operation between the governed and the governing class which has not arisen as yet as a result of mutual misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

Aiming at the presentation of an impartial and faithful account of the recent economic changes in India she has succeeded admirably in placing before the reader a concise view of the recent development, present position and the main problems of Indian economic life.

Perhaps the best portion of this valuable work is the description of the industrial organisation of the country which is confined to pages 207 to 328. Besides being a brief and exhaustive statement of the past, the present and the future industrial potentialities of the countries she is neither overoptimistic nor overpessimistic as regards India's industrial future. After outlining the past attitude of the Government towards industries she recounts all that the provincial departments of industries have done in the way of industrial stimulation. Possessing all in pre-requisites of industrialisation, *viz.*, men, money, materials, markets, and motive power an intense drive is needed to realise the industrial greatness by a policy of co-ordinated control, decentralised administration and increased expenditure on industrial stimulation. The ameliorative measures for the improvement of the Indian labour situation are carefully outlined in the pages 314-328.

The main agricultural problem is tackled in chapter VI. The excessive population depending on the soil has led to uneconomic subdivision of

holdings, growing indebtedness, old systems of land tenure, and chronic under-employment. These economic issues have become complicated by the type of social organisation of the agriculturists. Bedridden by caste the joint-Hindu Family system, and the Purdah system the full play of the economic motive has been hindered. To make the position worse confounded technical problems cloud the main issue. If the benevolent activity of the Government is displayed to any advantage it is only in the field of agricultural improvement. The promotion of irrigation, scientific agriculture, agricultural co-operation, forest development, the intelligent exploitation of the fisheries are all due to the constructive initiative of the Government. Apart from imparting the right type of education, the encouraging of the suitable by-industries, the paying of propose emphasis to the agriculturists' interests when the tariff wall is generally raised and the carrying out of the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission the main endeavour ought to be in the direction of making country life healthy and wealthy at the same time. She rightly recommends the "Gurgaon" scheme which aims at "jerking the villager out of his old groove." Nothing is more important than changing the social organisation and the inculcating of the materialistic outlook on the part of the simple village folk. An army of sympathetic leaders and a mint of money would be needed before this work can be said to have been tackled in right earnest.

Chapter XIII confines itself to the foreign trade situation and the commercial policy of the Government. The qualitative as well as quantitative improvement in the matter of our exports and imports is commented on. After a somewhat brief allusion to the economics of the foreign trade attention has been drawn to the commercial and tariff policy of the country. She states the main issue on the much debated Imperial Preference proposal somewhat impartially in the following lines:— "On the whole India has little to offer and less to gain from Imperial Preference but much to lose on risk."

Apart from the better marketing of Indian produce attention must be paid to the quality of the export produce itself. But without any clearly laid down principles as regards commercial policy nothing solid can be achieved in the direction of stimulating trade and promoting industries. True fiscal autonomy ought not to be abused and nothing is more essential than to realise that it is not the tariff alone which creates industries but industrialisation is primarily the result of scientific research, industrial and technical training, collection and distribution of information, the promotion of improved methods of marketing, improvement of transport and communications.

Chapters XIV and XV deal with the financial and the banking and currency systems. A faithful portraiture of the existing machinery is given and the author's suggestions for improvement are neither very radical in nature nor brilliantly original in character. With an inelastic financial machinery and an ill-developed banking system the financing and the carrying out of any useful reforms in any field of economic life would be an impossible thing. Like the preliminary chapters which describe accurately the economic environment, the economic outfit and organisation of the people the 14th and 15th chapters are concisely written and a wealth of information is easily placed before the reader.

Chapter XVII is easily the most valuable portion of the book as the author outlines constructive suggestions for the securing of the economic progress of this country. Secs. 1 and 2 of this chapter assert that India's economic development has been hindered by meaningless social customs, habits and outlook and that these are the signs of transition from the mediæval to the modern type of economy. An improved transport system, changing industrial system, an expanding foreign trade, a slowly altering agricultural organisation and a stabilised currency system usher in the new era of economic progress in this country since 1900.

Endowed with almost all the necessary material for rapid economic advance India has been unable to register any solid improvement due to three obstacles as a whole. The population use of increased income is the bane of Indian Society. An Indian Malthus alone can inveigh against it. The uneconomic outlook of the generality of the people is the second main obstacle. Finally there is a world of misunderstanding between the government and the governed which precludes any real and effective co-operation between the two for the lasting good of the country. In Sec. 3 she outlines as it were what ought to be the main national economic policy of the country. National self-sufficiency means a proper balance between agricultural and industrial development. Undoubtedly this is to be India's economic goal. More science, more revenue, more technical education, and better distribution which increases the primary share of the labourer are the cardinal necessities. A big forward economic movement would be impossible without these. A harmonious blend of the genius of the East and West is the crying need of the hour. Mr. Brayne's work is a typical example of such wise co-ordination and Dr. Austey yearns for a five years' intensive campaign on the model of the "Gurgaon Scheme." An Indian Malthus, an Indian Carnegie, an Indian Florence Nightingale and an Indian General Booth are needed to place "the new angle of vision" and seek to

unify the vast Indian Continent into one single economic unit. The Native States have to be fused into an organic economic relationship with the British Indian territory.

It is gratifying to the reviewer to find almost all his views originally published in the Calcutta Review in some articles entitled "The Meaning of Economic Progress," "Population and Economic Progress" and "Urban Life and Economic Progress," accepted and re-echoed in the last chapter of this book. Another consolation for the reviewer is that his writings on banking have been quoted with approval in the section on banking.

Slight inaccuracies appear in certain chapters. For instance there is no mention of the "purchase of sterling" by the Government of India (p. 117). The old mechanism of the Council bills is emphasised. The State aid to Industries Act has not been passed as yet in Bengal (p. 222).

The statistical tables and appendices provide useful information.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

KAMALA LECTURER FOR 1929.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed Kamala Lecturer for 1929, on the usual terms and conditions, the subject of his lectures being "The Evolution of Moral Ideals in India."

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LAW EXAMINATION DATES.

The dates for the next Preliminary, Intermediate and Final Examinations in Law have been fixed as follows :—

Preliminary Examination in Law ... 6th July, 1931

Intermediate Examination in Law ... 13th July, 1931

Final Examination in Law ... 20th July, 1931

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I.E. AND B.E. EXAMINATIONS DATES.

The next I.E. and B.E. Examinations will be held on the 13th July, 1931 and following days.

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M.A. AND M.Sc. EXAMINATIONS DATES.

The 22nd of September, 1931, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations, 1931.

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RESULT OF THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION IN LAW,
FEBRUARY, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 642, of whom 348 passed, 167 failed, 4 expelled and 123 were absent. Of the successful candidates 21 were placed in class I and 327 placed in class II.

The percentage of pass was 67·05.

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RESULT OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN LAW,
FEBRUARY, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 439, of whom 266 passed, 92 failed, none expelled and 81 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 12 were placed in class I and 254 placed in class II.

The percentage of pass was 74·30.

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RESULT OF THE FINAL EXAMINATION IN LAW, FEBRUARY, 1931.

The number of candidates registered for the examination was 491, of whom 216 passed, 109 failed, none expelled and 166 were absent.

Of the successful candidates 16 were placed in class I and 200 placed in class II.

The percentage of pass was 66·46.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE, 1931



CONVOCATION ADDRESS ¹

YOUR EXCELLENCY, FELLOW-GRADUATES, HON'BLE LADY JACKSON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my pleasant duty to-day to address the Fellows and Graduates of the University and I am deeply sensible of this honour and privilege handed down to me by my distinguished predecessors. At one time the University of Calcutta, the first to function in India and now the mother of so many Universities in this great sub-continent, embraced within its territorial jurisdiction colleges in cities as widely apart as Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad, Nagpur, Dacca, Patna, Colombo and Rangoon,—cities each of which now claims a University of its own. But though the creation of new Universities has diminished the extent of our territorial jurisdiction, the intensity and complexity of the educational problems confronting the University of Calcutta have increased with the march of time. Even to-day we have 54 affiliated colleges under its jurisdiction in different parts of the provinces of Bengal and Assam with a total student population of about 25,000. On the rolls of the University itself, in its Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science and in the Department of Law, we have more than 3,000 and in Calcutta alone there are more than 15,000 students in our affiliated colleges.

¹ *Delivered by the Vice-chancellor at the Senate House, February 28, 1931.*

I am deeply sensible of the responsibilities to which I have been summoned by Your Excellency and fully realise that it is not a light task to maintain the high traditions of the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the greatest centre of learning in the East—an office which had taxed to the utmost the energies and resourcefulness of intellectual giants like Sir Gooroodas Banerjee and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

آسمان بار امانت نقرانست کشید
قرعۀ فال به نام من دیوانه ز دند

“Heavens could not bear the burden of the great trust imposed upon them.

The die of destiny was cast in the name of me...”

Following the practice of my predecessors I shall briefly review the activities of the University during the past twelve months. Before I dwell on the progress of the academic work of our University, it is my duty to recall to memory the members of the Senate who have departed from our midst since we last met in Convocation.

Obituary

John Langford James was one of our distinguished Fellows and an active member of the Faculty of Law and of the Governing Body of the Law College. He was a fearless critic, a brilliant advocate and a fine gentleman, and his death in harness while actually engaged in a very complicated case came with tragic suddenness.

By the death of Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, Oriental Scholarship has sustained an irreparable loss. Dr. Phillott was appointed a Fellow in 1907 and he served this University as President of the Board of Studies in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, as a member of the Syndicate and in various other capacities. In 1912 the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon him by reason of his eminent position and attainments. His

services to the cause of education in this country and particularly to Islamic Culture will always be held in grateful remembrance by the people of Bengal.

Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., was a Fellow of this University of more than 30 years' standing and a man of varied interests in life. He was for a long time a prominent member of the teaching staff of the Medical College of Bengal and after retirement from Government service filled the office of Sheriff of Calcutta with distinction and devoted his leisure and resources to the advancement of education in general.

Dr. M. N. Banerjee, C.I.E., distinguished physician of this city and one of the founders of the Carmichael Medical College—the first non-official Medical College in India—was its first Principal. As a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, as a Fellow and Syndic of this University and in many other ways he made his influence felt in directing medical education in Bengal.

Mr. Matloob Ahmad Khan Chowdhury was an educationist of ability and experience and rendered useful service as an Inspector of Schools and as a Fellow of the University.

Lastly, we have to mourn the death of Mr. Srishchandra Chaudhuri, one of our oldest Honorary Fellows, who was for many years actively associated with the work of the University as a member of the Senate and as a member of the Faculty of Law and of the Faculty of Arts.

Honorary Degrees

Turning now to the academic activities of the University, I rejoice to think that at the commencement of my term of office I have been able to arrange for the conferment of Honorary Degrees on three distinguished members of the Senate each pre-eminent in his respective sphere of activities.

Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., occupies a unique and unrivalled position in the world of commerce and

industries. He is a man of great courage, integrity and character, and his many-sided activities are too well-known to require a repetition. In spite of the heavy demand on his time and energy he has always cheerfully served the cause of education. He has been President of the Indian Science Congress, President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Dean of the Faculty of Engineering.

It is only in the fitness of things that on this outstanding son of Bengal the University should confer *Causa Honoris*, the degree of the D.Sc. in Engineering.

We have conferred the Degree of Doctor of Literature on Principal Herambachandra Maitra, who has been closely associated with this University for many years and has during the last half a century endeared his name to generations of students. He has inspired them by his lofty ideals and profound learning which have found response and appreciation in academic circles in Europe and America. He has helped in the establishment and administration of one of the biggest and best colleges in Bengal.

Dr. Charles Albert Bentley, C.I.E., has been for fifteen years the head of the department of Public Health in this province. He has been a wise, capable and a courageous administrator. His researches on Hook-worm disease, Kala-azar, Black-water fever and Malaria have won for him a well-deserved recognition in the scientific world, and by his wide sympathies for the aspirations of the children of the soil, he has carved out an affectionate corner for himself in the hearts of my countrymen. I regret very much that he had to leave India last week to take up his duties as Professor of Hygiene in the University of Cairo and the degree of M.D. could not therefore be personally conferred on him to-day.

I cannot pass without mentioning with pleasure that in July last the University conferred on my distinguished predecessor, Rev. Dr. Urquhart, the honorary degree of Doctor of Law in appreciation of his services as Vice-Chancellor and as a veteran

educationist. To-day in this Convocation I offer him my sincere felicitations and the wish that he will continue his activities in the sphere of education in Bengal for many a long year to come.

Our Teachers

It is a source of great gratification to me that during the year under review and during my term of office some of the members of the University have won striking distinctions in the intellectual world.

On Sir C. V. Raman, our Palit Professor of Physics, has been conferred the Honorary Degree of LL.D. by the University of Glasgow. Your Excellency has just now performed the pleasant function of presenting the Hughes Medal, the award of the Royal Society to him. He stands to-day as one of the most brilliant Scientists of the world and he has added his name to the vocabulary of Science. I rejoice to think that the most notable of the honours, the Nobel Prize, has also been won by Sir Venkata Raman and that our University Professor is the first recipient in Science of the Nobel Prize in Asia.

Another noteworthy event is the selection of the King George V Professor of Philosophy of our University—Dr. Radhakrishnan—by the Oxford University to deliver the Hibbert Lectures and also as a representative of India on the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations.

To name only a few amongst the earnest workers of the University who, I feel, are destined to achieve great recognition and distinction at no distant date, may be mentioned Prof. Debendramohan Bose, Ghose Professor of Physics, Prof. Phanindranath Ghose, Professor of Applied Physics, Professor Prophulla Chandra Mitter, Ghose Professor of Chemistry, Prof. Jnanendranath Mukherjee, Guruprasad Singh Professor of Chemistry, Prof. Hemendrakumar Sen, Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry, Prof. Sisirkumar Mitra, Guruprasad Singh Professor of Physics.

I feel the School of Mathematics under the able guidance of our Hardinge Professor, Dr. Ganesh Prasad, and the splendid work done by the Calcutta Mathematical Society will influence the future educational progress of the whole of India.

Our Minto Professor of Economics, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, has built up a reputation and influence known far beyond Bengal and I look forward to the day when under his able leadership our school of Economics will become a Cambridge under Marshall.

Dr. Basantakumar Das, our University Professor of Zoology, has been awarded by the Imperial College of Science the Huxley Gold Medal and the Huxley Memorial Prize in books and a valuable research microscope.

The year under review has been replete with original works done by our Professors and Lecturers in different departments of this University and for lack of time and space I have been obliged to relegate the statement of their very important contributions to the domain of scholarship and learning to an Appendix.

These builders of scientific thoughts and leaders of enthusiastic bands of workers deserve our sincere thanks.

Distinguished Visitors.

During the period of my incumbency it has also been my privilege to welcome visitors of international reputation in this University. Sir Arthur Salter delivered a lecture on India and the League of Nations, Dr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol, gave a course of lectures on the History of Socrates and Plato's Idea of God. Dr. J. C. Webb, Professors of Philosophy of the Christian Religion in the University of Oxford, as our Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer, enlightened us with a course of lectures on Contribution of Christianity to Ethics, Dr. P. H. Winfield, University Professor of Law in Cambridge, delivered a valuable series of Tagore Law Lectures on the Province of the Law of Torts.

I take this opportunity to recognise with gratitude the public spirit of those of our countrymen who have made endowments to the University during the last year, amongst whom is an anonymous donor who made over to us Rs. 10,000 to promote Primary Education in villages in Bengal.

This hardly forms part of University education as hitherto understood but a committee has indicated how the gift may be accepted and profitably used.

University Reorganisation.

The outstanding event of the year has been the completion of the labours of the University Organisation Committee.

The Committee held as many as 77 sittings and their Report was discussed by the Senate for 11 days and was ultimately adopted with some modifications. The Report of the Committee, as it has finally emerged from the Senate, is the result of long and anxious thought and it is to be hoped that this might help to place the post-graduate activities of the University on a sure and solid foundation. The success of the scheme outlined in the Report depends no doubt largely upon the amount of the subventions we are able to obtain from Government, and I earnestly appeal to Government to assist the University in every way. We recognise the difficulties of Government in these days of financial stringency but we claim that having regard to our commitments and to the magnitude and importance of the task to which we have set our hands, we have made out an unanswerable case for State support.

By years of patient effort we have succeeded in building up a Post-Graduate Department both in Arts and Science of which we may be legitimately proud. We recognise there are many defects and shortcomings. We recognise also that there is much ground still left which we have not been able to cover mainly from want of funds. We have endeavoured from our point of view to put forward our suggestions and recommendations

as to the lines on which the University may be re-organised. What we ask for and, I feel sure, shall not be denied, is active and friendly sympathy on the part of Government.

Our Financial Position

The quinquennial financial settlement of the University with the Government of Bengal came to an end on the 31st May, 1930. During the past quinquennium the Government of Bengal sanctioned an annual grant of 2 lacs 43 thousand rupees and accepted a contingent liability of 57,000 rupees. In sanctioning the grant Government promised to consider the matter further at the end of that period and it anticipated that "with the experience of five years it should be possible to arrive at a more accurate and definite figure of the recurring grant." I need hardly add that this grant was sanctioned only for the Post-Graduate Department and was in addition to the grant of Rs. 1,28,000 which the University has been receiving from Government for many years past. On the 21st of July, 1930, this University made an application to the Government of Bengal on the basis of recommendations of the Committee as adopted by the Senate. The Senate therein asked for an annual recurring grant of 6 lacs 66 thousand rupees for the different departments of the University including the Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science. The University also asked for non-recurring grants to meet various liabilities, one of the most important of them being the payment of compensation to those teachers whose services the University will not be in a position to continue as a result of retrenchment proposed in the scheme of re-organisation. The matter is under consideration of the Government of Bengal, and we trust that with the powerful assistance of Your Excellency as the Chancellor of this University, we shall be able to persuade you as the Governor of the Province and also the Hon'ble Minister for Education, to stabilise the finances of this University. The main income of

the University is derived from the receipt of tuition and examination fees from students which must necessarily be of an uncertain and fluctuating character specially in an abnormal year like this. The consequences of the present uncertain financial position of the University on the teaching staff of the Post-Graduate Departments can be better imagined than described. Men who have rendered loyal and devoted service to the University for years past are being tossed up on the wave of uncertainty pending a final financial adjustment between the University and Government. Last year the Senate was obliged to renew the appointments of the vast majority of the members of our teaching staff for five months only, *i.e.*, up to the 31st May, 1931. Three months only are left of this period and one can easily appreciate and sympathise with the dread of uncertainty of the future of our teachers. I once again express the hope that a satisfactory financial arrangement will be arrived at between the University and Government without delay, on which alone depends the very continued existence of the teaching departments of the University. I further express the hope that the grant sanctioned by Government will be secured by a statutory enactment as has been done in the case of the Dacca University and the matter set at rest for ever.

I feel I must also refer to the financial difficulties of the private colleges in Bengal affiliated to this University. The usual annual recurring grant of Rs. 1,29,000 made by the Government of India and assigned to the Government of Bengal has been suspended this year. A representation has been made to Government by the Senate on behalf of the Colleges and we trust that the matter will be sympathetically considered by Your Excellency's Government.

While making our insistant demand on the Exchequer of the Province I desire to assure Government and the public of Bengal, that University has had full appreciation of the abnormal circumstances through which the country has been passing and

we have restrained our expenditure even on such important items as Library, the research equipment and working expenses of the Post-Graduate Departments of Arts and Science, Buildings, and the University Press, as also in connection with the general administration of the University.

During the year under review academic atmosphere has been unfortunately ruffled on many an occasion by political breezes, and the unhappy incidents of the 9th September, 1930, for a time threatened to rouse angry passions and bitter feelings, but thanks to His Excellency the Chancellor for whose kind intervention and influential support, the happy termination of what looked to be a very serious trouble materialised and a way of friendly co-operation between the Police and the University chalked out for the future.

Some Urgent Problems

I shall now turn to some of the urgent problems which ought to engage the most anxious consideration of all persons interested in the welfare of this University.

As a medical man I must first refer to the question of *health and welfare of our students*.

Our Students' Welfare Committee have up to date examined roughly about 20,000 students in different Colleges in Calcutta, and I notice with considerable concern that 40 per cent. of the College students suffer from malnutrition. I find to my great sorrow that Muslim students stand first in the list, and our Bengali students, Hindus and Muslims alike, have inferior ponderal indices not only to the European boys but also to the Asiatics such as Chinese, Japanese and the Anamese students. The Committee have also found that out of every 10 students examined only three are perfectly fit and healthy for their age ; 6 are on a definitely infirm plane of health and strength either

from some disability or some failure of development, and the remaining one is quite incapable of undergoing more than a very moderate degree of physical exertion. Causes of this deplorable state of affairs have been set forth as negligence and ignorance of elementary laws of health, unbalanced diet and want of systematic physical training. No University can flourish if the bulk of students is in such a bad state of health. The activities of our Students' Welfare Committee have been confined only to the limits of Calcutta and we have thus only been able to touch the bare fringe of the problem. We have not been able to examine the students in our affiliated Colleges outside Calcutta, nor the boys and girls in over 1,100 schools within our jurisdiction although the most important work of prevention and cure should be undertaken during the school-going age of our students. In 1921 I brought prominently to the notice of the late Sir Surendranath Banerjea the urgent necessity of the active co-operation of the Departments of Public Health and Education in the solution of this important problem. Financial stringency stood in the way. I feel if these departments are to function as nation-building departments, everything else must give way to the over-riding demands of such an important national problem.

Another important health and welfare problem for the University *students* is the question of their *residence*. Most of our students come from the rural areas where they at any rate get sufficient amount of fresh air, fresh vegetables, milk and fish. In the metropolis living is very dear and they can barely manage to just subsist on the money that they get from their parents or guardians. The places of residence of students, even those that are known as attached lodgings and messes, are appallingly bad, unhealthy, congested and over-crowded. Hard work and poor food and unhealthy environments soon make a heavy incursion into their slender reserves with disastrous results. I appeal to the representatives of the people on our Legislative Council and other public bodies to obtain

large sums of money for the establishment of welfare work for our students and for providing sufficient hostel accommodation for those especially living in Calcutta.

New Graduates

Fellow-graduates, it gives me very great pleasure to offer my congratulations and felicitations to you. Some of you have to-day marked the last milestone in your academic life. Your countrymen and country-women do look forward to you to build up a solid economic structure for them, and you will have to educate them and to uplift them from poverty to competence. You will have to organise society and eradicate social evils. On you will devolve the duty and responsibility of maintaining discipline in life, and your *alma mater*, who has given you her best and choicest gifts, will demand of you filial piety, devotion to duty and love of country.

The Problem of Unemployment

I must, however, admit that these high ideals cannot be attained without peace of mind and contentment which you can in most cases attain only if you have a fairly remunerative vocation to pursue. The discontent and trouble of which you hear so much is largely due to unemployment of the educated classes. The pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone, is the luxury of the well-to-do classes and the rich. Over 90 per cent. of our graduates take degrees and diplomas for the sake of their wage-earning value. I can well understand the disappointment of many of our young men when after 14 years or more of arduous work they find that the slender resources of their parents and guardians have been spent on them, without a certainty of even a small return. The man who looks after the electric lights and fans, the motor-mechanic and the man who drives the car are earning more than the average graduate.

To solve the problem of unemployment we have on the one hand to educate public opinion on the dignity of labour and of mechanical vocations of life as against the pursuit of what is called the learned professions and on the other to provide facilities for vocational education for our young men so that after receiving the necessary training they may be able to earn at least a living wage. Here again vocational education alone will not solve the problem of unemployment, because persons equipped with vocational knowledge ought also to get employment in sufficient numbers in industrial concerns and undertakings, not only run by Government, but also by private enterprise. Over-production of diploma-holders in vocational education will very soon be as great a problem as over-production of graduates in what is called cultural education has become for some time past.

The agricultural and mining resources of India offer a field for development which will find sufficient work and bring prosperity and contentment in its wake. To have a prosperous industrial concern, whether in the mechanical, engineering, business or commerce or other branches of work or for the development of the mining and agricultural resources of our country, peace is essential. No country has progressed until there has been peace. Peace must be secured by our men in public life, and our educationists on their part should change the system of education which has resulted in these acute questions of unemployment which is causing so much misery and unrest.

The policy in the past has resulted in producing an over-population of intelligentsia without providing for employment for the active minds of our population.

Vocational Guidance

The Indian child's mind has been left unexplored. The problem which deserves our immediate attention is the practical, sympathetic and purposeful guidance of our youth. We have never thought of giving vocational guidance to our young people.

We know that the average Indian child is brought up without a definite plan or purpose. We have human traits, human intelligence, human aptitudes, abilities and peculiarities, and according to the natural, intellectual, moral and physical endowment of each person a vast reduction of vocational misfits will be possible. Organised vocational guidance in India will do a lot to guide the genius and energy of the youth.

A large percentage of persons who are mentally and constitutionally unsuited for higher education will do well to be diverted to industrial and commercial channels by starting upon a useful career while they are young enough to learn. Psycho-analysis and Experimental Psychology is a most useful modern science and by its judicious and proper application we may be able to direct the energies of our young men in the right path and thereby save them from miseries and pitfalls in their after-life.

I am convinced it will pay Government to start in the University a department for vocational guidance and an employment bureau.

Students and Politics

Fellow-graduates, there can be no doubt that we are passing through anxious times. A heavy responsibility rests alike with the teachers and the students. It is not for me to suggest that students should keep their ears shut and eyes closed to what is going on around them. What I do maintain is that it should be the duty of all who are interested in the true welfare of students to see that their academic pursuits are not interfered with and they are not thrown off their mental equilibrium.

I do not for a moment discourage the study and discussion of principles of politics within the University, in University Unions and Students' Parliaments. I do, however, advise them not to be swept off their feet and to prematurely follow the alluring path of active politics.

It is a truism that the students of to-day will be the citizens of to-morrow. Let the foundation of true citizenship be

therefore well and truly laid under the auspices of this University by efforts of well-regulated and disciplined academic life and, in my conviction, I feel I had the support of the weighty authority of no less a patriot and educationist than the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Standing in this very hall in the midst of circumstances and conditions similar to those prevailing to-day, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee exhorted the young graduates assembled in a Convocation in words of wisdom which are as true to-day as when they were uttered :

“ Students of this University, allow not the pursuit of your studies to be disturbed by extra-academic elements. Forget not that the normal task of the student, so long as he is a student, is not to make politics, nor to be conspicuous in political life. Take it as my deepest conviction, that practical politics is the business of men, not of boys. You have not that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs, which is essential in politics and will be attained by you only in the battle of life in the professions and in responsible positions. Train yourselves, if you please, in Political Economy, Political Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Law ; acquire an intelligent comprehension of the great lessons of History ; but delude not yourselves in your youthful enthusiasm that the complex machinery by which a state is governed may be usefully criticised and discussed without adequate training and laborious preparation. Remember further that if you affiliate yourselves with a party, you deprive yourselves of that academic freedom which is a prerequisite to self-education and culture. Submit not, I implore you, to intellectual slavery, and abandon not your most priceless possession, to test, to doubt, to see everything with your own eyes. Take this as a solemn warning that you cannot with impunity and without serious risk to your mental health, allow your academic pursuits to be rudely disturbed by the shocks of political life. Devote yourselves, therefore, to the quiet and steady acquisition of physical, intellectual and moral habits and take to your hearts the motto—

‘ Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power.’

Follow the path of virtue, which knows no distinction of country or colour ; be remarkable for your integrity as for your learning, and let the world see that there are amongst you—

‘ Souls tempered with fire,
Fervent, heroic and good,
Helpers and Friends of mankind.’ ”

The inspiring words of the great Vice-Chancellor leave no doubt that the acquisition of knowledge is the primary concern and the first and foremost duty of a student, and I feel that the student who by self-devotion to the cause of learning captures the citadel of knowledge and conquers the realms of Arts and Science, brings his motherland nearer the goal of Swaraj than he who deserts the temple Saraswati and wanders into the quagmire of ignorance and follows the mirage of vain pursuits.

Muslim Education

As an Indian, I should realise that the salvation of India cannot be achieved without the dissemination of knowledge and the spread of the light of learning amongst its countless millions. Therefore, the education of the Muslim population in Bengal is a matter of deep concern and a national problem of first importance. Amongst the 54 affiliated Colleges under the University of Calcutta there are only 13·6 per cent. of Muslim students and according to the Census calculation of 1921 the percentage of literacy amongst Muslims is 5·9. Therefore it is an incontrovertible fact that if the majority of the population of Bengal is in the darkness of ignorance, it constitutes a severe handicap on the progress of intellectual and political advancement of the country.

As the first Muslim Vice-Chancellor of the University, it is my bounden duty to advance in all legitimate means the just

claims of the community to which I have the honour to belong. We, Muslims of Bengal, are lagging far behind the other communities in matter of University education. I find that out of 10,304 successful candidates at the last Matriculation Examination the number of Muslim candidates who passed was 1,015. Again out of 3,396 candidates who passed the Intermediate Examination in Arts and Science the number of successful Muslim candidates was 339. Out of 1,984 candidates who passed the B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations last year only 240 were Muslims. 267 graduates took their M.A. degrees in 1930 ; of these 15 only were Muslims. There were 56 Muslim graduates in Law out of a total of 509. The number of Muslims who passed the B.T. and M.B. Examinations was 14 and 10 out of the total of 77 and 156 respectively. Only one Muslim passed the examination of Bachelor of Engineering while there was not a single Muslim in the list of successful candidates at the B.Com. and the M.Sc. Examinations.

It is clear the Muslims of Bengal have not availed themselves as yet of the increased educational facilities offered to them. We must therefore make greater efforts for the spread of education in our community.

I feel strongly that the University should do much more than what it has hitherto done in furthering Islamic studies. The department needs re-adjustment and re-organisation in order to adequately satisfy the claims of this far-famed learning.

It is also essential that the Muslim community should cheerfully come forward with donations to extend the bounds of knowledge and specially for founding scholarships and stipends for poor and deserving Muslim students.

Already I see signs of a new awakening among the young Muslims of Bengal and I call upon them to remember that Education—more education and better education—education of the most liberal character—will alone weld the two great communities in India, great in their traditions, great in their culture, firm in their determination to build up a nation.

THE INDIAN CURRENCY : THE HINDU PERIOD.

The Antiquity of the Indian Currency.

It may be regarded as an established fact that gold, silver and copper were coined in an extensive scale in India long before the birth of Christ. Of course the sovereigns of the country cherished the prerogative of coining money, from very early times, with as much exclusiveness as the various governments of the modern age do throughout the world.

Kautilya's Arthashastra mentions "Lakshanadaksha" or the superintendent of the royal mint, whose duty was to carry on the manufacture of coins, and "Rupadarshaka" or the examiner of coins whose duty was to regulate the currency both as medium of exchange and legal tender money. By Kautilya's time the system of currency in India seems to have been well-developed. Along with "Kosa-pravesya" or standard money there were "Vyava-harika," or token coins, one variety of which was the subsidiary "Tamra-rupa" or copper coins.¹

Rupa-sutra, as mentioned by Bhandarkar contains elaborate regulations about mint and money of the Hindus. The book "deals with metals and substances of which coins were made; their shape and technique; devices on them; the running of the mint; officers connected with manufacture and regulation; methods of differentiating genuine from counterfeit coins, and modes of multiplying currency."²

But long before the age of the famous Arthashastra or that of the less widely known Rupa-sutra the system of coined money had been in vogue in India. In fact instances of coined money

Arthashastra, Shama Shastri, p. 98; Bhandarkar (Carmichael Lectures), IV, 165.

² Bhandarkar.

can be gathered from the Vedas; and the invaluable researches of the European savants have given us a sort of connected history of the Hindu system of currency.

In Marsden's writings is found that various kinds of metallic money were current in India during the Vedic period which in all probability ran from 2500 to 800 B.C.

Professor Wilson refers to coined money in the Vedas. Prof. Wilson has collected instances of money-weights, like gold and silver satamanas in the later Vedic period. ¹

The Indian pundits also are strong in their opinion that the Vedas contain numerous allusions to money :

“ Got 10 pieces of gold from Divadas.”—Rig-veda, 6. 47. 23. ²

With regard to nishka, a kind of money mentioned in the Vedas, there is a long controversy—whether it was a coin or a necklace of gold. The editor of the Numismata Orientalia is of opinion that the nishka of the Vedas did attain the status of a coin. ³

Prof. Bhandarkar also thinks that the nishka in the Rig-veda means coined money, and reconciles this view with the accepted different meaning of the term—a golden necklace—by concluding that the nishka was not only a coin but a string or garland of coins so habitual with the Indians of the present age. ⁴

Manu gives definite information *re* the nishka—4 suvarnas are equal to a nishka. ⁵

The commentator of the Ramanuj-Ramayan in explaining 2.23.10 sloka says : “ Nishka here signifies nishka with inscriptions on it.” ⁶

¹ Numismalica Orientalia, pp. 33-35.

² Commerce in ancient India—Tarini Vidyanidhi.

³ N. Orientalia, p. 35.

⁴ Bhandarkar, p. 64.

⁵ Manu, VIII, 137.

⁶ T. Vidyanidhi, p. 81.

The Mahabharata ¹ mentions coined money in several places. The epic also mentions “bags of gold dust.” These might be the historic bags of gold in which revenue to the Persian Darius was paid by his Hindu subjects and which was so much commented on by the Greek writers.

“The suvarna was also a simple bag of gold dust, such as is still current in Kumaun, of the value of 8 rupees.” ²

The Ramayana also enumerates gold and silver money as “10 crores of gold and 40 crores of silver.” ³

Mention of “pieces of money in complete form” is found in the sutras of Panini, who lived according to Prof. Goldstücker, before Buddha. Weber and some other authorities hold that the great grammarian lived after the establishment of Buddhism. ⁴

Panini in his Ashta-dhayi speaks of karshapanas, nishkas, satamanas and other coins.

“That Panini knew coined money is plainly borne out by his sutra 5.2.1119 ‘rupad-ahata’ where the word rupya in the sense of struck (ahata) derived from ‘rupa’ form here means the form or shape of a man which was on it;” ⁵ “the Srauta-sutra of Katyayana...refers to satamana coins.” ⁶

But the most prolific source of information *re* coined money in India is the Buddhistic literature which flourished about 500 B.C.

“The allusions to money in the sacred literature of Sakya-muni are frequent...the Buddhist legends...abound in illustrations of every-day life...numerous passages mentioning suvarnas, puranas...karshapanas.” ⁷

“In the Vinaya-pitaka the term ‘Rupiya’ suggests the system of coinage of money. Some pundits hold that ‘Rupiya’

¹ Sabha-parva, 35-7; 61. 2 (Wheeler).

² Cunningham.

³ Cants, 1, 15, 50.

⁴ Bhandarkar, p. 7.

⁵ N. Orientalia, p. 39; Bhandarkar, pp. 40, 41.

⁶ Bhandarkar.

⁷ N. Orientalia, p. 41.

means 'rupankita' or impressed with 'rupa' or face of the king.¹

In the Greek literature, contemporary to Alexander and subsequent, instances of the Indian money are not wanting;

"Alexander...at Taxaila was presented... with 80 talents of coined silver."²

"Another gold coin mentioned Greek author...of the Periplus."³

"The Indian karshapana is mentioned by Hesychenes."⁴

Jainavalkya mentions "nanaka" (a coin) in his books of law which prescribes penalty for "fabrications" of coins or for a "trier of coin" who pronounces false one to be genuine.⁵

With the nanaka coin of the Yuchi Kadphises, which contained the device of the god Siva and the bull Nandi (Sivanka tanka), we arrive at the first century A.D. of the Indian coinage.

It may be time now to discuss the divergent views about the antiquity of the Indian system, for fixing the earliest possible date.

Prof. Bhandarkar wants to carry the antiquity of the Hindu coinage as far back as "the middle of the third century millennium before Christ;" and opines that the European scholars are generally unwilling to assign to the Indian coinage an earlier date than 600 to 700 B.C.

"The earliest Indian coin...may well go back to 500 to 600 B.C."⁶

"The silver puranas of India may be quite as old as any of the coinages of Greece or Asia Minor."⁷

¹ J. C. Ghose, *Jataka*, II.

² Cunningham, Preface; Brown, p. 16.

³ Cunningham, p. 2.

⁴ N. *Orientalia*, p. 7.

⁵ *Smriti*, 240-41; N. *Orientalia* pp. 44-5.

⁶ *Catalogue of Coins*, V. Smith.

⁷ Cunningham, pp. 20-21.

“The earliest specimens...(dharana or purana) are probably at least as early as the beginning of the 4th century B.C.”¹

“In their earliest form the punch-marked coins may go back to the 6th century B.C.”²

Mr. Bhandarkar accepts on the authority of Mr. Winternitz that “the Vedic period in all probability extends from 2500 to 800 B.C.” But there is an extreme paucity of evidence re coined money in the earlier Vedic period. The *hiranya-pinda* or the *suvarna* originally might not have connoted coined money but merely gold bullion or “bags of gold dust.” No doubt *nishka* and *satamana* are mentioned. But the *nishka* in its early significance, most probably, was not money but gold beads for ornamental purpose. The uniformity of its shape and possibly of weight, gradually made it acceptable as good payment for all valuable things, and in course of ages this acceptability made it a good medium of exchange, and perhaps then only it came to be recognised by the state as money, and was accredited by the royal inscriptions as such. It might have taken a long time for the *nishka* to develop thus into the full-fledged money. This *satamana* or the hundred-measures also might originally have reference to mere weight and not to any monetary unit.

Thus it may be plausible to think that the dawn of the monetary system in India may not be rightly carried to the earliest Vedic period but the latest. In the west it is said money was coined in Lydia about 700 B.C.

“Herodotus attributes the first use of coined gold and silver by the Lydians, while in another passage he mentions that the first Greek coinage was at Aegina, by Pheidon of Argos.”³

In India, it may be hazarded, that the coinage began about 1000 B.C., and the coins became fairly current by 800 B.C., which period may be regarded as the very infancy of the system.

¹ Rapson, p. 2.

² Brown, p. 7.

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

“ These punch-marked coins (karshapana)...were certainly current in the time of Buddha...they might mount as high as 1000 B.C.”¹

There is good evidence to conclude that before the time when Manu's institutes were completely compiled, the coinage had much developed and the coined money had become effective currency; and by the time of the advent of the Greeks the coinage had been much improved.

The controversy *re* the antiquity of the Hindu coinage perhaps has not been finally settled. But, it seems that the balance of evidence and argument as given above, is in favour of the conclusion that the Indian system had its beginning in the earlier years of the first millennium B.C , and so, prior to any other known system of currency in the world.

A. K. SARKAR

¹ Cunningham, p. 43.

GEORGE MEREDITH

An Unpublished Sonnet.

The publication of Meredith's Sonnet entitled *To P. A. Labouchere Esq.* in *The Nineteenth Century and After* in its January number, after nearly sixty-six years since it was first penned, lends fresh interest to the baffling question of Meredith's personality. The Sonnet was discovered in a collection of autographs which Pierre-Antoine Labouchere (1807-1873) bequeathed to the municipal library of his native town, Nantes. Nothing much is known about Meredith's literary relations with Labouchere, but the French painter was connected with the family of Meredith's second wife through the marriage of his two daughters, Emilie and Marie, with Edouard and Justin Vulliamy, both brothers-in-law of Meredith. It is also known that Meredith visited several times the Vulliamy home at Nonancourt in Normandy. It would be quite natural to presume that Meredith would not have dedicated a sonnet to the Frenchman, and through it, expressed his deep admiration of "that bright band," meaning the French "wits by whom huge Dulness has been slain," unless the English novelist's kinship with Labouchere were more than of a formal nature. Moreover, Pierre-Antoine Labouchere was fairly well-known in English social and literary circles. He was the first cousin of Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton, and his interest in English literature and history is abundantly proved by his various contributions to the famous English periodical, *Notes and Queries*. But Meredith, on account of an unexplainable strain in his nature, throughout his life, made a mystery of his personal life and literary friendships. This grew almost to be a second nature with him, the baneful effects of which are reflected in all his human dealings as well as his literary style. This habit was the cause of his deliberate tricks of writing allusive,

high-florid, and obscure verse and prose. What was more fatal was that he frequently had recourse to a highly euphuistic and artificial manner, especially when his imaginative power was failing. Almost every page of Meredith would exhibit to the careful reader lapses of sense and form; extreme poverty of thought would be apparent from his seemingly bright and tinselled language.

Meredith's style makes him, of all writers, the most puzzling for a critic. Of course, Meredith was, and will never be, a popular writer. In 1850, when the English public was waxing hysterical over *Adam Bede*, *The Ordeal of Richard Ferval* published in the same year, was generally ignored or passed by with scant comment. Meredith had to labour for years in obscurity, and not until all his best works had been published, could he obtain any popularity worth mentioning. More than any of his contemporaries Meredith has been the victim of public prejudice. Great wrangling raged over him immediately after his death. At that time, it was impossible for any critic to approach Meredith with any detachment; one had to be either a whole-hearted partisan or an opponent. The personal aspect of the author, although irresistible, was most contradictory; his views and practices were found to be glaringly inconsistent. Almost all the facts of his life were known in detail from his cousin Mr. S. M. Ellis's *Biography*, published in 1919. The book disclosed a Meredith hitherto unknown to the public; it exposed strains of obstinacy, commonness and even cruelty, and told a great deal about his unscrupulousness in private life. So, the discovery of hitherto unsuspected weaknesses in an otherwise blameless life reduced the stature of the literary giant. Of course, for all this nobody but the giant himself was responsible; his fantastic tricks of partial self-revelation in writing and conversation made confusion worse confounded. The strangest thing was that Meredith could write beautifully, and yet wrote atrociously at times. He mingled philosophical sincerity of thought with insufferable affectation of language.

One wonders if Meredith's style had any aesthetic basis at all. His love of rhetoric and ornament is apparent in the stilted flourish at the end of this Sonnet ; his eulogy of Montaigne and Molière is quite in accordance with his temperament.

Mr. J. B. Priestley in his *Life of George Meredith*, similarly shows the incongruous nature of Meredith's genius ; he demonstrates that all his life Meredith insisted on being different from the ordinary normal people, and yet in many respects, he himself was quite ordinary. He was thoroughly aware of his weaknesses, and was, therefore, all the more untiring in hiding his self-conscious reactions against them. It was absolutely impossible for him to avoid the epigrammatic. All his pretensions of the richness of metaphor and semblances of passion seem to-day as cold as ice. The effect of Meredith's prose or verse, albeit sparkling with spurious brilliancy, is short-lived. Almost as soon as the charm has begun to work, the bloom is gone. What had struck a reader as amazing in Meredith's style and expression ceases to surprise him only a few moments later, while the faults that underline the glitter become emphasised.

TO P. A. LABOUCHERE, ESQ.

*Oft have I looked on France with envy vain,
Not of her vines, nor of her sunny land,
Nor of her glory ; but of that bright band,
The Wits by whom huge Dulness has been slain :
Who seemed another Saturn in his reign,
And with its Titans dared a mortal hand
To find his headpiece vulner'bly plann'd :—
Transfix'd is he by arrows of the brain !
Of these keen archers, Molière and Montaigne
To me are dearest : for these two combine
Wisdom and laughter : these I am full fain
To call most precious countrymen of mine :
They bridge the Channel waters once again,
And add proof that Genius is divine.*

KINGSHIP IN BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA IN ANCIENT TIMES.

I

It is said with some degree of authority that there was democracy in India from the Vedic time. It is necessary to examine in a summary manner if that was so ; or if king-ship was the rule.

In the Intorduction to Sháyana's commentary on Atharba Veda (in about 1375) it is stated that he wrote the commentary under orders of Harihar (Hindu king of Vijayanagar, a descendant of king Bukka). He stated that Rik, Jaju and Shám Vedas conferred peace in the next world, but Atharba Veda deals with results in this as well as in the next world (—Pandit Durgadas Lahiri's edition).

In Jayaswál's Hindu Polity at p. 25 it is stated that “the early Vedas know only monarchy The Mahábhárata, similarly, * * * considers monarchy alone as the Vedic form of Government.”

But much has been made of the words “Savá” and “Samiti.” In the Sanskrit dictionaries both the words have got several and different meanings ; in one sense, namely, in the sense of association or collection of men they are synonymous. Judicial committees, like the Privy Council, are called Savá in the Sukraniti and the Arthasástra. These are developments to be found in the Smritis and the Játakas ; the earliest Savá was a religious gathering and not exactly of definite persons. For instance a Rishi would sing hymns to Surja or Indra or fire (all of which refer to The Almighty) jointly with his disciples. Rishis of various Ásrams would not come to join, though they would come to attend any ceremony on their King's solicitation. Such a ceremonious gathering would be part of the king's Savá.

The early Bauddhas would call a burial place Savá (Shová) *e. g.*, the Savá on the Khandagiri Hill near Bhubaneswar in Orissa, which is yet visible.

In the Vedas there is mention of Savá, Samiti and Gana. Importance has been attached to them to mean political associations ; and therefore it is necessary to examine in what sense they are used, at least generally.

Thus in the Rig-Veda :

- (1) Sarbê nandanti jashaságatena savá-sáhena sakhya
sakyáyah. 10. 71. 10 r
Savyáh—mannushyáh
Savá-sáhen savám sordum shaknubata } —Lahiri.

(This Sukta 71 refers to *mantras* in connection with Brahmajnan. It has nothing to do with Politics.)

- (2) Savámeti kitabah prichhámno jeshyamiti -10.
34. 6r.

(3) In gatherings, meetings of the folk (*i.e.*, Savá) we will speak glorious things of thee—Griffith, Principal, Benares College, Atharva Veda—12. 1. 56m. (This Sukta refers to chess and to the chess-players, and not to any kind of political associations.)

- (4) Bhadram griham krinutha bhadrabácho brihadbo baya uchyatê savásu.—R.V.-6. 28. 6.

Savásu-Jágparishatsu (members collected at a *jajna*)
—Lahiri.

Your power is glorified in our assemblies.—Griffith. (It refers to cows and their power to do good to mankind.)

- (5) Shváttra bhájá bayasá sachatê sadá chandro játi savámupa.—R.V. - 8. 4. 9r.

The moon being pleasing to all went to the savá or people.—Tr. of Lahiri's note.

(This Sukta No. 4 contains prayers to Indra and others.)

- (6) Je grámá jadaranyam jáh savá adhi bhumyám.—A V. - 12. 1. 56. (Savá in this mantra means associations in general.)

(7) Jad rájáno bibhajantu isshtápurtasya sorhasham jamasyámi savásadah.—A. V. 3. 29. 1.

Savásada—sitting in the savá.—Lahiri

Savásábah sakahá (R. V. 10. 31. 10,) esha boi bráhmaná-nám savásáha ; sakhá yat somo rájá (R. V. (10. 1. 13.)—(Hansarāja's Vedic Kosha). (It does not refer to Political associations of the people.)

The word *Samiti* is used in the Vedas generally in the sense of a collective body or an assembly of Gods, such as Maruts, Indra, and others, and on very few occasions in the sense of assembly of people, but never in the sense of a political body of the subjects assembled for political purposes. Thus :—

(1) sarbá dishah sammanasah sadhriti dhubáya tê samitih kalpatámibah.—A. V. - 4. 88. 3.

(Here samiti means assemblage, but not a political association.)

(2) Na barsham maitrábarunam

brahmajyamavi barshati ;

Násmai samitih kalpatê na mitram

mayatê basham.—A. V. - 5. 19. 15.

(Samiti refers to assemblage for religious purposes and not to political association.)

Then the word *Gana* is assumed to be a representative body of the people. In the Vedas this term is generally used in connection with Maruts, the guardian deity of the winds, as in the following places :—

(1) Marutám ganam—R. V.—10. 137. 5.

(2) Márutam ganam—R. V.—10. 36. 7.

(3) Sumárutam na Brahmánam arhasê ganam
—R. V. 10. 77. 1.

(4) Maruta Indra somê jê tvámabardhannababhan
ganah tê. R. V. - 3. 35. 9.

(5) Maruto ganah R. V. 5. 61. 3.

(6) Adim hanzo jathá ganam R. V. - 9. 32. 3.

- (7) ganáya jo daibasya R. V. - 7. 58. 1.
 (8) ganam Debánam R. V. - 1. 35. 3.
 (9) ganáya jo daibyasya R. V. - 7. 58. 1.
 (10) sáyê sceśadho ganam.—R. V. - 6. 56. 5.

Gana is taken to mean in (1) Sangha—Lahiri.

in (2) Sangha—Do.

Band—Griffith.

in (3) Collection—Lahiri.

Band—Griffith.

in (4) Saháyah—Lahiri.

Army—Griffith.

in (5) Collection—Griffith.

in (6) Class (of ducks)—Lahiri.

Company—Griffith.

in (7) (Marut) samuháya (all)—Lahiri.

in (8) Sankhyá—Lahiri.

(God's) assembly—Griffith.

in (9) Samuha—Lahiri.

Troop—Griffith.

in (10) Sangha (of cattle)—Lahiri.

Company—Griffith.

It is also said that in Vedic time there was election of the king. I quote different translations and versions of Vedic passages, one version of which is also relied upon in some cases in support of that assertion :

(1) Unto thee hath come the kingdom ; with splendour rise forward ; (as) lord of the people (viṣas), sole king bear those rules (vi-raja) ; let all the directions (E. W. N. and S) call thee king ; become thou here one for waiting on, for homage—A. V.-3. 4. 1.—Weber.

(The same) To thee hath come the kingship with its splendour : Oh shine as lord, sole ruler of the people. Let all regions of the Heavens invite thee. Here let men wait on thee and bow before thee.—Griffith.

(The same) O king flourish with thy power. Protect thy subjects and being their king shine. Let all the deities of all the directions maintain thee. Let all your people bow down to thee.—Lahiri.

(2) Thee let the people (viṣas) choose unto kingship (rājya), thee, these 5 divine directions; rest (gri) at the summit of royalty, at the pinnacle (kakud); from thence, formidable, share out good things to us.—A. V. Ib.—2.--Weber.

(The same) The tribesmen shall elect thee for the kingship, these five celestial regions shall elect thee.—Griffith.

(The same) Let the subjects be fit for State business. The Debs and Debis bless thee. Be seated on the throne. Then drive away the enemies and bestow riches on us, thy attendants, on each as he deserves.—Lahiri.

(3) A tiger upon the tiger's (skin) do thou stride out into the great quarter; let all the people (Viṣya) want thee, the waters of heaven, rich in milk—A.V.-4. 8. 4.

(The same) Let all the people long for thee.—Griffith.

(The same) All the people or subjects desire thee as their Lord. They are at thy commands.—Lahiri.

(4) Increase, O! Indra, this Kshattriya for me; make thou this man sole chief of the clans (viṣa); unman all his enemies; make them subject to him in the contest for pre-eminence.—A.V.-4. 22. 1.

(The same) Exalts and strengthen this my prince, O Indra, make him sole Lord and Leader of the people. Scatter his foes, deliver all his rivals into his hand in struggles for precedents.
—Griffith.

(The same) O Indra, increase this our Kshatriya king with sons and grandsons, &c.—Lahiri.

(It is a distinct prayer to make the kingship hereditary. It is not a declaration of any power in the people to choose their king and elect him as king.)

The following are on Divine right to be king:

(1) I join to thee Indra.....who shall make thee sole

chief of people, also uppermost of kings descended from Manu.
A.V.-4. 22. 5.—Weber.

(The same) He (Indra) shall make thee the folk's sole lord and leader ; shall make thee highest of all human rulers.

—Griffith and Lahiri.

(2) Ashviná tvágre Mitrábarunová Vishve Debá Marutastva hvayantu.—A.V.-3. 1. 1.

The Deities named will make you enter the Kingdom.

—Lahiri.

(3) Tathá Ayang Rájá Visháng prajámúg svámi bhabatu.

—A.V. 1. 22. 3.—Lahiri.

(Similarly may this king be the lord of his subjects.)

(4) Tathá Anyesháng kshattriyánám dehe prashaste sharirábayabe shirashi ayang abhishikto rájá bartamánostu.

—A.V.-4. 22. 2.—Lahiri.

(Similarly let this king predominate over the heads of other
Kshatriyas.)

(5) Ayam rájá Indrasya jajñabhájo debasya priyah ishtataro bhuyát.—A.V.-4. 22. 4.—Lahiri.

(May this king be favourite of Indra.)

(6)ájñámátreṇa sarbbá bisháh svarástrastháh prajáh addhi bhunkshva.—A.V.-4. 22. 7.—Lahiri.

(May this king subjugate all his subjects by his order.)

As powers of the king are associated with the God Indra he becomes or is Divine ; he is born to be a king ; he becomes a king. The priests at the coronation prays for blessing of Heavens so that the king may be kind, considerate, just, loving and be loved by his subjects, and strong enough to hold his enemies always in awe of him.

All the above quoted provisions taken together seem to me to lead but to one conclusion, and that is the king's divine right, and to non-existence of any administration or Government by the people or their representative.

Though by some much stress has been laid upon the Vedas, the Upanishads, and the ancient Smritis, it is to be

remembered that none of them was composed in Bengal or by a Bengalee ; but most of them were composed in the Punjab, and a few in other places up to Ajodhya. An ancestor of Sriram Chandra of Ajodhya was a Rishi in one of the three earlier Vedas. However they are no doubt authorities in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in religious matters of the Hindus.

It is said that there are words in Sanskrit dramas, fictions, novels and anecdotes indicating existence of people's voice in matters of State. Without attempting to examine them in this short essay it may fairly be said that they are concoctions of fertile brains like some of the well-known French novelists, etc. They are not records of history or authentic. On the other hand we find the titles Raja, Maharaja, Maharajadhiraj, Samrat, etc., in all ancient literature.

The writings in the Vedas were mantras or hymns or prayers to God. They were compiled by Rishis who were ascetics and who lived far away from the termoids of secular life. They would not mix in politics but would always pray for king's peoples and their own happiness in this and in the next world. Moreover different chapters were written at different times, and by different Rishis. These are well-established uncontradicted truths.

From the examples quoted it will be seen that there is even no remote reference to political societies in the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda. Of the examples found in those Vedas as to Savá and Samiti, in only two there is reference to the people collectively ; but none refers to political societies for the election of a king or president of the State. It is a truism that a king is stable in his throne when his subjects love him. There is no question of fear of the king. In the Sukraniti, Arthasástra, Mahábhárat, Srimad Bhágabat, and Bhagabat Geeta, the same love is preached for stability of the state or the family, even if the family be of the patriarchal form. There is no passage to show that the subjects would dethrone a king whom they do not love, nor of authority to make him king whom they loved

best. There is no mention of the formation of Civil Associations or of any rule for electing king. Later on the rules for guidance, in case the king become licentious, very hard and oppressive, will be seen.

In this connection ancient village constitution in primitive times as found by the learned is also to be considered. Then the patriarchal people were obedient to their headman. This headman gradually gained power, and in course of time kingship or monarchy grew up. Traces of this system of control by headman are yet to be found in the upper Garo Hills in Assam, where yet the people are stark naked, and who in winter make themselves comfortable by barks of trees made flat to serve the purpose of quilts. The people there ungrudgingly obey the orders of their headman.

It is not possible to discuss all the matters, referred to above, affecting the whole of ancient Hindusthán or Bhárat-barsha, in this short essay. So I have limited my subject to the ancient political system of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

(To be continued.)

SARAT CHANDRA GHOSH

MAETERLINCK—THE DRAMATIST

There is a stage in the evolution of man's intellectual and spiritual consciousness wherein what we call instinct, mind's power of immediate perception of things, retains its pristine freshness, and directs men in their adjustment to forces which control life and determine destiny. The instinct I speak of here has all the characteristics of a primitive consciousness—consciousness whose very stuff is impulse and passion, and wherein reason and reflection have not yet emerged from a state of latent dormancy into a normal factor of conduct and necessary preliminaries of action. It is free from the puzzling contractions and annoying formalities of a soul refined by culture and education, and twisted by codes and conventions of an established social system. The activities of the will power are almost nil, and the agents seek highest satisfaction of their being in an attitude of unescapable resignation they take up towards whatever forces tend to make their life unhappy and miserable. The faculty of perception I describe here under the name of primary feelings is far removed from the intuition, unerring wisdom of a saint, though it belongs to an emotional level far higher than that of a mere animal existence. It is not free from error and has little or no pretension to the virtue of infallibility. It has, on the other hand, a fateful knack of making a blunder, giving a wrong direction to the vessel of life it takes charge of, in the most critical moment of its journey towards happiness. But whether right or wrong in its judgment, whether conducive to happiness or misery in its consequence, the stage of mental evolution I propose to focus our attention upon, is a stage at which the instinct in question holds sway over man's life without a rival to contest its authority, without a superior guide to rectify its mistakes. The people in whom this mental phenomenon gets the upper hand are not much accustomed to the

habit of weighing the *pros* and *cons* of a question. They are not much accustomed to the habit of wasting time in indecision, and showing vacillation in the selection of a course when confronted by the cross-currents of conflicting situations. They exhibit remarkable quickness and promptitude in responding to every stimulus that comes within the purview of their experience, and that threatens to have a momentous effect upon the vital interest of their existence. Upon every joy that arrives, upon every sorrow that they encounter on the way, upon every event that stirs up from the dead slumber of the future, they react, if they do react at all, by a prompt and immediate decision, though all the time they may be aware that the step they are going to take, the house whose windows they endeavour to fling open, the event that they seek to summon up from the distant and inaccessible horizon of existence, may reveal no murmur of delight but terrible convulsions of pain and sorrow. They are most nervously sensitive as to the importunate demand life persistently makes for happiness. They have a vague and intermittent craving for truth, goodness, justice, beauty;—attributes which enter as inevitable ingredients into the composition of what we call “higher and loftier consciousness”;—they have a vague and half-understood yearning after better comprehension of truth, steadier adherence to justice, keener appreciation of beauty, nobler endurance of sorrow, and greater abhorrence of ugliness. They are impelled by a half-operative, almost slumbering desire to penetrate deeper, to know and respect “the secret intention of life,” and thereby invest their prosaic and fate-ridden existence with the glory of spiritual enhancement. They are, on the other hand, most desperately cognisant of their own limitations, of their lack of power to understand events and to control their movements. They are painfully aware of the certain failure of their efforts, of their hopeless dependence upon the over-ruling decrees and immutable arrangement of an inexorable power we call Destiny. The feeling which they indulge in, the thought which they permit to enter, the action

which both lead to, do therefore fall into a natural and inevitable tendency to end in a sad and painful tragedy. There is nothing about them which is fundamentally incompatible with truth, justice, goodness and beauty; nothing about their life of actions, feeling, and intellect which is irreconcilable with power and wisdom—factors which of themselves are potent enough to neutralise any tragic possibilities. But the most innocent exertion for joy, the most generous flames of love that burn in the secret chamber of a beautiful and devoted soul, the most well-regulated endeavour after purity of intention, are foredoomed to failure, and pre-ordained for suffering. They seem to be held in the terrible grip of a malignant presence from whom there is no escape; of a mysterious and inscrutable principle which seems to wrap up their entire existence and whose commands they have no strength to withstand, and no courage to disobey. They seem to be bereft of the power that belongs to a free agent, of a power to make deliberate choice either of good or evil on their own initiative and own responsibility. "With eyes dim with unbidden tears," "with limbs moist with the pale sweat of agony," they rush headlong into whatever doom or destiny a superior majestic and inexplicable force may be predetermined for them and woven around them. The feeling of pain for non-fulfilment of moral obligations, of sorrow for the forced abandonment of life's long-cherished plans, disturbs the soul; but the same feeling does not accompany consciousness of power needed to make good the obligations and needed to execute the plans so cherished. The heroes and heroines whose actions form the subject of moral judgment in the dramas we are considering may legitimately claim the indemnity and immunity of a non-moral and non-responsible being. Whether they rise to the unapproachable grandeur of a sainthood, or whether they stoop to the most barbarous ill-will and most unrelenting designs of a terrible agenger the impression left on the mind in each case is that the agents are doing nothing but carry out the bidding of an immense and irresistible force other and greater than their own. This apparent

absence of responsibility of free agents does not in the least impair the effect of a tragic interpretation of life. The victims of tragedy have retained in their consciousness a faint memory of the goodness, purity, and wisdom and simplicity that sparkled amid the waters of the ocean from which they derived their existence. In the world where their lot has been cast in, where they are hedged in on all sides by insurmountable barriers and perplexed by encircling gloom, their unconscious or subconscious soul gravitates towards that once-experienced but now forgotten radiance as spontaneously as the petals of a lily open up to the first streak of sunshine that visit the Earth. But the memory is deceptive; the ardour is half-hearted and fugitive; the odds are too many, and the victory on the opponent's side as decisive as the contest against him is unequal and ill-matched. When desire for nobility revives after prolonged state of oblivion and lethargy, what brings sorrow to the heart is not the reflection that the desire felt was not realised, but the painful experience that it was not felt earlier and that it was not felt with a more impetuous yearning of heart, and firmer resolution of will. In the dramas of Maeterlinck the tragic pain is born of a consciousness of the ill-proportioned contest between the instinctive tendencies of a blind and struggling soul and the irresistible and awe-inspiring principle of the world called Destiny. The tragic pain is not manifested in the outbursts of external and visible sorrow. But because the pain felt and suffering endured are inward and reticent, the depth and intensity of the same are not to be questioned.

The psychological commentary as is embodied in the lines which precede this paragraph will serve as an appropriate and helpful introduction to the dramas whose present achievements and future possibilities are so much engaging the attention of a section of modern critical readers. I postpone for future treatment a fuller consideration of what constitutes the distinctive features of what we have been familiar with as the "Static" dramas of Maeterlinck, as well as of the limitations which such

a species of drama inevitably imposes, and of the warning with which the founder of the type desires us to interpret its significance. For the present it will suffice for us to remember that with a view to a thorough understanding and proper appreciation of the spirit of the Maeterlinckian drama, we should at the outset acquaint ourselves with the psychological and mystic atmosphere in the midst of which the dramatic complications take their rise, and the so-called unravelling of the plot is reached. Even a most superficial attempt to obtain such an acquaintance will reveal that the two principal factors which loom large through the misty atmosphere of Maeterlinck—factors the mutual opposition of which form the substructure of his earlier tragedies—are man's everlasting quest after what belongs to him in the depth of his soul (or what he considers to be his soul) and the unrelenting operation of a force one identifies with fate and one experiences as one strives towards what seems to hold in its hand the key to one's power and happiness. The conflict from which the psychological and moral justification of a tragic conclusion springs is not due to a maladjustment between a deficient intellect or deformed morality, and the ever active and *uneliminable* laws of universal Order none can break with impunity. The tragedy is traceable to no defect in character, or error in judgment—defect and error which it is within the conscious possibility of the agent to amend or rectify. Nor does it originate from the hostile intervention of Destiny whom we have been able to localise, and upon whom we have been able to confer an explicable nature and a comprehensible existence—explicable and comprehensible at least for the practical purposes of life. The atmosphere is neither Greek nor Shakespearean, though there is a good deal of similarity between the two. The chief protagonists are the inalienable tendency and mood of a human soul and the eternal world-principle whose mode of operation is beyond the reach of human comprehension. The question that naturally arises and inevitably presses for a solution is "what should be man's attitude to the

world-constitution, what should support and sustain him in his pathetic struggle against the inexorable power that dominates all things?"—power that operates in a spirit of ruthless antagonism to the least effort man's soul makes towards the realisation of its long-nursed desire. The conclusion from which there is no logical escape is the sombre conclusion of an intellectually-convinced fatalist and a morally resigned pessimist. The theory of 'inherent dignity' which Maeterlinck claims for human life in his more mature productions,—dignity such as belongs only to an actual attainment and a positive realisation, does ill harmonise with the pessimistic canvas on which 'life' is painted in his early dramas. We are forced to admit that an unmitigated pessimism forms the warp and weft of Maeterlinck's earliest productions, and though the clouds melted away and a sunshine of courageous optimism burst upon him as his strength increased and contemplation matured, the earlier writings do nothing more than contain a mere emotional suggestion of it in a very uncertain manner and a faltering voice.

In his mature productions, Maeterlinck directs his unconscious endeavour towards diminishing men's faith in the sacredness of the custom, tradition and convention which a mediocre conduct and an unregenerated social organisation bring into currency and maintain in unsuspected popularity. He deliberately excludes from his dramatic scope the presentation of actions which are inspired by respect for and protest against the outlook and point-of-view which are automatically fostered by a popularly accepted but philosophically unwarranted system. Modern dramas abound with innumerable notes of protest and indignation against the current standard of social and moral valuation. The philosophy of revolt which has influenced in literature an unrestrained ventilation of this indignant protest and ever-increasing discontentment has paved the way for the production of widely different types of drama—a drama of painless and unreasoned optimism on the one hand, and a drama of gloomy and uncompromising pessimism on the other. One

class of artists has imported from the higher sphere of speculation into their own province a "suspension of will to live" as the ultimate solution to the problems which disturb man's imagination and which darken his happiness. Another class has sought and fancies to have found what truth would strengthen the foundation of a philosophical naturalism in "misery, evil and crime, the curse of heredity, and the ugliness of poverty."

The Ibsenian type which has arrested the imagination of the theatre-going public more powerfully than any other we have mentioned above has ushered in a new measure of valuation where the entire emphasis is laid upon an attitude of strife and ceaseless struggle, and a doctrine of unremitting exertion of will and assertion of personality in order that the healthy process of reorganisation in future may go on unimpeded after the present age shall have completed its arduous but unwilling task of destruction. It is not my purpose here to form an estimate of the extent to which Maeterlinck was influenced, directly or indirectly, negatively or positively, by these various allied and contradictory forces which are still flowing into modern literature from the school of Russian Realism, French naturalism, German pessimism, and Ibsenian iconoclasm. All of these literary ideals and aims are more or less a definite and pronounced form of dissatisfaction with, and more or less a mild and savage attack upon, the current religion and the current morality; and all of them, in their respective manner, encourage a mood of unbelief in, and a temper of non-conformity to, each of the systems so long held in esteem that could not be questioned. Like every leading figure who belongs to one or other of these dominant schools of thought, Maeterlinck also perceived in the prevailing religion and in the prevailing morality a serious menace to the development of what is best and profoundest in man. He also shares with them in their unfaltering faith, in the necessity of breaking away from the conventional morals and the conventional religion of the day. But the arguments and aim which prompted

Maeterlinck to a recognition of and an assertion of this necessity of non-conformity differ in a substantial manner from those which generated unrest and savage impatience among the realistic interpreters of life. Maeterlinck does not consider any useful purpose likely to be served by the delineation of a type of consciousness in whom diseased pessimism or an unreflecting optimism, or what is worse a cynical and light-hearted indifference to the accepted and long-believed fundamentals of life, form the principal and dominant characteristic. Nor does Maeterlinck profess to be in sympathy with the attitude of remonstrance and the sentiment of hatred which favour the growth and encourage the exhibition of a tendency to revolt, and of an inclination to destroy, with no previous conception as to what to believe in the place of the system proscribed and destroyed.

Maeterlinck is no less an ardent and solicitous student of the maladies of the present-day civilization than any of those dominating literary personalities we are familiar with. The diagnosis of modern maladies and presentation of remedy thereof has been almost a common fashion even with mediocrity in literature. Men as great as, or perhaps greater than, Maeterlinck have probed the cause of the modern confusion and the present-day discontentment. They have mostly ended by attributing them to the soul-cramping domination which the accepted ideas of morality and the accepted principles of religion exercise upon those who are born and nursed under them. They have brought into popularity the fashion of a dangerous experiment in the social, moral and artistic world—an experiment where the first assumed premise is negation of faith in the fundamentals of life. In spite of their matchless power of artistic expression, in spite of their robust conception of a powerful intellect and fertile imagination, it is this deep-rooted bias against the basic principles of morality and religion which has rendered their otherwise promising labour so nugatory.

The greater portion of man's misery and unhappiness, Maeterlinck would say, and would have us believe, springs from his lack of perception that life is deep and that what we are so closely acquainted with as love, hate, pride and other passions of the heart belong only to the outer fringe of our real existence. Though these things may please us an instant, "they please us," says Maeterlinck, "like flowers taken from their stalk," from the hidden and unperceived sources whence they derive their beauty and absorb their fragrance. "We possess an I," continues Maeterlinck in his interpretation of mystic philosophy by which he was so powerfully influenced, "we possess an 'I' which is deeper and more inexhaustible than 'I' of passions or of pure reason." No empty unrest, no savage impatience, no flippant cynicism, no invectives, no irony will bring us any the nearer to the solution of the problem, and the cure of the disease. Let us cultivate more and more what Maeterlinck describes as "active silence," and what Wordsworth has so finely summed up as "wise passiveness" through which, says Maeterlinck, Truth—"truth which will never betray but ever fortify,"—will flow unto us, unto all that sincerely seek it. "For," says Maeterlinck, "the child that is silent is a thousand times wiser than Marcus Aurelius speaking," and "our soul that does not judge as we do is a capricious hidden thing which may be reached by "breath and may be unaware of a tempest."

It is in the cultivation of the instincts of reverence, admiration and love for things spiritual for soul and everything it implies, that deliverance of men from the distracting confusion and maddening hurry and impatience which are the deplorable evils of a modern standard of life consists. Maeterlinck would strike at the roots of the disease and would not remain content with a superficial remedy or a temporary cure. The most spiritual of modern writers, he exhorts men to believe in the dominance of spirit over matter, of idealism over materialism, of the religion of the soul over the authority and dogma of a church. A disciple of the philosophy of mysticism,

Maeterlinck has everywhere brought into prominence his conviction that "no intelligence has come nearer to divinity than that of Plotinus, the prince of transcendental metaphysics." Modern science, modern philosophy, modern morality, modern aesthetics have proved abortive in proportion as they have refused to derive sustenance from the imagination of the mystics, the pure water that flows from the fountain of mystic philosophy. It is far from Maeterlinck's intention to teach us to disparage or belittle the importance of the investigations undertaken and the conclusion arrived at by modern Science, modern Philosophy, modern Theology and modern Aesthetics. The truth which these investigations disclose have no doubt value of their own, but the "privilege which 'mystical truths' have over 'ordinary truths' is that they can neither age nor die." All these highly significant observations will make clear to us the direction in which Maeterlinck turned the train of his thought, and the field in which he reaped the harvest of truth and happiness. "He would fix our minds" in the language of Alfred Sutro, a dramatist and a popular translator of Maeterlinck, "upon the obscure, pre-conscious, what M. Faguet calls the incunabulary life of the soul...upon the higher life, the transcendental life, the divine life, the absolute life." He would not urge us so much to replenish our life of reason, as our life of spiritual emotion; so much to invigorate our scientific and philosophic inquisitiveness as to awaken and cherish our instincts of "admiration, hope, and love"—for these are spiritual organs by means of which we not only 'live,' but also 'understand.'

Maeterlinck would thus restore men's faith in the fundamentals of life, in the "suprasensuous world" where these fundamentals lie and operate in undisturbed repose. He would revive in men their perception of what is deep and profound, of the "veiled life and the soul, of all that lies in the strange 'neutral zone' between the frontiers of consciousness and unconsciousness, of the mystery of life" 'which makes life worth

living.' Any search after power, any search after peace and happiness, undertaken on a line fundamentally different from Maeterlinck's will doom mankind to eternal moving in a vicious circle, and will compell the present difficulty confront us again in a new and more disturbing form. Let men therefore more closely examine their actions, let men therefore more scrutinisingly direct their thoughts and motives in order that they may be freed from such blunders as have so long withheld from them the light that shines in the soul of a saint. Let men assiduously cultivate, and unquestioningly surrender themselves to the invisible but friendly forces of goodness, justice, truth, beauty, love and wisdom which exist in us where we do not perceive, and which spring up within us how and whence we cannot answer. They will not perhaps guarantee us immunity from many ills and afflictions of life ; but they will teach us a point-of-view on the height or in the depth of which "our soul will transform them into light, for everything that falls into the soul irradiates."

I cannot omit recapitulation of the already-hinted fact that this spiritual unfoldment and mystic perception did not irradiate Maeterlinck's intellect all at once. This golden fruit was attained by him only after he had survived many a perilous journey on a rough and tempestuous ocean. In the dramas a consideration of which will follow, we shall meet Maeterlinck just embarked on his perilous adventure and far away from a safe harbour he ultimately reached.

JITENDRA NATH DAS GUPTA.

THE EXPANSION OF THE INDO-ARYAN RACES.

It is often assumed that the world was peopled by a series of migrations; ancient India was also not an exception to this. The earliest stratum of the migration into India seems to have been that of the Dravidians of South India, and the Brahui of Baluchistan, a small tribe speaking a Dravidian language, probably a remnant of the original settlement of the Dravidians in India before they migrated to South India. Then came the Aryans. Their entry was a gradual one probably extending over centuries. They first settled in the Kabul valley and in some portions of the Punjab as the Geographical names mentioned in the Rig Veda indicate. But there is abundant evidence, however, to show that during the period of the later Samhitās and the Brāhmanas, the Indo-Aryans had spread over the whole land as far as the Vindhya on the south and Bengal on the east. Thus, for instance the legend of Mathava the Videgha carrying the sacrificial fire from the banks of the Sarasvati over Kośala as far as the Sadāuirā and establishing a settlement known as Videha, as recorded in the Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa, clearly indicates an expansion of the Indo-Aryans up to the modern Gandak river. The Kaushitaki Upaniṣad mentions the Usinara as well as the Videha, thus showing the extent of the Indo-Aryan world of that time. A further expansion in the east is suggested by the Aitareya Āraṇyaka which names the Vangas. That the Indo-Aryans had in the mean time begun to penetrate into the Deccan is also recorded in many texts. The Āraṇyaka, for instance, mentioned above refers to the Cheras as birds. Besides, Vidarbha, or modern Berar, is very frequently mentioned, such as in the Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa etc., the latter also knows the Andhras, Pulindas, Sabaras, Matibas, etc., as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements. Thus we see that in

the period represented by the Brāhmanas, Āranyakas and Upaniṣads, the Indo-Aryans had spread themselves in the various parts of India.

But it must be admitted that in course of their expansion throughout the whole of North India, the Indo-Aryans were breaking up into several races and nations, each of which had a definite territorial limit of their own. Thus several settlements of the Indo-Aryan races grew up. Now, these races and peoples with the development of sedentary life increased their population and therewith they needed for external movements, widened their respective racial areas, enlarged their geographical horizon and evolved a greater mobility within and without. This mobility became the outward expression of a whole complex of economic wants, intellectual needs, and to some extent political ambitions, so it became embodied in the conquests which led to the building up of empires like the Mauryas and the Guptas, in the colonization which developed for India, a new India in the far Eastern islands, in the world-wide exchange of commodities and ideas, which revealed the role of internationalism displayed in the development of civilization, till the movement of the expansion of the Indo-Aryans became a fundamental fact of Ancient Indian History. Our knowledge of this expansion movement is meagre, only, ethnic fragments, linguistic survivals, or merely place names, dropped like discarded baggage along the march of a wandering people, bear witness everywhere to tragic recessionals.

Thus various Indo-Aryan races of northern India, peacefully and gradually penetrated into the different parts of India and set up settlements in the name of their ethnic designation. We know that the kingdom of the Kośalas centered round Saketa or Ayodhya. But it seems that afterwards they spread themselves southwards and founded a kingdom; their new establishment being called Daksina Kośala, in order to distinguish it from their original territory which therefore became Uttara Kośala. Here we see how the Kośalas, one of the various Indo-Aryan races, migrated

from their original home and colonised a portion of the Deccan. This colonisation, however, can only be regarded as an outward expression of the organised expansion of these Indo-Aryan people. Various other names which plainly refer to an ethnic division of settlements are all to be considered in this light. Thus the terms Uttara-Toṣalas and Dakṣiṇa-Toṣalas ; Purva-Daśārṇas and Paścima-Daśārṇas ; Sumallas and Dakṣiṇa-Mallas ; Karusas and Dakṣiṇa-Karusas ; Kurus and Uttara-Kurus ; Pañcālas, Prācyā-Pañcālas, Uttara-Pañcālas and Dakṣiṇa-Pañcālas ; Kāsis, Aparā-Kāsis and Dakṣiṇa-Kāsis ; Videhas and Uttara-Videhas ; Matsyas, Aparā-Matsyas and Pratimatsyas, Madras, Purva-Madras, Aparā-Madras and Uttara-Madras clearly indicate that all these Indo-Aryans races mentioned, had different settlements in the various parts of India, other than their original one, all of which arose as a result of the incessant movement, frequent wanderings and constant shifting of those primitive peoples. Such cosmic movements were but inevitable in case of a moving and expanding race. An expanding ethnic stream in search of more and better lands, drops off one group to occupy a fertile valley, leaves behind one laggard group to occupy a plain while the main body goes on its way till it reaches a satisfactory destination. It was exactly in this way that the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races was effected, of which the above place-names in which is plainly recognizable the races connected and which were dropped like discarded baggage along their march, bear witness. Also such terms such as Uttara-Ulukas, Aparā-Vallabhas, Sumāheyas, Para-laubityas, Pra-Sumhas, Uttara-Ṛṣikas, Aparā-Sekas, Vindhya-Manabyas and Aparā-Kuntis, which plainly refer to a division of the same ethnic group, will add further instances of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races.

But this great historical movement, *i.e.*, the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races and peoples over the retarded regions of Ancient India was by no means an ephemeral and limited one. We find almost all the peoples falling in line with that

ceaseless racial movement. Thus we have abundant evidence of different settlements of various other races which unquestionably reflect the expanding and migrating activities of these people. Thus, for instance, the Pāndyas were a great expanding race who were originally settled probably around the Bidaspes, but were also scattered in various parts of Madhyadesa, such as in or near Delhi and in the basin of the river Chambal. But the story of their expansion did not end there. They went southwards and occupied the southernmost part of the peninsula and also it is shown, moved further southward and colonised Ceylon. There are other instances too. The Livis, a north-western people emigrated to the Deccan and founded a small kingdom; while the Andhras, who were a people of the south is proved by evidence to have originally been settlers on the bank of the Oxus. The Lāṭas also migrated to the south and founded different settlements. Similarly the Mālavas were a highly expanding race. Originally they were settlers in the Punjab. Evidence of their settlement in Rajputana is also to be found, as well as in Puskar near about Ajmere. But their southern expansion did not stop there. They went further south and developed their most important settlement in Malwa in Central India, the capital of which was Ujjayini. It is also interesting to note that the term Sapta-mālava is by no means to be rarely met with and the very frequent references of it are enough to show that the Mālavas were a highly expanding Indo-Aryan race. Likewise the Gonarddhas, a people of Oudh, expanded to Central India in a territory between Ujjain and Besnagar near Bhilsa; and so also, the Kekayas who were a people of the Punjab, emigrated to the Mysore country. The Kuntalas who were a Madhyadesa people also outstripped their geographical horizon and migrated to the Bombay Presidency where they carved out a small principality of their own. The Asmakas or Assakas were also not an exception to this. They first settled in the Swat valley and then descended to the basin of the Indus, and also made a southward expansion which resulted in the formation of the famous Asmaka

kingdom on the banks of the Godāvarī. Again the Māhisakas of the south are proved by epigraphic monuments to have originally been settlers in the Punjab, which furnishes another instance of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races. Nor can we exempt the Gaṇḍas from this historical movement of peoples. If the identity of these people with the Guracans of Greek writers is agreed upon, it can be shown that the Gaṇḍas who originally settled in the Swat valley moved towards the east forming settlements in Upper Bihar and West Bengal. They also penetrated into the Deccan and carved out a principality on the banks of the Kāberī. The Gaṇḍas therefore spread themselves in the different parts of India. Probably it is in connection with such expansion of the Gaṇḍas, that the term Pañca-Gaṇḍa (*cf.* sapta mālava) came into being.

There are other instances but the few given above will give a faithful picture of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races in the different parts of India. It is of course true, as it has been admitted, that the colonisation of the retarded regions of ancient India by the various Indo-Aryan races were only an outward expression of a whole complex of economic wants, need for the outlet of surplus population, and to some extent political ambitions. Yet it is inconceivable that such wandering of the Indo-Aryan races whatever may be their compelling force, should leave no trace and vestige of their culture in the unknown lands they penetrated. Doubtless it was so. And these divergent Indo-Aryan races by dint of their higher spiritual intelligence and great constructive genius welded the Non-Aryans and other foreign elements of the colonised lands, into a common stock and the process of admixture led to the building up of an Aryan world in Ancient India. In this way Aryanisation of India was effected. But this was not all. The Indian colonists even tried to complete the transformation by importing the celebrated place-names of their respective homes into their new settlement. Thus we find a long list of Indian cities, the namesakes of which are to be found in the different parts of India. Not that

they suggest any further light on the expansion of the Indo-Aryans, but they are a valuable evidence to show how completely the transformation was effected, by the various Indo-Aryan races who imported not only their culture but also the place-names of their mother country into their new homes.

Thus there was a town called Pratiṣṭhāna on the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā and also another on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Nizam's dominion, which suggests an emigration of the Aila tribe. Similarly there were various Indraprasthas. The one near Delhi was famous but there was another principality of this name in lower Assam. Ahicchatra, we know, was the capital of Northern Pāñcāla. But there was another Ahicchatra on the eastern side of the river Rāvī. In Central India also there was another town of that name. Likewise there were two Hastinapuras. The one in northern India is famous but an inscription proves the existence of a Hastināpura kingdom in southern India. There was also another Kānyakubja in the south, besides the famous one in the north. Inscriptional evidence also proves the existence of different Avantis. Biraṭa or Vairāṭ, the capital of the Matsyas, was, as is well-known, a city of northern India, but there was another place of that name in South India called Dakṣiṇa-Vairāṭa. The name Kandahar was also imported to the Deccan as Feristhā testifies. The name Mathurā, the famous city of Northern India was also eagerly adopted and transferred to a famous city of southern India, namely, Madurā which was accordingly called Dakṣiṇa Mathurā, and in the same way Kāñchi or Conjeeveram, a famous Saivite place of Southern India became Dakṣiṇa-Kāsi. Even hills and rivers of South India were not spared. Thus Godāvarī became Dakṣiṇa-Gaṅgā, Narmadā became Dakṣiṇa-Jamunā and the hills of Malabar coast became Dakṣiṇa-Kailāsa. This was the result of the expansion of the Indo-Aryan races in Southern India.

But these celebrated place-names were not limited to India proper alone. It is a well-known practice for the colonists, as is to be found even in the colonies of European nations, to name

the new country after celebrated places of their motherland. And as the lands and islands of the Far East were colonised by the Indo-Aryans it is but natural to suppose that many place-names of further India would bear connection with Indian names. So we find new towns called Ayodhyā, Kausāmbhi, Srikṣetra, Dvārāvātī, Mathurā and countries like Campā and Cambodīa springing up in the lands and islands of the Far East.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI

LOVE-MOON

(1)

The Child at play :

In moon-light plays the girl,
Her smiles her face can't furl
In gentle stir of air
How floâts about her hair,
" Come darling moon from sky."'
She says with sky-lift eye.*

(2)

Love-script :

With love-moon ever play
This death-life throw away
Is script of love-moon ray.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

From Biharilal Chakravarti's Bengali.

NATIONALISATION—ITS BASIS AND APPLICATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

With the advance of socialistic thought in the world, there has also arisen a growing demand for nationalising the means of production essential for national prosperity. The fundamental basis of nationalisation is state ownership and state direction of the industrial machinery, which is now owned and directed by private individuals. The present industrial order based as it is upon the theory of individualism and *Laissez-faire* has, to all intents and purposes, failed to have its existence continually justified, as it inevitably and necessarily results in the concentration of economic and industrial power in the hands of the few, to be enjoyed and employed by them for their own self-aggrandisement, while the many are reduced to the position of mere automatons and machines to be utilised for that end. The consequence of all this is the emergence of the phenomenon of the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer, a tendency which has brought in its train many sociological and political complications, calling for drastic remedies.

The concentration of wealth and the means of acquiring wealth in the hands of the few would not be fraught with deleterious consequences, if industrialists, individually and as a class, utilized their opportunities to improve the lot of the persons engaged in the actual work of producing the wealth and provided for their comforts; and it is a matter to be regretted that only a small proportion of the former are animated with genuine altruistic motives and made the necessary provision for or bestowed thought upon, the betterment of the workers. The existence of slumdom in almost every considerable industrial city and the continuance of blasphemously unworthy conditions

of life of Labour prevailing in almost every industrial country conclusively prove how woefully neglected have been the obligations imposed upon and the opportunities afforded to industrial magnates by the existing dispensation. The danger from this state of affairs is not merely that the present industrial and labour conditions will be allowed to continue unchecked, but that the State itself, as the expression and manifestation of the will of the community as a whole will be threatened with disruption. When peaceful agitation of a propagandist character on behalf of Labour, for better wages and improved conditions of life fails to have its desired effect, there will be nothing else left for it but to resort to direct action of a type calculated to block all legitimate industrial progress in addition to working out incalculable havoc to the nation in the direction of lowering industrial efficiency and diminishing industrial profits.

On the other hand, there is the other danger, equally potential of undesirable consequences to national interests, in the growth of combinations amongst capitalists and employers, the establishment of industrial cartels and trusts, which may, when they are not put under sufficient restraint by state-action in the beginning, gradually assume such strength and size, as to sweep everything before them and sometimes even overwhelm the state organisation, if not supersede it for all practical purposes. Such monopolistic combination of industrial concerns is highly dangerous to the community at large and prejudicially affects the large body of consumers, if the state does not wake up betimes and keep them under control by legislative or other action. The present-day tendency towards rationalization of industries, which is simply combination of industrial processes and agencies under another name is from this point of view fraught with serious possibilities, unless rationalization is so directed and so managed as not to lead to results usually associated with the industrial phenomena of the Trust and the Kartel.

II.

From what has been said above, the necessity is established for the bringing about of a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry between the various factors engaged in producing the wealth from which those profits accrue. The problem facing individual nations as well as the world in general at present is the problem of this better distribution; and any change from the existing economic and industrial order would be justified only when it is fully demonstrated that it will lead to the amelioration in a substantial measure in the condition of those who are the sufferers by that order. If, therefore, any violent conflagrations incidental to an inequitable distribution are to be avoided, if revolutions based upon physical force both for their occurrence and sustenance are to be obviated, if in short the world is to be made a happy place to live in for the vast majority of human beings, who now do not feel it such, and who are now the victims of a social order based upon individual gain, the only method is to evolve a system in which the control of the productive and distributive processes will pass from the hands of individual industrial magnates or of combinations of them into the hands of a collective agency, which would hold the scales even between the different sections of the community and secure a better and a fairer apportionment of the national wealth.

It does not mean of course that what is advocated here is the wholesale expropriation of private interests and invasion into and occupation of private rights; but it is only a plea for a greater control by the collective agency of the State of the machinery of production, distribution and exchange, in all those cases where that machinery has attained proportions which begin to threaten the foundations of society and even of the State Organisation itself, which is but an expression of the social will for common purposes. For we cannot

but acknowledge that in spite of its latter-day thirst for profits and selfish gains, the individualistic regime has accomplished much and has achieved certain notable successes in the field of industrial expansion, experimentation and research and that it has not yet completely exhausted all its possibilities for more useful work in the same direction, if properly controlled and directed into channels, which hitherto have not secured its affiliation, channels wherein it could introduce a more humanitarian touch in its relations with labour, by taking it into its confidence, by animating it with a sense of importance of its own work and contribution to industrial progress and by giving it a place in the industrial order which is rightfully its.

III

The present state of affairs is rich in potentialities for class conflict or "class war," in so far as it results in mutual antagonism and irreconcilable disharmony, in the division of society into horizontal sections, and in the prevention of the realization of that supreme ideal of world-brotherhood, which is the dream of political and economic philosophers. Combinations are at present the order of the day in the industrial sphere; and when combinations take place amongst the capitalists and industrialists, they naturally and inevitably tend to provoke combinations amongst the labourers and the working classes. And the struggle that will ensue between the two organized forces of hostility and antagonism will lead to resort being had to direct action and general strikes on the part of the latter and to the use of military force and other brutal methods of strike-breaking on the part of the former. In between these two mutually destructive forces stands the general mass of the population, who are neither capitalists nor labourers, but who depend for their existence upon the fruits of the combined action on the part of both parties, and who therefore whenever

a conflict arises between them, stand to suffer much misery and unhappiness. The loss to the country and the community on account of such strife between labour and capital in the shape of energy, skill, man-power and national profits is incalculable. Industrial efficiency is lowered, industrial capital is either wholly lacking or takes flight to foreign countries to the detriment of national interests, and national health and prosperity is impaired irreparably—all because adequate attention has not been paid to the all-important question of keeping above discontent large masses of human beings who are the prime agencies in keeping up a country's greatness, industrial and otherwise. The violent Revolution that ended the Czarist regime in Russia and led to the establishment of a Proletarian Republic and, on a comparatively small or scale, the General Strike in England in 1924, which led to a huge dislocation of the industrial order are examples of what a capitalistic regime which results in frequent conflicts between Labour and Capital is capable of producing.

IV

The Western countries which have advanced industrially have experienced and are experiencing the fruits of the present-day organization of society in a greater or lesser degree ; and their experiences are a lesson to us in India to avoid all those troubles incidental to a capitalistic order and to proceed along lines which reconcile the antithetical elements and make for ordered progress. Under the British direction and under the influence of the British example, our industrial development, such as it is, has proceeded on the principles of "Laissez Faire," a principle which however is not entirely suited to the conditions in our country, habituated as we are traditionally to the policy of state initiative in many matters of importance. But we are now only at the commencement of an era of industrialism and therefore have not yet been acutely experiencing

all those evils appertaining to the individualistic or capitalistic order, though it cannot be said that we are entirely free from them even now. The future of India's ordered industrial progress depends however to a very large extent upon the readiness of the State to take steps to obviate the disadvantages and dangers of the capitalistic-cum-individualistic organization. It can be affirmed any way that Indian thought on this subject is in a very large measure favourable to the ideal of State-Socialism, and many of us realize that the State in India has got many more functions to perform than in some other countries and that it must perform them in such a way as to secure the material and moral advancement of the masses of the people, who are without initiative, education and resources and who are therefore more susceptible of being exploited by interested individuals and organisations. It may be assumed without much fear of contradiction that measures designed to ensure national control of industrial operations of an essential character will not encounter any serious opposition in our country, while, in regard to other industries which may be left in private hands, their dependence upon the State for Protection against outside competition and for direct assistance, financial and otherwise, should be a powerful factor to enable that organisation to exercise considerable powers of direction, if not of actual control, over them and make them pursue policies calculated to promote the public weal. The prevalent feeling therefore in favour of state direction and control ought to serve as a useful and powerful lever for achieving the gradual replacement of the doctrine of "Laissez Faire" by that of Nationalization and State-Socialism.

V.

Amongst the matters to be borne in mind in connection with Nationalization is one which is of primary import, and that is the determination of the stage in the development of an

industry when a Government is entitled to take its management in its own hands. The question is, is it necessary or desirable even if it is possible for a State to take the initiative in starting industries and managing them without first gauging the extent of private enterprise ready to undertake that business or is it adequate if it has from the very beginning a dominating voice in the management of a business, taking it over under its own control only when it is well on its way to making substantial profits which cannot very well be allowed to be absorbed into private pockets. Considered from the point of view of pure theory, the latter course is the more desirable and the more advantageous, since it will give time to the collective agency to see that the interests of the general public and taxpayer are not unduly or heedlessly imperilled by its risking public capital on an enterprise, the prospects of the success of which are unknown or still in doubt, while, at the same time it secures to the public all the benefits incidental to public management when an undertaking is proved profitable beyond all question. But then this condition postulates the existence of another circumstance and that is that there is in a country enough of enterprising spirit amongst individuals and enough of capital capable of being invested in industrial concerns. If private effort is ready and willing to launch upon new undertakings and experiment in their working, and if private persons or corporations are so capable and so much actuated by altruistic feelings as to consider the higher interests of the public at large and the country, then there is everything to be said in favour of the procedure adumbrated above. For, in fact, almost every industrially advanced country owes, as has already been said, a good deal to the individualistic order and to individual industrialists for the pioneering work which they accomplished and for the contribution to the industrial advancement and economic prosperity of their respective countries which they have made. In India, however, the great difficulty and impediment in the way of our industrial progress

has been and still is the dearth of private initiative and the shyness of private capital to come out to foster the industrial and manufacturing growth of the country. And a special and peculiar responsibility is thereby thrown upon the State not only to draw out the dormant capital and encourage initiative but also to mobilize that capital and initiative in an effective way, so that they may flow along channels which will prove most profitable to the country at large, without at the same time allowing them to manifest the undesirable consequences which an unbridled and free capitalistic order would bring in its train.

VI

A further point to be considered in this discussion on the problem of nationalization is whether nationalization is at all a feasible ideal capable of being successfully put into operation in the conditions obtaining in the present-day world, when democratic rule is spreading its influence everywhere. Individualists are prone to aver that State-management of industrial processes under a democratic dispensation is destined to prove a failure and end in a breakdown owing to the inherent incapacity of democratic Governments to tackle technical and industrial problems with success and efficiency. It will be contended that in a Democracy much will depend upon the whims and caprices of the people who hold the supreme power, that the representatives of the people who come to occupy seats of power are in many instances incapable of appreciating the intricate technicalities involved in the management of industrial and business matters, that officials are appointed more on account of their party affiliations than for proved efficiency, and that generally persons in power are more inclined than in other forms of Government to be swayed by motives other than actual capacity and more susceptible to influences not altogether conducive to the successful and profitable management of

industrial undertakings. But that Democracies, including therein all the professedly Republican countries and also monarchical countries democratically governed, have amply succeeded in demonstrating their capacity to undertake the work of managing and controlling productive enterprises is clear from the Socialistic experiments now being carried on in various countries. A huge experiment in State direction and management of all branches of productive enterprise and industrial activity is being worked out in Soviet Russia ; and from all accounts it seems that it is being carried with a good deal of success, leading a reputed Economist of the United States of America to remark that the capitalistic countries have much to learn from the Soviet Economic system in the matter of harmonizing productive efficiency with a Republican form of Government. In other European and other countries, many large manufacturing industries are worked under the direct supervision and control of a state department, while in certain others, the Government has got a monopoly for the manufacture and sale of particular commodities of consumption like salt in India and tobacco in France, for which there is a widespread demand from the public. Many Municipal and county Corporations in India and in several other countries, are managing public utility enterprises like Gas, Electricity and Water Works with conspicuous ability and success and without any serious complaint being preferred against them for incompetency and corruption or for any other serious offence. In addition to all this, there are many instances of even large-scale, nation-wide industrial undertakings being indirectly subjected to the control of the state, though they are not under direct state-management, in so far as the state periodically sets itself to the task of scrutinizing their proper working in the interests of the workers and of the public at large. Such enterprises are either directly subsidized by the state or indirectly assisted by means of protective restrictions against outside competition and by other

measures calculated to induce them to keep up their productive efficiency ; and all these are only instances in differing degrees of the application of the principle of Nationalization.

VII

There is and always will be a close interdependence between the political and economic impulses operating in a country and the political and economic policies pursued by its Government ; and even so, wherever democratic forms of Government come to be established, there is necessarily a demand for and a movement in favour of, greater equality of opportunities for all and of greater equity in the distribution of national profits. With the advance of democratic thought in the world there has been an imperceptible but genuine advance towards realizing this ideal even in countries which have been capitalistic to the core, towards extending the sphere of state activity and utilizing the machinery of the state for bringing about improved conditions in the life and living of the labouring classes and lastly towards achieving generally the ideal of equitable distribution and mitigation of the gulf that divides man and man and one group and class of men and another. The result of all this is that even writers who cannot be suspected of any feeling antagonistic to the capitalistic and the "Laissez Faire," dispensation have come and are coming to advocate the management by the state if not of all the national services at least of those which can be described as being technically social. They also express themselves in favour of the gradual and ultimate socialization of capitalism, through semi-autonomous bodies like the public corporations subject to the ultimate control of the democratic state. There is thus coming about a rapid change of opinion in support of the view that more and more attention should be bestowed upon the reforming and improving of the old capitalistic and individualistic system, so as to bring it into line with the changing political and economic thought and to weed out its

defects and deficiencies by Legislative and state action, with the ultimate idea of replacing self-interest incidental to individualism by altruism, which takes into account the well being of the entire community.

From what has been said, it follows that the undertaking of a programme of Nationalization presupposes the existence as a preliminary of a National Government, fully alive to the needs and requirements of a country and endeavouring in everything that it does to promote the interest of the nation resigned into its charge in all ways. A Government such as the one we have in our own country cannot by any means be described as a National Government : it has to serve two masters and owes two allegiances, one to the people of India and the other to the people of England, the latter always or almost always being in a position to dictate their policy and capable of bringing down the scales in their favour in all crucial matters. It is not therefore the present Government which can carry through boldly a programme of Nationalization with judgment or success. A national government has to be established as a condition precedent to the pursuit of a beneficial nationalizing process. We have been feeling the absence of it all these years, but never more acutely as when the fiscal, the commercial and industrial interests of India come up for discussion and determination ; for in all such matters, the Government of India has its eyes always more upon the repercussions which their policy will have upon the interests of the British nation and British interests than upon its potentialities to promote Indian national prosperity.

VIII

Having thus far seen some of the main principles which should be borne in mind in connection with the State-Management of the industrial machinery, we shall in this section and those that follow endeavour to notice how far and to what extent those principles prove applicable in the case of some of our

important industries and in what direction the State in India can usefully extend its activities so as to enable the country to reap the advantages of that policy.

We shall first take up the most outstanding instance of the Railways, which are the chief means of transport. The public opinion in India has always been overwhelmingly in favour of State-Ownership and Management of Railways; and the Government have come into line with public opinion on the question, when, acting on the recommendations of the Acworth Committee on Indian Railways, they accepted the Resolution of the Legislative Assembly in 1924 and agreed to take over the management of the Railways as and when occasion arose. The Government of India assumed, in the first instance, the management of certain lines of Railway, giving the assurance that they would follow up this policy whenever an opportunity arose and whenever the contracts and leases of the other lines terminate. The policy so commenced and worked out has proved a success financially and otherwise : not only has the central Exchequer been receiving increasing contributions from the Railway Department and a Reserve Fund is being built up, but also more and more attention, though not quite to the adequate extent as yet, is coming to be devoted to the question of ameliorating and bettering the conditions of living and the wages of the Railway Employees. The principle of State-Management of Railways was strenuously opposed by certain vested interests, especially by the Companies, which were hitherto in control over them and which were making huge profits ; and stock arguments, with which everyone who is acquainted with the discussion is familiar, were urged in favour of the continuance of the old system. It required a great courage on the part of the Government to supersede the opposition and assume responsibility for the management of the Railways in addition to the virtual ownership of them which they even now possess. When a purely national Government responsive to the wishes and interests of the people is established, as it may be in the near future, then there will be illimitable

opportunities provided to it, on account of its ownership and managing authority over the Railways, to advance the commercial and industrial progress of the country, to open up the undeveloped parts of the land and exploit the dormant resources by constructing new lines of Railways, to undertake the construction of the necessary irrigation or navigation channels in aid of or in relief to, the Railways, and for several other purposes besides. If we are to derive full benefit and advantage from our Railways, either in the direction of increasing the wages of workmen employed in them, or of improving the conditions of travel of the third class passengers who provide for the bulk of the Railway revenues, or of making provision for efficient, well-equipped workshops and factories in India for the supply of railway plant and material, for which we now depend upon foreign countries or lastly of securing an adjustment of the Railways for the benefit of Indian traders and merchants, then the only feasible and practicable method is to see the principle of state management of Railways extended to its utmost limits. Even with regard to Railways not directly under State-Management, the state ought to utilize its undoubtedly large influence with their Boards of Management to so direct their policy as to remove unfair discriminations in rates, to undertake the opening of new branch lines according to the needs of the country and generally to act in such a way as to advance the public interests.

IX

We shall next take up the case of the Indian Shipping Industry. That industry was once in a flourishing condition when Indian ship-building yards were constantly kept busy and the Indian Mercantile marine was in charge of the huge carrying trade of the country ; but it has since decayed and practically gone out of existence, owing partly to the selfish and unscrupulous policy pursued by the British people and the British ship-building and ship-owning companies but largely and in the main on

account of the indifferent attitude adopted by the Government of India towards the development of indigenous industrial enterprises and towards the adoption of measures calculated to enhance and rehabilitate the national glory. Attempts have in recent times been made to induce the Government to pursue a more vigorous programme of re-instating the dilapidated industry and recovering for Indian enterprise the position as the carrier of India's coastal trade and traffic which it occupied in times past; but they (the Government) have almost always tamely surrendered to the clamour of expropriation raised by foreign vested interests and shirked their duty towards the nation of which they claim to be the guardians and trustees. The Indian shipping industry has therefore immense potentialities for expansion and progress, which will, if properly exploited and conserved for national purposes, enable the country to reap great profit and which is capable of solving in a satisfactory and effective manner, along with the Railways, the problem of Indian transport. Taking things as they are at present, not only is private enterprise late and slow in coming forth and also not strong enough to stand the severe foreign competition when it does come forth, but it may in addition be found unequal to meet the requirements of the whole nation, notwithstanding, of course, the fact that all honour is due to those Indian shipping companies which have been carrying on their work and maintaining their ground even now against the cut-throat competition and severe rate-war indulged in by companies of foreign origin. Such private enterprise as has been stimulated so far will also stand a very considerable chance of being stifled out of existence, if it is not assisted by the state and enabled by such assistance to stand on their own legs; while the assistance itself should take the shape, firstly, of legislation being undertaken to reserve the Indian coastal traffic exclusively to Indian shipping companies and secondly of direct bounties and subsidies being given to the ship-building and ship-owning firms. This practice of granting bounties from the public

revenues to private companies, whose managements are not amenable to public control is however fraught with serious disadvantages and is open to objection from more points of view than one, while at the same time it may be more expensive than it is remunerative. Moreover, in a country like ours with an extensive coastline and with a foreign trade already very considerable in size and with prospects of growing into greater proportions in the future, India stands in need of a big merchant marine not only for carrying on her coastal trade but to serve the interests of her foreign commerce also; and the construction of such a big marine may be deemed beyond the capacity of private individuals or firms. The profits which are likely to accrue when once the Indian Merchant Marine becomes an established proposition and takes over charge of the entire trading enterprise of the country will also be too huge to be allowed to enrich the pockets of private individuals to the detriment of the community and the nation at large. If the whole industry is left to private initiative to undertake and manage—and Mr. S. N. Haji (all honour to him for taking in hand the problem of the Reservation of Coastal Traffic in the Indian Legislative Assembly) is an advocate of the view that it should be so left—then not only will ruinous competition ensue between the Indian companies themselves, but an industry of direct importance to the state will become the stronghold of powerful vested interests, which would frustrate policies of public benefit.

X

Another industry to which the principle of nationalization can be applied is the coal-mining industry. The almost inhuman conditions of labour prevailing in areas where the coal industry is being worked, coupled with the lack of realization on the part of the employers of the necessity for improving the wages and conditions of work of the workers point to a real need

for taking over the industry under national management. The Coal-Mining Industry in India is still in comparatively an early stage of development, while its resources and its possibilities for expansion are, in the view of experts, illimitable ; and, as it is the case with the shipping industry, and the Railways, it is very essential to the progress of the country on the industrial and the manufacturing side. There is a close inter-connection and a no less close inter-dependence between Railway expansion and coal-mining, for the former subsists mainly upon the product of the latter for its working ; and, as it is, we have been importing a part of our requirements of coal supplies from South Africa and other foreign countries. And when it is postulated, as it is done previously in this article, that our Railways should be nationalized and worked as a public concern, it inevitably follows that the coal-mining industry also should be similarly nationalized. In addition to all this, there is also much to be done in the direction of improving the labour conditions in the coal industry, of limiting the hours of work in the pits, and of regulating the work of women and children engaged in the work, all of which can be accomplished only by the State acting as entrepreneur. It is from all these points of view an appropriate industry for being managed by the State as a public undertaking on a co-operative basis.

The Banking and Insurance business of the country, which is bringing crores of profit to private individuals, mostly of non-Indian domicile, is another legitimate field in which the experiment of state enterprise may be tried with much profit. As Prof. K. T. Shah writes, if, in addition to the orthodox and conservative types of banking business, the State embarks upon a more ambitious scheme of industrial and agricultural financing business, which has hitherto been left untried, if besides the hackneyed business of fire, life and marine insurance, the state affords insurance against such things as Railway accidents, industrial disabilities and agricultural pests, the scope can be very considerably extended without involving much outlay on

the part of the state. The existing privately managed institutions in this field are admittedly inadequate for the needs of the country, even in the limited field in which they operate and there is no estimating how much time and effort would be required to draw out private initiative comprehensive enough to cover the whole field. There could, therefore, be no reasonable objection to the state extending its activities in the same sphere for public benefit : the existing corporations may very well gain by the support of the state institutions when they are established. The proposed incorporation of a Central Reserve Bank under state supervision but private, independent management, is a welcome step and should be looked forward to with much hope. But the Government has much to do to foster the growth of our industries and improve the lot of the agriculturists and the agricultural industry, which it can do by establishing under its own control a Central Land Mortgage Bank and a Central Industrial Bank with branches in the various Presidency towns, to finance the agricultural industry and encourage the establishment of new manufacturing industries. The nationalization of the Country's Banking business is an urgent necessity, if we are to march forward towards the goal of industrial self-sufficiency with rapid strides.

Besides the above, there are other important industries like the Cotton Textile, the Iron and the Steel industries which are now under private ownership and management, but for which the state has had, and perhaps will have for a long time, to extend assistance directly or indirectly, in order to prevent their being run down by outside foreign competition. So long as these industries receive State help in one shape or other, it is obligatory on their part to see that they keep up and maintain the standards of efficiency and working conditions prescribed for them and to have, as their prime consideration, the safeguarding of the interests of the consumers on the one hand and the workers on the other; and they should take care to see that their management is carried on in such a way as to give no room

for complaints being heard against them in either of these particulars and so as to provide no opportunities for the feeling to gain ground amongst the public that they were not brought under national control. The state should also make it a condition precedent to its according the needed aid to them that the managements of these industries respect these obligations in a scrupulous manner, the necessity for such a procedure being paramount in the case of a "key industry" like the Steel Industry, which otherwise would be better managed as a national industry.

XI

In India, the practical realization of the principle of nationalization does not present any insuperable difficulties, as here, the feeling in favour of it is almost overwhelming and we look to the state to do very many things capable of promoting the national prosperity, which in other countries would be left to private effort. It is also easier to apply and introduce the principle with greater chances of success in our present-day conditions, when, as has been said at the beginning, we are on the threshold of an industrial revolution and at the commencement of an era of change in several spheres of activity, not the least important among them being the political and constitutional sphere. While the state can advantageously take over the management of new industries yet to be started or are only in the initial stage of growth, the principle of nationalisation can be tried on a limited scale, even in the established industries like Steel, Jute and Cotton.

In this connection it has to be stated as a proposition worth consideration that when nationalisation comes to be carried out into practical operation on a large scale, it will necessitate the establishment of new governmental departments to manage the nationalized industries and also the expenditure of public

funds on the maintenance of those departments. The multiplication of state departments need not be a source of much danger so long as there is real centralised control with as much of local autonomy as is compatible with safety and the speedy and expeditious taking and executing of decisions. This demands a high order of departmental efficiency, which we have in sufficient quantity even now and which may in all probability be too much; and probably the real danger ought to be looked for in the direction of the manifestation of a bureaucratic spirit which will be inimical to the prospects of the introduction of a human touch in the management of the industrial machinery. For, what we are out for is the taking into account of the human element in industry and not merely the subordinating of the human being to the machine. And especially should this be the ideal, when we are instituting departments of state for the management of industries, in which at every turn the human being turns up as the predominant factor of production.

With regard to the point about increase in expenditure on these departments, while we are for nationalisation, we are for the immediate nationalization of only such industries as are of prime national importance, of industries which are holding a key position as the means of promoting national efficiency and prosperity, of industries, which on account of their possessing these characteristics, must be capable of bringing profits to the national exchequer and not merely be a drain upon it. Even if the industry is to be newly established, its capacity to yield reasonable profits in return should be an important factor weighing in favour of its being taken under national control and management, though in the beginning it may require a large initial expenditure. But applying the principle inherent in the contracting of public loans for productive purposes and undertakings, the state can and, if necessary, must find the initial capital outlay for the starting of these industries by means of loans, if there is a good prospect of the tax-payer being compensated for his present inconvenience after a time at least.

XII

The main problem of India at present is the problem of the appalling poverty of the people and the main and urgent need is for devising measures for removing the conditions which make for the existence and continuance of that poverty-stricken condition. On the one hand, we have a small class of wealthy people appropriating to themselves the bulk of the national profits and, on the other, there is a very large mass of impoverished people, living from hand to mouth, while there is nothing like an adequate middle class to hold the scales even between them. The problem, therefore, is one of an unequal distribution more than anything else, a problem which can be solved satisfactorily only by the State intervening to restore the equilibrium in every legitimate way. With the State acting as a Manager of Industry and looking after the equitable distribution of the national wealth, there will be lesser and lesser need for it (the State) to expend large sums upon the moral and material advancement of the people, who will, by virtue of their better financial position, be more able to take care of their own welfare; and, at the same time, there will be proportionately less necessity ultimately for resorting to the unpopular methods of levying increased taxation for the purposes above mentioned.

If, therefore, in the first place we are to avoid the dangers of an economic order which does not allow a sufficient ideal of distributive justice to enter into its computation and consequently renders life a misery to the many, if, in the second, we are to obviate the dangers of a communistic order with its methods of force, rote and dead uniformity, and if finally we are to evolve an economic order which will bring about greater prosperity for the country and enable it to occupy its due place as an international unit of importance, then a carefully devised and cautiously carried out programme of nationalization of important industries is a desideratum. What is not wanted

and what has go to be guarded against, is the introduction, under the guise of nationalization, of a species of State capitalism ; and what is wanted is the modification of the present-day individual capitalism, with its defective and inadequate capacity as an agent for bringing about a better order of distribution and exchange and also of production, as it is being increasingly recognised now-a-days, in comparison with a socialist Republic like Russia, through the process of state action, so that there may be secured a greater equality in the distribution of national wealth, more humane conditions of labour in industrial undertakings, fairer prices for the consumers and the elimination of a trust and combination policy, which, though it might result in more efficient production, very often has the consequence of bringing about unfair distribution, inadequate consumption, and faulty exchange and marketing, in short, efficiency at the expense of human happiness. India needs state initiative in many directions ; and the state will therefore have to play its part boldly, efficiently and well, if it is to bring about national prosperity and glory, albeit the fact that some of its policies may be in conflict with the prevailing theories of internationalism and world economy ; for it is only when India is economically and industrially advanced to the fullest degree that she can play her rightful part in the determination of world policies.

In conclusion, nationalization, according to the present writer, is not intended to be a bye-word for a degenerate system of state-capitalism but stands for a national programme of advancement through the action of a democratic system of Government based upon the sanctity of popular rights and affording equal opportunities for all to participate in the national Dividend according to their work. It is not a mere utopia that is aimed at ; it is well within the reach of practical realisation, provided there is strong popular support for it ; but in the process, we have to guard against the dangers of the all too plausible and easily-imbibed doctrines of communism, with their attendant dangers, not the least important among them

being the introduction of a dead level of uniformity at the sword's point, which is not conducive to initiative, effort, original thinking and action and other estimable qualities, which serve to make a nation and a people great.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO

AT THE TAZ MAHAL

Hush ! Hush ! My soul ! This cypress gloom,
This ravishing, intoxicating dream,
This stately marble stillness, has for theme
The loveliness of Mumtaz Begum's tomb.
As I stand bewitched by this mosaic bloom,
One thought alone torments my soul—I seem
To picture the rolling hours plot and scheme
To drag it to its downfall and its doom.

But though corroding Time has a special lust
For the beautiful sublime, one thing I swear,
Whether he kiss it with the kiss of rust,
And turn this memorial glory into dust,
Or make it fade and vanish into air,
My captive spirit ever shall be there !

BYRAM K. TALOOKDAR

ON AUTOBIOGRAPHIES.

There is a good case for writing one's own life-history : it would be an eye-opener to many. Every man should be compelled to tell his life's story. It does not matter if he tells it ill. Literary craftsmanship is not necessary. It is well, of course, if it is present; but one may dispense with it. An illiterate man is not a bad one to recite his experiences, to tell the bead-roll of the pains and pleasures that fell to his lot in his sojourn through life. Sometimes it draws an additional charm of its own by being rough-and-ready and unalloyed with the doubtful virtue of skilful narration. There is more *truth* in it, at any rate : there is no glossing over discreditable events : there is no attempt to tell a fine tale, with the first person singular always in the forefront : there is no sifting and arranging of material under glittering heads : everything is natural, just as it occurred, with the good and the bad cheek-by-jowl, and, if anything, the bad preponderating. There is a notion that most men's lives are dull and, therefore, are not worth going over with the reader : there is dullness enough in them to weigh the whole universe under. The notion, if it exists, is a wrong one. Life is not full of joy, it is true, and success does not lead on to success in a never-ending chain; happiness is only for the few and all men are not born equal; but when the worst has been said, "when all the wine has been drunk and but the less remain," even then all is not over, a substratum of liveliness is left, and this, added to a little philosophy, makes all the difference, and none is bereft of hope till the very last breath of his life. The lives of the unfortunate, the apparently insignificant, are in fact much more interesting than those of the obviously successful. Ill-luck is not without its own relish. After all, there is no picturesqueness in straight and level road : the beauty belongs to the winding path. Variety is the spice of life ; and the unexpected is not less its charm. An un-

successful man's life should be told as well as that of a successful man; a bad man's no less than a good one's. All are equally full of instruction. And, after all, who knows but that the so-called useless man of to-day may not be the idol of that final and most impartial judge of real merit—posterity? Have we not heard instances of such a thing having happened before? And what is there to prevent its happening hereafter?

Autobiography need not be in a set-form: it need not be confined to a single vehicle of expression: it can reveal itself, like Providence, in a variety of ways. There is scope for personal touches even in fiction; and though they may not be complete, they are enough to satisfy the curiosity of the reader and supply him with material to form a reasonable judgment of the another. After all, whatever a man's external accomplishments may be, it is his inner self that gives the key to his real estimate. The two are not separate entities but run into each other imperceptibly: it is as if they were tethered in neighbouring stalls and a kick would, at any time, bring down the partition. Even in the most public acts, one's inner life is reflected. I do not mean, however, that a man's public life should be judged by his private life; what is suggested is that where his outward self alone is not sufficient to explain his actions, recourse should be had to his inner life, whenever and wherever this can be reasonably probed, to supply the data. It is just here where autobiography becomes useful, where it bears a revealing light. A man's history, in the best of circumstances, cannot be all in all: the most it can do is to supplement what otherwise may be but a meagre estimate.

In a man's letters also we can pierce through the veil of his being: it is here, anywhere, that he drops off the dress-coat of conventional life and appears *en déshabillé*; he is here himself, with all his vices and virtues in bold relief. He cares not for any audience, for applause from the pit and stalls, nor does he appeal to the gallery in a last desperate attempt at mock-shows and make-believe. He is not talking at posterity.

He is communing with an intimate, a friend in his retreat to whom he may whisper "solitude is sweet." It is a case of mind opening on to mind and heart talking to heart. There are no intimacies so private that he does not divulge to his friend : he is curiously frank and is in his most natural vein : his soul, he shows, is still a child by the sea, picking up shells : in fine, he is in his most primæval and aboriginal element. Most men, when the outer layer of affectation is removed, are simple at heart : their souls are fair,

"Bright as the children of yon azure sheen."

It is because they are not often allowed to be free, or when they are free they are so woefully misunderstood, that they appear so complex : and habit makes them inured to this their prison-house, where the sky is turned upon the free play of their buoyant spirits : they even appear comfortable in such a restricted environment, like

"The linnet born within the cage
That never knew the summer woods."

There is yet another way of pulling aside the curtain just a little and exhibiting the rare show of man's private and inner life. A man, unless he is born dumb, reveals himself, be it never so slightly, in conversation—"that great international congress," as Stevenson calls it.

"In short says he the first duty of a man is to speak ; that is his chief business in the world ; and talk, which is the harmonious speech of two or more, is by far the most accessible of pleasures. It costs nothing in money ; it is all profit ; it completes our education, finds and fosters our friendship, and can be enjoyed at any age and in almost any state of health."

For perfect conversation the company must be limited. It must be conducted only among intimates. If authenticated reports of some men's conversation could be had, they would shed a flood of light upon their real selves. Dr. Johnson, for

example, is known more by reports of his conversation, faithfully conveyed through the medium of Boswell's admiring pen, than by all his books put together. Good talkers are unfortunately rare, and even of these we know not all. Hazlitt was an excellent talker, and so was Charles Lamb. We know the latter more and love him the better because of reports of his talks and personal characteristics that have come down to us from his friends. It is an irreparable misfortune that we have not been rewarded by similar reports of Hazlitt's powers: Hazlitt that was as fine, if not a finer, talker than Lamb himself. Hazlitt both loved good talk and was an excellent hand at the game himself. His brilliant descriptions of his friends' conversational abilities are unforgettable:

"Wordsworth sometimes talks like a man inspired on subjects of poetry (his own out of the question)—Coleridge well on every subject and Godwin on none. Mrs. Montague's conversation is as fine-cut as her features and I like to sit in the room with the sort of coronet face. What she says leaves a flavour, like fine green tea. Hunt's is like champagne and Northcot's like anchovy sandwiches. Haydon's is like a game at trap-ball, Lamb's like snap-dragon; and my own (if I do not mistake the matter) is not much unlike a game at nine-pins."

Hazlitt was one of the most irremediably unfortunate people that ever existed: he was not judged fairly in his life-time, and even now people are loth to give him his due. The conjecture is not highly fanciful that if portraits of the man as he revealed himself in conversation to his favourite friends, among whom Lamb was foremost, had come down to us, the world would have been less harsh in his estimate of him.

After all, a man is known by his small actions no less than by his great ones: he is the sum of all that he is daily and not merely what he is at rare and inspired moments. He must be judged not only by the peaks of his achievements but also by the depths of his degradation; and the truth, no doubt, would lie somewhere in the middle. There is a good deal to be said for keeping a private journal and for recording passing thoughts. Pepys did a great thing when he gave posterity

his personal diary of many volumes. Many of us could do the same or nearly the same if we too kept a diary and recorded assiduously all that we did every day of our lives. Exaggeration notwithstanding, there is something in the idea, after all. Life, at best, is very short: most of us are not known even while we live. As Hazlitt says:—

“It is not surprising that we are forgotten so soon after we quit this mortal stage; we are scarcely noticed while we are in it. It is not merely that our names are not known in China; they have hardly been heard of in the next street.”

We are here to-day and are no more the next: but the great wheels of the world will ever roll on. Why not, then, take stock of the present and make it imperishable? Is it not a pity that, by far the greater part of our existence should be lost in what Sir Thomas Browne calls “the uncomfortable night of nothing?” Mr. H. W. Nevinson, in the preface to his autobiography, which he calls “Changes and Chances,” gives his excuse for it in the following beautiful words:—

“It is nearly incredible that, all the vital experiences of to-day will by to-morrow have become a blank of nonentity, like the sums a child waches from a slate, irrevocable as the million ages before man made himself. It seems an extravagant waste, a lamentable squandering. And so a book of memories like this becomes an attempt to clutch at transient time before it whirls into oblivion. It is a fond endeavour to retard that hurrying chariot, to grasp the vanishing shadow, and with Faust to cry to the moment: *Verweile doch, du bist so schön*:’ Or, if the moment be not fair but grisly, still one would not have it blotted out for ever.”

C. L. R. SASTRI

SRI AUROBINDO ON THE METHODS OF KNOWLEDGE

Sri Aurobindo is one of the brightest luminaries in the philosophico-religious firmament of India. He gives us his 'Weltanschauung' on the basis of the vedantic outlook. His procedure is not only interpretative, but also critical and constructive. It is worth our while to begin our study of Aurobindoism by taking into consideration his attitude towards methods of knowledge.

We are not pure spirits, hovering round in an ethereal realm. We have, after all, a physico-vital basis of our being. *Prima facie*, it seems, we are detached, in all possible ways, from our environmental conditions. But a little reflection will lead us to realise that we are intimately linked up with our surroundings. Our body, the Tabernacle of Spirit transcends, and is at the same time continuous with the rest of nature. The body, in its transcendence, is so peculiarly constituted that the manifestation of the objective facts of the world to consciousness, is effected, through the medium of it. Without the senses, the things are devoid of shape, size, and colour; the twinkling stars, the blazing sun, the beautiful landscapes, the pretty flowers, all fade away into the utter blank of infernal darkness. That there is an external world or at least the objective facts of experience, we know, on the evidence of the senses. Seeing that the senses play an important part in the constitution of knowledge, some thinkers regarded them as the only sources of knowledge. Others on the contrary, extolled reason, at the expense of the senses. Everyone is conversant with the details of the duel fought between the empiricists, on the one hand, and the rationalists, on the other. To trace the history of empiricism and rationalism is not quite relevant to the topic under discussion. But there is no gainsaying the fact that the

senses supply the basis on which the super-structure of knowledge is built. The senses confine us merely to what is given, here and now. The range of sensible experience, is therefore, very much limited. The particularities, the senses give, are insufficient even from the pragmatic conduct of our life. It involves some sort of generalisation from the given particularities, which in its turn, presupposes some organ, other than the senses. If there be a divine principle, it cannot certainly be grasped by the senses. As Sri Aurobindo puts it, "we arrive at the conception and at the knowledge of a divine existence, by exceeding the evidence of the senses, and piercing beyond the walls of the physical mind.....
.....The first of these instruments is the pure reason."¹

According to Sri Aurobindo, human reason has a twofold action, mixed or dependent, pure or sovereign. Its action is mixed when it works under the sway of the senses. "Its mixed action takes place—usually when the mind seeks to become aware of the external world."² Sri Aurobindo does not maintain a dualism between sense and reason. He seems to suggest, the senses cannot by themselves reveal the external world. The revelation of the spatio-temporal order involves the operation of reason. At this stage, reason is not independent, but is adopted to the leading of pragmatic life by the manipulation of the sense-data. Its pure action begins, when it breaks away from the moorings of sense-life and seeks to come to self-consciousness, and to grasp the root principle of the universe. As Sri Aurobindo puts it, "Reason, on the other hand, asserts its pure action, when accepting our sensible experience, as a starting point, but refusing to be limited by them, goes behind, judges, works in its own rights, and strives to arrive at general and unalterable concepts, which attach themselves not to the

¹ 'Arya,' 1915, March, p. 449.

² *Ibid*, p. 452.

appearances of things, but to that which stands behind their appearances.”³

As Plato says, philosophy begins in wonder. Wonder is, undoubtedly the awakening of human reason, from its slumber in material quiescence. Thus pure action of reason, lifts us, gradually from the humdrum sort of life, to the metaphysical standpoint. The interest in philosophy indicates partial awakening of the human spirit.

Though reason, in its pure aspect, helps us a good deal towards the Supreme Being, yet it cannot lead us to the cherished goal. It has its own short-comings. “In reality, all experience is, in its secret nature, knowledge by identity, and its true character is hidden from us because we have separated ourselves from the rest of the world, by exclusion, by the distinction of our self, as subject, and everything else as object, and—we are compelled to develop processes and organs, by which, we may again enter into communion, with all that we have excluded. We have to replace direct knowledge, through conscious identity, by an indirect knowledge, which appears to be caused by physical contact and mental sympathy.”⁴ Knowledge involves the duality, if not the dualism of subject and object, and the object always falls beyond the subject. So long as we are within the domain of discursive knowledge, through reason,—we cannot grasp the Supreme Being, if there be any, in its entirety. We must go beyond the mind and the reason, for “the reason, active in our waking consciousness, is only a mediator, between the subconscient. All that we have come from, in our evolution upwards, and the super-conscient, all towards which we are impelled by that evolution.”⁵ If we are to rise to the super-conscient, and to possess it, in its fullness, we must transcend reason and develop a mode of knowledge, in which the subject-object relation vanishes away in the flash of

³ *Ibid*, p. 450.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 452.

⁵ ‘*Arya*,’ 1915, p. 455.

intuition. As the super conscient is the supreme reality, intuition is supreme knowledge. "The foundation of intuitional knowledge, is conscious or affective identity between that which knows, and that which is known; it is that state of common self-existence in which the knower and the known are one, through knowledge." ⁶

It is nothing new to read that it is only intuition, which is capable of knowledge, by identity, Bergson, in modern times, stands as the chief protagonist of intuitionism. His system of philosophy is, after all, apotheosis of intention, at the expense of intellect. Bergson makes 'time', the essence of reality; yet, he distinguishes between mathematical time, and real time, which he calls 'duration', in which, past and future do not stretch in a block; from behind and before; but past flows into the present and present emerges, out of future. This 'duration' and 'Elan-vital' are mutually implied, in the sense that one is the essence of the other. The mathematical time is a mere abstraction of 'duration', which intellect carves out for the pragmatic interest of life. Mathematical time is spatial, for in it, the successive units remain fixed in their place, and do not flow into one another, as in 'duration'. Thus the ultimate reality is '*elanvital*,'—a vital surge, creative evolution itself. It is like an explosive shell, which breaks itself into fragments, which are similarly explosive, and which again burst into fragments, so on and so forth. And this is the way in which, evolution proceeds. There is no finality in evolution, no end, nor any purpose, for teleology is nothing but "inverted mechanism." Spontanety is the essence of creative evolution, which is evolving novelties on and on. Now the question arises, if change is the ultimate reality, how to account for matter and permanence, which are given in sensible experience? We do, in fact experience stability and spatiality; but how is this permanence, which is opposed to *Elanvital* by the whole diameter of being linked up

to it? Bergson's answer is that space and time, which are the conditions of the existence of matter are carved, out of the vital surge, by the intellect which is a mere pragmatic tool, to serve the purpose of life and action. Thus matter and intellect are correlative to each other, and as matter is contrasted with '*Elan vital*,' so intellect is contrasted with intuition. Intellect solidifies the vital surge. It only hovers round the reality, and cannot get into it. It touches merely the fringe and not the core of it. Intellect gives us merely a translation of reality, which is, as *Don Quixote* puts it, "like the wrong side of an embroidery, which gives the design and not the beauty." But intuition directly gets into the heart of reality. It is intellectual sympathy.' It does not apprehend reality '*ab extra*,' but posits itself into its very essence, and knows it as it actually is. The philosophy of Bergson, is the vivid impression of the tumultuous life of the western people. In it, we find lurid picture of the civilisation and culture of his country and the continent. His metaphysical principle is the symbol of the meaningless strife and struggle of the mad crowds of a frenzied mood. But however it may approximate to the cherished ideal of the occidental civilisation, it can by no means, avoid metaphysical bankruptcy. If the ultimate reality is a vital surge, whence is this matter, the essence of which is immobility? The burden is left on intellect, which is in fault, in distorting reality, and in solidifying it into the visible spatialised form. But what about intellect? If it is taken to be something internal to the '*Elan vital*' there is a gross dualism, which we do not think it worth our while to criticise. Bergson tries to evade the difficulty, by tracing the genesis of matter to the nature of the '*Elan vital*.' The '*Elan vital*' is like a splash of fountain, which is resisted and delayed by the falling spray. In the *Elan vital*, there is a sort of movement of resistance which arrests the spontaneous flow of creative Evolution. And it is due to this that, matter originates. But the explanation tampers with the unity of *Elan vital*. We get a dualism of *Elan vital*, which is pure

change, and of movement of resistance, which is matter, in its potential form. Thus Bergson is in a dilemma; if matter is different from 'Élan vital,' there is a dualism. If it is taken to be a negative movement in 'élan vital' itself, the ultimate principle ceases to be pure change, and leaves towards the absolute of Hegel, which realises itself, through the mediation of a negative movement within itself. Bergson is really entangled in the meshes of this puzzle, from which he can intricate himself only if he abandons the Heraclitian trend of thought. If intellect is correlative to the negative movement in 'Élan vital,' and intention to *élan vital* itself, the hiatus between intellect and intuition, disappears and intellect becomes the necessary mediation through which intuition realises itself. Such an interpretation of the relation between intellect and intuition, is also justified by his casual effusions. Intuition is sometimes described as a "Fringe and penumbra of intellect." "Dialectic is necessary," says Bergson, "to put intuition to the proof, necessary also in order that intuition should break itself up into concepts and be propagated to other men." ⁷

But Bergson's trend of thought is mainly anti-intellectualistic. His fundamental principle, and his view of the function of intuition, directly contradict any such intimacy between intellect and intuition. He, in fact, falters and fails to fraternise them. Bergson's intuition is like a "shot out of a pistol." He does not show how we can rise from the spatio-temporal order of existence, to the intuition of '*élan vital*.'

Sri Aurobindo, however, does not drive a wedge between reason and intuition. Intuition is in the sub-conscious, as well as in the super-conscious and is mediated, in its upward flight by reason and the mind. In the sub-conscious, intuition manifests itself in the action, in effectively and the knowledge or consciousness by identity, is either entirely or more or less concealed in the action. In the super-conscious, on the

contrary, Light being the law and principle, the intuition manifests itself in its true nature."⁸ The sub-conscient represents the lowest stratum of existence, and the super-conscient, the highest between these two stages. Reason and mind act as intermediaries. At the lowest stage, there is no knowledge for knowledge involves conscious presentation and representation, and for the matter of that, the distinction between knower and known. In the blind activities of material things, and in the impulsive movements of the plants, knowledge is imprisoned. And reason appears on the field to liberate it from its entanglement. The subject becomes conscious of itself, through the mediation of the consciousness of object. But this is only the middle part of our being. The subject attains real knowledge (knowledge in its true nature, is knowledge by identity),—as it transcends object-consciousness. It comes to complete self-awareness, in which the self is self-revealed in intuition, which regains its primacy in and through the operation of reason. Intuition regains its original primacy through the mediation of reason. But what is the exact relation that subsists between reason and intuition? Are they discrete and antagonistic to each other? Sri Aurobindo seems to suggest that they stand poles asunder. As he puts it, "Intuition sees things in the whole, in the large, and details only as sides of the indivisible whole; its tendency is towards synthesis, and the unity of knowledge. Reason, on the contrary, proceeds by analysis, and division, and assembles its facts to form a whole, but in the assemblage, so formed, there are opposites, anomalies, logical incompatibilities, and the natural tendency of Reason is to affirm some and negate others, which conflict with its chosen conclusions, so that it may form a flowlessly logical system."⁹ The tendency of intuition is towards synthesis, and the tendency of reason is towards analysis. But we cannot establish the

⁸ 'Arya,' 1915, p. 456.

⁹ 'Arya,' p. 259.

divergent character of intuition and reason, by showing that one is the faculty of synthesis, and the other of analysis. For synthesis presupposes analysis, and *vice versa*. As analysis and synthesis are mutually implied, so intuition and reason cease to be divergent and are found to be essentially linked up. Further to regard reason as the faculty of analysis, is to take a distorted view of its nature as well as its function. Many philosophers took reason as the faculty of synthesis. Kant, for instance, distinguishes between sense, understanding, and reason. Understanding is the faculty of concepts and works in the scientific realm. Reason, however, supplies the 'Ideas'—the Ideas of the internal world as an unconditioned whole, self, and of a Supreme Being,—which make our experience self-contained and systematic. Further reason is the organ of philosophical knowledge. But philosophy cannot pursue a piecemeal process like the special sciences. It is concerned with the ultimate nature of Reality as such we cannot, therefore, hope to attain to the adequate conception of Reality, by adding together the results of the special sciences. Herbert Spencer's definition, "Science is partially united knowledge, philosophy is completely united knowledge," is to be emphatically denounced. For whatever may be the results of the sciences, the summation of them, merely, cannot possibly cover the whole universe. So philosophy is not dependent upon the sciences for its departure and nor for its procedure. Philosophical knowledge proceeds from one view of the universe to another, and in its procedure, the different steps are intuitively grasped. Philosophy, of course, does not hang in vacuo, but begins with the analysis of the facts, given in our experience, and through analysis tends to rise to a synthetic view of the world.

To return to the question of the exact relation between reason and intuition, we find that Sri Aurobindo makes a sharp distinction between them. "It is by an error" says he, "that scholars sometimes speak of great debates or discussions in the Upanishads, wherever there is the appearance of a controversy.

It is not by discussion, by dialectics, or the use of logical reasoning that it proceeds, but by a comparison of intuitions and experiences, in which the less luminous gives place to the more luminous, the narrower, faultier or less essential to the more comprehensive, more perfect, more essential. The question, asked by one thinker, of another is, 'what dost thou know?' not what dost thou think? nor to what conclusion has thy reasoning arrived? Nowhere in the Upanishads, do we find any trace of logical reasoning, urged in support of the truths of Vedanta. Intuition, the sages seem to have held, must be corrected by a more perfect intuition, logical reasoning cannot be its judge."¹⁰ In the Upanishads, perhaps, the true philosophic method is followed. The philosophic method consists in the immanent evolution of our self-conscious being. And in this evolution, the successive steps are intuitively grasped. But it does not, in any way, prove that reason is excluded by the Upanishadic sages. If they compare their experiences and reject one, and accept the other, by what means, are the rejection and acceptance effected? Even contradictory experiences are held to be intuitions, and if intuition is to be the sole guide, all objectivity dwindles away, and subjectivism reigns supreme. We can avoid the catastrophe of pluralism and subjectivism, only by invoking the help of reason. "The less perfect intuition must be corrected by a more perfect, but a logical reasoning cannot be its judge." But what is a logical reasoning? Ordinarily logical reasoning is taken to mean a sort of reasoning, involving premises and conclusion; of course when we move in the metaphysical realm, we cannot proceed, by means of premises and conclusion. This sort of procedure is helpful in so far as our ordinary pragmatic life is concerned. But we are not compelled to take the term 'Logical' in this narrow import. Logical means after all, 'rational,' and (rational) means—what is amenable to reason, the innermost essence of our being—we are self-

¹⁰ 'Arya,' p. 459.

conscious itself. Sense, reason, intuition are but the modes, whereby it comes to its realisation. They cannot be arranged, as one above the other. They are so intimately connected, that we may consider their relative prominence, at different stages, merely. Intuition does not lie ahead, but works also from behind. As Sri Aurobindo himself puts it, "Intuition is our first teacher. Intuition always stands veiled, behind our mental operations."¹¹ The statement is pregnant with a suggestion of an intimate connection between reason and intuition, but he does not develop this standpoint.

Now we may raise the question, what is intuitive knowledge? The most general characteristic that we can fix on, is self-evidence,—we regard as intuitive, that form of knowledge, which is its own evidence. But there are also grades of intuitive knowledge. Even in our sense-experience, intuition is involved. The contents of sensible experience are given, and are not projected out of our self. The given qua given, cannot be doubted. But in sense-intuition, there are the knower and the known. The distinction between them however, remains implicit, till we arrive at the stage of adult experience. Then in inferential knowledge, we begin with some datum or data, and pass on to a piece of knowledge on the strength of the datum or data. Let us take, for instance, the reasoning, 'Man is mortal, Ram is a man, ∴ Ram is mortal.'—Here we affirm mortality of Ram, and that, on the ground that he is a man, and man is mortal. If we further analyse, we find, that the principle of identity is the foundation of this inference. But if you press further, why do we believe that things, identical in essence,—must possess identical attributes? And the only answer is that we intuit it. 'Ram mortal' follows from 'Man-mortal' and 'Ram-man,' put together, by way of intuition. Much of our knowledge, in fact, is derived from intuition, *e.g.*, the knowledge of self, and of the fundamental laws of thought, and so on. But such intuitions

¹¹ 'Arya,' p. 457.

are not systematic, and are made to serve the purpose of life and action. As we rise above the petty interests of our life, intuition comes to play an important part for its primacy consists in its disinterestedness. When we rise to the philosophical standpoint, we find, intuition stands behind and before. Indeed philosophy begins with the intuition, however dim,—then the intuition of Reality and appearance, and for the matter of that, of the principle of contradiction as the guiding light, to lead to Reality. Philosophy is no gibe or jabbering talk in a class-room or in a lecture-hall ; it is no mere intellectual pastime ; it is merely, as we have already indicated, the immanent evolution of our conscious being. Our being is not being in the abstract. It is through and through, rational. It is reason itself. It begins with a vision, which is inarticulate at the outset. It makes it articulate and attains satisfaction, for a time. In the articulation, in the long run, on reflection, anomalies arise. But the nature of reason is such that it cannot rest with inconsistencies. So it pushes on, reflects, and passes on to a new vision, and soon, until, it arrives at a vision which is self-luminous, beyond articulation, at the same time, satisfying. At this stage, reason transforms itself into the Light of a Supreme intuition, which reveals Reality in its fullness. In other words, reason attains to its full self-realisation, passing beyond all strife and struggle. Thus reason and intuition are not two incompatible elements, juxtaposed in our being, but are really like the two sides of a shield. We may aptly describe intuition, as the “fringe and penumbra” of reason. As our eyes see, and hands work, so intuition leads and reason executes. “Intuition is liberated from its imprisonment in action by reason.” But reason is not like a fulcrum, which works *ab extra*. If there is the mediation of reason, it is also, when truly viewed, the impression of the primal intuition. Intuition, which is like “a shot out of a pistol,” is the monopoly of the mystics. But if it is desirable that it should be possession of a disciplined self, there should be a system of procedure, whereby we may gradually

rise to the state of Beatitude, the fruition of our philosophy. As our reason evolves itself into the Light of the supreme intuition so our metaphysics attains fulfilment, by leading into the plane of the mystics.

ADHARCHANDRA DAS

JUNE GLADNESS.

There's a song in my heart
That will never depart;
There's a joy in my soul
For our love, pure and whole;
There's lark in the blue
And he's singing of you,
Tral-la-la, come away!
It is June.

In the broad sky at night
There are stars shining bright;
Upon warm thrilling wings
A nightingale sings;
Whilst the scent of the pine
Drugs my soul like red wine,
Tral-la-la, come away!
It is June!

There is dew in the grass
Where your light feet will pass;
There's a riot of flowers
For the sweet golden hours;
There's a whole month of love
Blessed by Dear God above,
Tral-la-la, come away!
It is June!

LELAND J. BERRY.

THE SOURCE OF THE BRAHMAPUTRA

The Brahmaputra is one of the principal rivers of India; and not only in India—if we take account of all the principal rivers of the world this river will not come very low in the list. In India the fame of the Brahmaputra can be traced to a remote past; mention of it may be found in the mythology, history and literature of our country. On its bank stands the temple of the Goddess of Kamakhya, which is one of the most famous of all places of pilgrimage in India. To bathe in the waters of the Brahmaputra is considered a virtuous act by the Hindus; and on this account millions of people satisfy their greed for piety by bathing in its streams in different places every year. But where is the source of this endless stream that has been flowing on from the immemorial past?

Those who do not care for Geography generally have the impression that the source of the Brahmaputra lies in Manas-Sarowar. This belief must bring an extra feeling of sanctity to those who have faith in the sanctity of a bath in the waters of this river. Those among them who have no impression of any kind will—if they are told of such a possibility—certainly desire that this possibility of Manas-Sarowar being the source of the Brahmaputra may be true. But time is now ripe when they can no more be saved from being disillusioned on the subject. It has been confirmed by the investigations of the current century that Manas-Sarowar has no connection with the Brahmaputra.

The question as to what actual rivers have emerged from the Manas-Sarowar has been discussed in detail in China and also in Europe; details of which would be a long story to relate. The Chinese Emperor, Kang Hi (1662-1722) once engaged certain Lamas to survey the province of Tibet. These Lamas not only took great pains in their explorations of the Western part of

Tibet, but they also spent a considerable time of it on the coasts of the Manas-Sarowar. What Geographical details they published (1717 A. D.) of this region are indeed a fairly faithful account of this part of the country. The name of the Brahmaputra does not appear in the list of rivers which they have shown as flowing from the Manas-Sarowar. Among the Europeans the map of D'Anville which again based itself on the account of these Lamas is the first authentic account of Tibet—at least of this region; and for the next one century and a half no better map of this part was ever prepared.

Next to D'Anville comes the map of Tiffenthaler, a Jesuit Father (1743 A.D.). Tiffenthaler has made an honest confession that he had no personal knowledge on the subject; probably his map was more or less a copy from the map which the Emperor Akbar got prepared (end of the 16th century). In Tiffenthaler's account the Brahmaputra has been shown to have come out of the Manas-Sarowar. Tiffenthaler's map and the connected accounts were published by Anquetil.

Anquetil studied the map of D'Anville also. According to Anquetil the Brahmaputra is identical with the 'Tsangpo' and in full agreement with Tiffenthaler he indicates Manas-Sarowar to be the source of the Brahmaputra. But in reality it is a matter of surprise as to how the Brahmaputra can be shown to have its source in the Manas-Sarowar; because all were of one opinion that Manas-Sarowar had connection with only one stream on its eastern bank and it was also well-known to everybody that this stream flowed into the Manas-Sarowar and not that it flowed out from the Manas-Sarowar. So it seems probable that the men deputed by Akbar actually met one stream here while out on exploration but forgot the direction of its actual flow when they were away from the place and preparing the map. Apart from other probable causes it may be guessed that they had one argument for giving them a bias to call Manas-Sarowar as the source of the Brahmaputra—particularly if the explorers happened to be Hindus. According to legends in the

Skanda Purana Manas-Sarowar evolved from the Manas or will of Brahma, the Creator of the Hindu mythology; so the Brahmaputra (literally the son of Brahma) must necessarily have its origin in the Manas-Sarowar.

About half of this great river, the Brahmaputra flows over the provinces of Assam and Bengal in the plains of India, the other half lies in Tibet where it is known under the name of Tsangpo and flows from the West to the East. The Tsangpo is the principal river of Tibet and it is the valley of this river that comprises everything that is of any importance in the country—its trade and commerce, its culture and civilisation. On its bank lies Lhasa (9,341 ft.), the capital of Tibet and the seat of the Dalai Lama (29° 40' N. L. and 91° E. L.). The seat of the Tashi Lama is another town by name Shigatse (12,850 ft.) which lies at a short distance from this river about 150 miles to the west from Lhasa—29° 15' N. L. and 89° E. L. At about 55 miles to the west of Shigatse a stream comes from the North and meets the Tsangpo—this is Raga Tsangpo, about 130 miles in length. This junction is at an elevation of 13,116 ft.; from this point another 330 miles to the West there is another junction (15,410 ft.) at Shamsang. From Shamsang down to a certain distance that is towards the East the river is known as Martsang Tsangpo. Many streams from the North and from the South have come down to the Tsangpo but up to Shamsang the Tsangpo is incontestably the main stream. But even up till recent times it was an open question as to which might really be the main stream beyond Shamsang that is towards the West.

In 1865 an Indian by name Nain Singh came to the western part of the valley of the Tsangpo under the employ of Col. Montgomerie. He crossed the pass of Marium La lying to the North-West of Shamsang and proceeded westward. About the source of the Brahmaputra he expressed that it must be traced somewhere among the high mountain ranges seen to the South.

Another gentleman by name Thomas Webber came here in 1866. His route lay a little to the South of that of Nain Singh; so that it had to go across certain feeders of the Brahmaputra. But he could not give any information about the source of the main river.

In 1904 came a government expedition under Rawling; their destination was Gartok, an important town in Western Tibet. As a result of this expedition a very beautiful map of the valley of the Upper Brahmaputra was prepared. This expedition also followed the same route and over the Marium La pass proceeded towards Manas-Sarowar. So that as in Nain Singh's case the source of the Brahmaputra lay about 40 miles to the South of the route of this expedition also. It was Major Ryder of this expedition in whose map (1904) the Chema-Yundung was shown as the main stream of the Brahmaputra.

The main source of the Brahmaputra was however discovered by Dr. Sven Hedin, a Swedish explorer of great repute. He came well-equipped with all the scientific apparatus and instruments necessary for the purpose. He arrived at Shamsang on July 8, 1907 and found that the aforesaid Martsang Tsangpo was comprised of two streams which met here—the Chema-Yundung and Kubi Tsangpo. With a view to find out as to which of these two streams was the main stream he commenced measuring the yield of water of each of these two streams. He found the yield of the Martsang Tsangpo to be 1554 cubic ft. per second and that of the Chema-Yundung 353 cubic ft.; so that the yield of the Kubi Tsangpo was 1201 c. ft. (1554-353). Again about eight miles farther off from Shamsang the Chema-Yundung was fed by another stream by the name of the Marium Chu, so that the yield of 353 c. ft. of the Chema Yundung at Shamsang was really comprised of two streams. Thus the Kubi Tsangpo greatly excelling each of these may without doubt be taken as the main stream. Besides this Dr. Hedin also ascertained by local investigation that the people of the locality

without caring for any scientific knowledge know the Kubi Tsangpo as the upper stream of the Martsang Tsangpo.

It appears from the map of Dr. Hedin that he did not actually follow the route of the Kubi Tsangpo from Shamsang. He proceeded for about 15 miles along the course of the Chema Yundung and then turning round towards the south-west proceeded for another ten miles and reached a small pass by the name of Tso-Niti-Kar-gong. The distance of this place from Shamsang would be about 12 miles in a straight line. The mountain range over which there is this pass is the water-shed between the Kubi and the Chema Yundung. The route after Tso-Niti-Kar-gong lies along the course of the Kubi Tsangpo. Here the water of the Kubi is very muddy, but there is a small lake, Lhayak by name on the right bank of the stream whose water is very clear. The place commands a very excellent sight all round. Towards the north at some distance there are ranges of high mountains. Innumerable small streams are running down from these mountains and flowing to the Tsangpo. The sight towards the south is even more striking. Ranges of high hills there are already—in places these are covered over with snow from which there are glaciers creeping down.

Among these ranges to the south the name of Ngomo-Dingding is worth special mention. The glacier from this mountain adds greatly to the flow of the Kubi Tsangpo. There is another glacier equally as important which comes down from Dongdong, a mountain range to the South West.

To the North of Dongdong there is Chema-Yundung-Pu (21,450 ft.) this mountain is the source of the Chema-Yundung. From the Lhayak lake these snow ranges seem to be very near indeed they are not very far off within 10, 12 or 15 miles. Beyond Lhayak the course of the stream is interspersed with a few islands resulting in the main stream being divided into several small streams. About 5 or 6 miles after Lhayak a small stream the Eong-dong-Chu —has flowed down from the Dongdong range and met the Kubi Tsangpo on its left bank. A little

beyond this also on the left bank there is a small lake Tso-Chang-tso. From here the valley is gradually widening. Here the ground also is not wholly rocky here and there appear patches of grass also. The stream after gradually gaining in breadth has taken the appearance of a lake ; the elevation of the place is about 15,889 ft. Here on the west bank of the Kubi Tsangpo there are found clear traces of a large glacier that flowed by sometime. Here there are found pebbles here and there and the growth of flowers and shrubs give it a colour of spring tide to the place once a year. On the marshy low lands of the valley there are plenty of grass and on the bosom of the lake are heard the cackling notes of the wild geese—these also remind one of the spring time. Sometime herds of wild yaks may also be met with.

To the west of the Kubi Tsangpo there is a mountain range of comparatively low altitude over which there are patches of snow here and there which are melting down by the heat of the season. The ground at the foot of the hill is very much of a level character. A small stream coming down from the upper hill has formed into a lake on this level ground.

From here among the snowy ranges from the south-west to the south-east nine very high mountain peaks are visible if they are not enveloped in clouds ; this whole group is known by the name of Kubi-Gangri. To one facing the South from here there appears Mount Ngomo-ding-ding at 27° to the east and Mount Absi at 11° to the east. Between these two is the Glacier of Ngomo-ding-ding. To the west of Mount Apsi is the Apsi Glacier. Further west (24° to the west) there is the highest ridge of the Mukchung-Simo mountain group. At 57° to the west there are four mountain peaks, of these two are entirely composed of snow and ice and have a domelike appearance ; these belong to the Langta-chen group. The snow and ice from these mountains greatly reinforces the main Brahmaputra Glacier. At 70° , 83° and 88° to the west there are the peaks of the Gave-ting mountains. To the north at 55° West there are three peaks

of the Dong-dong mountain ; from here issues the Dong-dong-chu river mentioned before. Towards the north-east the Kubi valley has gradually come down to a certain extent. At a distance the peaks of the Chantang mountain seem to be blended with the snow-scape on the horizon.

From here all around particularly from the south-west to the south-east there is a great variety of scenery ; range after range of mountains, peaks of different sizes and appearances like a dome, a pillar or a pyramid, tracks and traces of old and extinct glaciers, the routes of living glaciers and streams running out of them, extent of snow and ice fields. All these have combined to frame out a scenery which in its wild grandeur would hardly be surpassed by any other.

From the side of Gaveting between the Gaveting and the Langta-Chen mountains to the west has issued out a great glacier in Dr. Hedin's map, this has been shown as the Brahmaputra Glacier. The stream that has issued out of this Glacier is the biggest of all here ; none of the other streams that have issued out of the Kubi Gangri mountains can compare with this. So this stream from the Brahmaputra Glacier is the main stream of the Kubi Tsangpo. Thus here we find the source of the Brahmaputra at $82^{\circ}20'$ E.L. and $30^{\circ}20'$ N.L. at an altitude of 15,968 ft.

Of course it goes without saying that a grand river like the Brahmaputra cannot grow out of one stream or even from one glacier. Hundreds of streams issuing from the mountain ranges mentioned above have directly or indirectly added to the strength of the Kubi Tsangpo ; the streams from the mountains on either sides of the Kubi Valley have also added to its flow. Thereafter bigger streams like the Chema Yundung and the Marium Chu have flowed down to the Kubi Tsangpo and thus enabled it to proceed on its onward flow through different provinces and countries under the name of the Brahmaputra.

It has been shown above that the Tsangpo has its source mainly in a glacier. The flow is enriched by the melting in the

summer season of the snow that falls on these mountains in the winter. In these regions the rainfall is very scanty and so the stream gets a low proportion of water supply from rains. But in the lower course the Tsangpo gets a copious supply from rains and the influence of ice and snow is very small. Owing to these accounts there grows a wide difference in the volume of the flow due to different seasons but this difference is not so keen in the lower regions.

In our attempts to trace out the source of the Brahmaputra we have so far accepted the Tsangpo as the upper course of the Brahmaputra of India. Let us now see how far it conforms to facts and reason. The best way to trace out the source of a river is to proceed upwards along its course. But this has not been possible in the case of the Brahmaputra, because beyond Dibrugarh in Assam no body could proceed farther owing to the interception of the Abors and other uncivilised tribes on the way. On the other side of the Himalaya again the Tibetans have always attempted to keep out all foreigners from entering into their land. So there has been no opportunity of an expedition from that side also. The Tibetans themselves have no knowledge about the final development of their great river—the Tsangpo. There is a belief and a tradition amongst them that the course of the Tsangpo has ultimately ended somewhere by entering into the bowels of the earth. The region round about this place is inhabited by wild people who keep naked and subsist on the flesh of monkeys, reptiles, etc. It is also said of them that these people are horned beings and amongst them the mothers do not know their own children.

Not to speak of laymen, even among the Geographers even up to recent times were in doubt as to whether the Tsangpo had flowed down to India as the Brahmaputra or flowed over Burma as the Irrawady.

Many among the European explorers attempted to follow the course of the Tsangpo but had to desist from it owing to interception by the wild tribes inhabiting those regions. Capt.

Harman once engaged a man on this errand. This man was a Tibetan by name Kintoop ; he was well conversant with these affairs and his name found mention in the reports of the Survey of India. Kintoop was really a sort of genius in this line of work and by overcoming many obstacles he proceeded very far on the way. When his utmost efforts failed to achieve for him any farther progress he according to previous arrangements threw into the stream of the Tsangpo five hundred pieces of wood specially prepared for the purpose—these were each a foot long and well marked for identification. It was arranged that after throwing them into the Tsangpo watch would be kept at Dibrugarh in Assam to trace them in the stream of the Brahmaputra ; it was taken for granted that if the Tsangpo were really identical with the Brahmaputra then at least a few of the logs of wood thrown into the Tsangpo must flow down by the Brahmaputra. But unfortunately before arrangements were actually organised at Dibrugarh Capt. Harman died of frost bite and everything was lost. This expedition of Kintoop has found a mention in the reports of the Survey of India.

The Tibet Mission deputed by Lord Curzon after having finished their affairs in Lhasa proposed to send a Geographical expedition down along the course of the Tsangpo ; all preparations were also made but eventually the proposal was not sanctioned by the Government.

After that we had no knowledge if the identity of the two streams was established beyond doubt and if so how. With a view to an enquiry on the point I wrote to Dr. Sven Hedin of Sweden who it was that actually discovered the source of the Tsangpo and in reply he told me that the identity of the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra had been proved beyond doubt. But having been unable to trace the “How” of it I addressed my enquiries to the Survey of India and the Royal Geographical Society of London. Both of these authorities told me with one voice that the two rivers are identical. The Royal Geographical Society informed me that the establishment of the identity of

the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra had been on the result of the gradual labours of the various members of the Survey of India and that the journeys of Capt. Bailey and Capt. Morshead (1912.13) put it beyond doubt. On my attempting to get more elaborate information and a detailed account I made references to the Survey of India ; but I was told in reply that such details are only available in the many confidential records and reports which are not for issue to the public. But they gave me to know in definite terms that the identity of the Tsangpo with the Brahmaputra had been established beyond doubt by the journeys of Capt. Baily and Capt. Morshead. So that the source of the Tsangpo as traced by Dr. Hedin of Sweden may be accepted as the source of the Brahmaputra.

SATYA BHUSAN SEN

SAMKARA ON VIVARTAVĀDA

Roughly speaking the philosophers of India may be divided into two classes :—the Satkāryavādī and the Asatkāryavādī. Literally, satkāryavāda means that the effect existed in the material cause prior to its production, and asatkāryavāda denies this previous existence of the effect in its material cause. In our experience of causation we find two things, *viz.*, the same cause always produces the same effect, and secondly, that the effect is posterior to the cause. The satkāryavādī, putting emphasis on the first, thinks that the reason of the same cause producing the same effect is that the effect resides in his cause in some mysterious way. The asatkāryavādī, in his turn, gives equal prominence to the succession of effect, and consider it to be the soul of causation. This does not mean that the satkāryavādī denies succession, and the asatkāryavādī denies the production of same effect from the same cause; and as a matter of fact the former accepts succession and the latter accepts homogeneity of cause and effect. The difference lies in the emphasis given on the respective points noted above.

The followers of the Sāṃkhya-yoga and the Vedānta are known as satkāryavādī, and the Buddhist and the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas are called asatkāryavādī. In order to understand the position held by Śaṃkara, we should briefly discuss the doctrines held by all these schools. We shall begin with the asatkāryavādīs.

1. *Buddhist and Nyāya-vaiśeṣika Position—their Difference.*

When a pot is produced from clay, the pot is posterior to clay; and, as language assumes, the pot was in clay. The asatkāryavādī denies this as an unnecessary assumption and thinks

that causation is but one kind of succession. The Buddhists are of opinion that the effect is an entirely new thing having no relation with the cause except an well-ordered succession (*abhinābhāva*). The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas also hold that what experience teaches is that a certain effect follows a certain cause, and nowhere we experience any potential existence of the effect in the cause. Earth is by nature such that it can assume such and such a form, and there is a stick which can fashion it in such and such a way : and such earth fashioned by such a stick is *ghaṭa*, and this *ghaṭa* is a new thing.¹ The Nyāya definition of cause as “*anyathā-siddhi-sūnyasya niyatapurvavartitā*,” like the Buddhist doctrine of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, emphasises the succession of cause and effect, and does not admit that the effect had any existence in its cause.

The Nyāya-vaiśeṣika agrees with the Buddhist so far, but there is an important difference between them. Though both of them agree in the non-existence of effect in the cause, yet the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas have taken exception to the Buddhist position that the effect comes out of nothing. Against the Buddhist theory that “a plant is not born without destroying its seed,” the Naiyāyikas offer the following dilemma : “If the plant is not prior to the seed, it cannot destroy the seed; and if it is prior to the seed why should it destroy the seed for its existence?”² for it has already got existence. Śamkara Miśra in his commentary on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra says that the very fact that there cannot rise any effect unless there is a definite material cause shows that the effect does not come out of the void “for in that case there would have been non-existence of plant owing to the non-existence of stone though there were seed from which plant might grow.”³ The Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas, thus, require a definite substratum for causation while the Buddhists do not. Though both the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas

and the Buddhists admit that earth is unavoidable for ghaṭa, yet the difference consists in this: for the Nyāya-*vaiśeṣikas*, earth is the substratum, the *upādāna* of ghaṭa; while for the Buddhist it is merely a fact antecedent.

The Nyāya-*vaiśeṣikas*, however, gain nothing by saying that the material cause of ghaṭa is earth, denying at the same time that ghaṭa has existence in earth. If ghaṭa was non-existent in earth, it is tantamount to the Buddhist position of absolute organisation quite independent of what the Nyāya calls material cause. The Nyāya-*vaiśeṣikas* try to strike a middle path between Buddhist *asatkāryavāda* on the one hand, and Śāṃkhya-*vedānta satkāryavāda* on the other, with a leaning towards the former; and this halting attitude of the Nyāya-*vaiśeṣikas* has called forth the remark from Śāṃkara that they are Semi-nihilists (*araddha-vaināśika*). Whatever may be the difference between these two schools of *asatkāryavādīs*, so far as a *satkāryavādī* is concerned, both of them are considered to be on the same boat. We shall revert to this point later on.

2. *Śāṃkhya and Vedānta Position.*

The Śāṃkhya and the Vedānta agree with the Nyāya-*vaiśeṣikas* regarding the necessity of a material cause. But the part played by this material cause is different, the former two insisting on the potential existence of the effect in the cause. They draw our attention to one fact in causation, *viz.*, that the same effect is always produced from the same material cause. Objection may be taken from the *asatkāryavādī* standpoint as to the implication contained in 'from,' but the *satkāryavādī* thinks that this implication is a fact. The homogeneity of cause and effect, that ghaṭa can only be produced from earth and paṭa from thread, the *satkāryavādī* thinks, points to the potential existence of ghaṭa and paṭa in their respective material causes. If this

potential existence is denied the problem is how to explain this unflinching homogeneity of cause and effect. So far as Logic is concerned there is no trouble with regard to the Buddhist or the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika position, for whether the effect exists in the cause or not, neither the satkāryavādī nor the asatkāryavādī ever denies the "well-ordered succession" between cause and effect. The task of Logic is to discover this "well-ordered succession," and if it succeeds in it, its function is fulfilled. But if we enquire into the *raison d'être* of this well-ordered succession, which the Naiyāyaikas and the Buddhists discover by their respective inductive methods, they have nothing to say except that it is what we find in nature. This however is no reply, but merely pushing the problem back, for we may ask them to explain why we find such well-ordered succession in nature. For the satkāryavādīs this has enough significance, and they think that the term 'from' is not due to an "imaginary connection," as Hume would say, but a fact. "If ghaṭa comes from clay, and from nothing but clay, it shows that it existed somehow in clay, otherwise why should it come only from clay and not from milk?"¹—asks Śaṃkara. The language of Śaṃkara, when he says that 'ghaṭa comes from clay,' may be rightly criticised as begging the whole question at issue, for the problem is just to decide whether ghaṭa comes from clay, and the conclusion 'ghaṭa must have existed in clay' may, with equal justification, be pronounced as a tautology, for 'coming from clay' is the same as 'previous existence in clay'; but in spite of this terminological inaccuracy, the statement gives us the *raison d'être* of the well-ordered succession of cause and effect.

Śaṃkara and Vijñānabhikṣu have tried to prove their point by *reductio ad absurdum* of asatkāryavāda. If the asatkārya theory is right there is no way of determining the causal

¹ Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, 3. 1.

sequence. *Ghaṭa, ex hypothesi*, does not exist in clay, and it is also non-existent in any other thing. The problem for the *asatkāryavādī* is to give us the reason of the well-ordered succession, *e.g.*, of clay and *ghaṭa* on the one hand, and milk and butter on the other. One may deny that *ghaṭa* necessarily succeeds clay, and butter necessarily succeeds milk even when all the other conditions are fulfilled. “If before birth all things are equally non-existent in everything, why should curd be produced from milk and not from clay also; and *ghaṭa* from clay only and not from milk also,” enquires *Śaṅkara*.¹ “The rule regarding *upādāna-kāraṇa* that *ghaṭa* comes only from clay, and *paṭa* from thread,” says *Vijñānabhikṣu* “is impossible according to *asatkāryavāda*.”² The *raison d’être* of the well-ordered succession being denied, it is futile to expect well-ordered succession. All the five *Nyāya* canons of Induction and the Buddhist method of *Pañcakaraṇī*, however much their value be as logical canons, cannot help them in explaining the well-ordered succession. The *Nyāya* and the Buddhist canons—all of them—must assume that there is a determined relation (*vyāpti*) between the cause and effect, and then set to work with the stray facts with a view to finding out the *vyāpti*. They assume the universal connection but cannot prove it. To say that such is the nature of things that cause and effect are determined is to go back to the discussion we had in the paragraph just preceding and to encounter the question: Why are they so determined? The *asatkāryavādī* has no reply to offer, but the *satkāryavādī* will say: Because the effect was in the cause.

3. *Necessary Connection and Vyāpti.*

If we mark the above arguments of *Śaṅkara* and *Vijñānabhikṣu*, we shall find that they accept the existence of a “neces-

¹ *Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya*, 2.1.8.

² *Sāṅkhya Pravacana Bhāṣya*, 1.115.

sary connection" between the cause and the effect. Exception has been taken to such "necessary connection" by European Empiricists like Hume and Mill and also by the Cārvākas on the ground that it is only a fiction of imagination, the truth about causation being regularity of succession. "Regularity of succession", according to Hume, has been mistaken for "necessary connection." He makes a distinction between 'conjoined' and 'connected' and thinks that what our experience shows is that cause and effect are only 'conjoined' but not 'connected,' and that owing to force of habit we mistake "connected" 'conjoined' for. This position of Hume is not without its justification. In our experience there is nothing to show that there exists a necessary connection between the cause and effect, for it is more than once we are astonished to see that what we call cause or effect are not really so : nor is it once or twice that we fail to ascertain cause or effect of things. Had it not been the case, there would have been no necessity of ascertaining them by what we call "methods of Induction." Even certain conclusions, arrived at after careful and elaborate use of these methods, are sometimes found to be false. Induction has this inherent defect that we can never be certain of its conclusion, for the past and the future can never be examined. Induction is, as Russell says, "only probable." It may be practically certain, but from theoretical standpoint the best of induction may be credited only with a high degree of probability. But inspite of these, there is no reason for rejecting the possibility of Induction altogether, for, as Russell further observes, though we cannot prove that the same effect will always follow from the same cause, we cannot disprove it either. That our inductive results are not perfect—this is itself an induction.¹ "If there be one who denies the possibility of Induction," says none other than the Buddhists themselves in reply to the Cārvāka criticism of Induction, "he is to be asked : Have you no middle term (sādhana) in saying that inference is not possible, or have

¹ Problems of Philosophy. pp. 108-6.

you any? If you have none, it will prove nothing, for a mere statement proves nothing. If you have, then in denying inference you contradict yourself as in calling yourself a barren mother's son''.¹ Vācaspati also observes that those who deny vyāpti, accept it indirectly. The proposition that vyāpti cannot be known, cannot certainly be observed with the senses, and hence it is inferred through vyāpti. Our theoretical inability to prove the correctness of induction does not depend upon the impossibility of vyāpti itself, but upon our inability to discover it. This theoretical difficulty will disappear with the introduction of the perfect inductive method. So if we cannot disprove induction, and if its defects are only due to our inability, one should admit the possibility of vyāpti with this reservation that we have no perfect method of ascertaining it at our disposal. That we cannot ascertain it, is due to our inability ; and to discover the methods of ascertaining it is a task for Logic. But for metaphysics this possibility of correct induction proves satkāryavāda, and such a possibility is accepted by the Nyāya and the Buddhists alike. Unless the effect exists in the cause there is no reason, as we have seen before, why there should be well-ordered succession between the cause and the effect. If we add together the idea of regular succession with the conception of pre-existence of the effect in the cause, we get what we call necessary connection. When the satkāryavādis argue the pre-existence of the effect in the cause on the strength of the necessary connection, they stand on this possibility of vyāpti, and accept necessary connection as its presupposition ; and then analysing necessary connection, they show that it involves pre-existence of effect in the cause.

4. *The Real Meaning of Necessary Connection.*

Necessary connection, when taken in its usual meaning, does not seem to be satisfactory. It takes the cause and the

¹ Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha, Ch. II.

effect to be separate units though bound in such a way that one cannot leave the other. The cause and the effect, if taken as two different units, cease to have any meaning. It may appear at the first sight that the cause and the effect are either separate or identical there being no third alternative. The Empiricists and the Buddhists accept the former frankly and the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, as we saw, admit it by implication. The satkāryavādis, expecting to find the effect in the cause, seem to hold them to be identical. Certainly the effect is not concealed in the cause as an article of use is concealed in a box, nor does the satkāryavādi say that; and if so, the effect is not a particular part of the cause, but the whole of it, or, in other words, it is identical. Taking the first position, if two things A and B are designated as cause and effect, what necessary connection can there be between them? A, B, C, D, E, F, are all equally separate, and there is no reason why there should be any such definite pairs as A-B, C-D, E-F and not A-C, C-E, D-F etc., as well. Hume and Mill are perfectly justified if they refuse to admit any necessary connection between things that are, *ex hypothesi*, unconnected. The difficulty of holding the second alternative is no less. Identity of cause and the effect leaves no room for differentiating between the two, and consequently there can be no connection between them. And to add to it, without any difference between the cause and the effect, succession and novelty become impossible. No artificial tie between two separate terms, A and B, is strong enough to be called 'necessary,' and so we require an internal or inherent tie which the very nature of the two things will supply; nor can we conceive a one-termed relation as in the case of identity between the cause and the effect, and so we require two terms. Our problem is, thus, to find out how two terms may be separate and yet internally connected, so that by the former we shall distinguish between the cause and the effect, and by the latter we shall hold them together. A *via media* may be suggested that causation is not A-B, but A-A' in which the

material cause (A) suffers a change of form (A') merely. Taken in this meaning, we have the advantage of both separateness and identity. A and A' occur in different time, and hence they are successive; they are of different forms and hence there is novelty in A'; they are of the identical material stuff, and hence there is homogeneity. The different forms supply us with the two terms, and the identical material stuff gives us the internal connection. Cause and effect are neither entirely separate nor absolutely identical—they are separate in form and identical in material. Necessary connection, thus, turns out to be not a connection between two separate things, but between the two stages of the same material. Our discursive intellect creates two things (A, B) out of what are actually two stages of the same thing (A, A'), and then finds itself at a loss to bridge this artificial gulf, though engulf it it must. Satkāryavāda accommodates both the difference between the cause and the effect, and their identity, and when they say that the effect pre-existed in the cause they mean this identity of material stuff.

5. *Prāgabdhāva cannot explain Causation.*

We have noticed the Buddhist theory that "a plant cannot grow without destroying its seed," together with the Nyāya objection to it which has been put by Vātsyāyana in the form of a dilemma quoted before. Though Vātsyāyana tried to disprove the Buddhist position in order to establish the necessity of material cause, yet the Nyāya theory actually amounts to the rejection of material cause, and the acceptance of the Buddhist position. A is the material cause of B. In producing B, A does not continue to live in B, for B is entirely new; or in other words, A ceases to exist. And B, it being non-existent in A, has nothing to do with A. This is the Buddhist position which denies even the necessity of material cause, and holds *pratītyasamut-*

pāda. There is absolutely no certainty in causation, anything may follow anything, and anything may precede anything; or, in other words, if we accept it, complete chaos should prevail even now, and cosmos should never come out of it. Such a state of affairs is, however, not theoretically tenable as we have seen before, nor does our practical experience support it.

The Nyāya-aiśeṣikas have tried to avoid the difficulty by devising prāgabhāva,—that ghaṭa is produced from earth because there is the prāgabhāva of ghaṭa in clay. This, however, does not make their position better in any way. The distinction among the different kinds of abhāvas enumerated by Nyāya-aiśeṣika rests upon psychological basis, and nothing in actuality corresponds to them. Thus, the difference between prāgabhāva (prior non-existence) and pradhvaṃsābhāva (posterior non-existence) of ghaṭa is made with reference to our knowledge ghaṭa. The ghaṭa *was not* (prāgabhāva), ghaṭa *is* (bhāva), ghaṭa is broken and therefore *is not* (pradhvaṃsābhāva). Prior non-existence is before our knowledge of ghaṭa, and posterior non-existence is after our knowledge of ghaṭa. Is there any intrinsic difference between them? And as a matter of fact, is there any intrinsic difference among the different 'abhāvas'? This is what Śamkara and Vijñānabhikṣu ask. The Nyāya-aiśeṣikas will, of course, deny the suggestion that there is no intrinsic difference between them, for by doing so they lose the significance of prāgabhāva which has been introduced as a reply to the previous difficulty. But the difficulty in admitting any distinction among them is no less. "If you admit that there are different kinds of abhāvas," says Vijñānabhikṣu, "then your abhāvas turn out to be bhāvas."¹ Differentiation is always by characteristics and characteristics always belong to existing things, so that non-existence having characteristics is virtually an existing thing, or as Śamkara puts it "abhāvas having characteristics are as much bhāvas as

lotus etc.”¹ Ghaṭapṛāgabdhāva is certainly different from paṭapṛāgabdhāva, otherwise there is no necessity in qualifying pṛāgabdhāva with ghaṭa and pata respectively. Ghaṭapṛāgabdhāva has some characteristics by which it can be differentiated from other abdhāvas (e.g. pradhvaṁsābdhāva) and also from other pṛāgabdhāvas (e.g. paṭapṛāgabdhāva), and in that case it turns out to be bdhāva.²

The Buddhist pratītyasamutpāda and the Empiricists’ mere succession, frankly denying material cause, makes causal succession, a succession of abdhāva and bdhāva and brings a chaos of causation; we have also seen that the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas, though they accept the material cause, yet by denying the existence of the effect therein, they virtually hold the Buddhist and the Empiricist position; and also that by their introduction of pṛāgabdhāva to meet the difficulty they cannot save their theory from criticism. Pṛāgabdhāva, being virtually bdhāva, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas become satkāryavādī.

6. *Novelty in the Effect—Manifestation of the Un-manifested.*

Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas have tried to disprove satkāryavāda by putting emphasis on the novelty of the effect. They have tried to show the difference between the cause and the effect by drawing attention to several distinctive features between them. Ghaṭa, for instance, is apprehended by us as separate from earth as there is a difference between the idea of ghaṭa and that of earth. Ghaṭa is different from paṭa because the respective ideas are different, and applying this to ghaṭa and earth,

¹ Brahmasūtra Bhaṣya, 2.2.26.

² Pṛāgabdhāva is, thus, not abdhāva but bdhāva, so that we may put pṛāgbdhāva (prior existence) instead of pṛāgabdhāva (prior non-existence), the negation ‘a’ being omitted. Pṛāgabdhāva, according to the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, resides in the material cause and determines the causal sequence of clay from earth. This pṛāgabdhāva being virtually a bdhāva, we may change the expression and say that there is something in the material cause which determines the succession of a particular effect from a particular cause, and this is exactly the satkāryavādī position.

they hold that ghaṭa is different from earth. Another reason for our distinguishing between things is the difference of effect they produce as between milk and rice ; similarly, the difference of effect of milk and curd on human body being different, they should be taken as two. We also differentiate between things on the ground of their time of occurrence, as the ghaṭa made to-day and yesterday ; similarly, the cause is prior in existence and the effect posterior, and as such they are different.¹ The cause and the effect being, thus, different, they think that the former cannot contain the latter.

True as these are, the satkāryavādīs do not deny them. They are not blind to the novelty of effect, for in that case they would not have differentiated between cause and effect. The very problem of satkāryavāda depends upon this differentiation, and differentiation is possible only if the effect is somewhat novel. The universe before our eye is evolving and evolving, and each successive stage of this long chain of causation is new. Apart from scientific data like the evolution of man from ascidian, or that of this present world with its infinite variety of man, animal and plant from the fiery nebular mass, we see before us the development of the huge tree from the tiny seed, of the full-grown man from the prattling child, and a multitude of such cases. To an ordinary man they present no problem but to a philosopher they offer a problem too hard to be cracked easily. Asatkāryavādīs, impressed with the newness of the effect, have tried to assign a distinct existence to it ; while satkāryavādīs, troubled with the problem as to how a thing can be a cause without containing the effect, and at the same time embarrassed with the novelty of the effect, tried to solve it by holding the mysterious existence of the effect in the cause.

If we take satkāryavāda, in the sense that the effect resides bodily in the cause, then, of course, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika

¹ Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, p. 37.

objection based on the newness of the effect becomes incontrovertible. "The mind can never possibly find the effect in the supposed cause," says Hume, "by the most accurate scrutiny and examination."¹ If Hume means that we cannot perceive the effect bodily in the cause by our sense, he is right, but satkāryavādīs do not hold any such opinion. "We *infer* the existence of the effect," says Śaṅkara "since the effect is where the cause is, and where the cause is not, the effect is not."² Vijñānabhikṣu also says that "since we cannot otherwise account for the effect we *infer* that it existed in the cause in a subtle state."³ Satkāryavāda is not, and cannot, be proved by experience, as the term *sūkṣma* or potential, as opposed to *vyakta* or actual, clearly shows, but it has to be accepted in order to explain regular succession. The Nyāya-*vaiśeṣika* supposition of *prāgabhāva* was introduced to explain the regularity of causal succession. Like the pre-existence of effect *prāgabhāva* is also not a fact of the experience. Satkārya or pre-existence of effect in a potential form is, thus, not a fact of experience, but a logical necessity.

Causation has been compared by Śaṅkara to the unfolding of a folded piece of cloth,⁴ and Vijñānabhikṣu says that "an effect is said to be produced when it is manifest."⁵ According to the satkāryavādī it is a passing of the non-manifested to manifestation; while according to the asatkāryavādī, it is passing from non-existence to existence "a sort of epigenesis" as Prof. Radhakrishnan calls it, or *ārambhavāda* as it is generally known.

¹ Human Understanding, Sec. IV, Part I.

² Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya, 3. 1.

³ Śaṅkhyā-Pravacana-Bhāṣya, 1.113.

⁴ Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya, 2. 1. 19.

⁵ Śaṅkhyā-Pravacana-Bhāṣya, 1. 120.

. 7. *The Problem of Novelty—Unphilosophical Attitude of some Contemporary Philosophers.*

We have seen that the two schools of satkāryavādīs—Sāṃkhya and the Vēdānta—agree in discarding asatkāryavāda in all its forms and admit the potential existence of the effect. We shall now discuss the difference between these two schools in order to bring out the exact position held by Śamkara. The difference between them is regarding the process of manifestation, and the status of the manifested quality in the effect. We have noticed before the arguments advanced by the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas to prove the newness of the effect. Though Śamkara and Vijñānabhikṣu do not deny the newness in the effect, yet they differ as to the process of this manifestation and the status thereof.

The attitude taken up by some of the contemporary European philosophers coincides with that of the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika. Mr. Morgan distinguishes between two kinds of effects, viz., additive or which is the mere addition of new constituents, and emergent or which is not found in the cause but is found in the effect. The combination of carbon and sulphur gives us a compound called carbon-bisulphide where the weight of the new compound is just the same as that of carbon and sulphur, but there are certain other qualities which are entirely new. In the compound carbon-bisulphide, its weight is additive effect, while the new qualities are emergent. For our purpose, however we need not distinguish between these two kinds of effects ; we may simply say that the compound, as a whole, has certain new traits and we are interested in them. The 'Creative Evolution' of Bergson in the field of life, mind and intelligence, the 'Emergent Evolution' of Morgan and the "Creative Resultant" of Wündt, inspite of the difference among them, all agree in the newness of the effect. The problem of the newness of effect has been engaging the attention of philosophers,

both of the east and the west, and there is nothing strange in their holding it as absolutely new. The Buddhists, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas and the Empiricists all agree in the newness of the effect, but all of them have tried to adduce reason for their opinion. What is, however, strange with these contemporary philosophers is that they not only ignore the problem but accept the conclusions of science without criticism. They give instances after instances from scientific works showing that there are elements in the effect which are not found in the cause, and hence conclude that nature in her course takes sudden and unaccountable turns. They do not pause to discuss whether such unaccountable arrival of new qualities is justifiable or not, but bodily incorporate the conclusion of science, bidding us to accept them with what Prof. Alexander calls "natural piety," which, in plain words mean, without scrutiny. They forget that the business of philosophy is not to borrow the conclusions of science, but to examine and interpret them. Philosophers must take note of scientific developments and change their own conclusions, if necessary, but not before the conclusions of science have been thoroughly examined and interpreted.

Be that as it may, we have seen the Buddhists and Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas try to explain newness by *asatkāryavāda* and the *Sāṃkhya-vedānta* by *satkāryavāda*. But the explanation of the *satkāryavādī*s is not complete unless two more points are cleared up. They are about the process of the manifestation of the effect, and the status of this manifested effect.

8. *Sāṃkhya Theory of Parisāma.*

We have seen that according to *satkāryavāda* causation means the manifestation of the unmanifested. A discussion has been raised in this connection: Is this manifestation the result of some change in the material cause? Causation may not be the incoming of anything new, but does this manifestation of the old involve change in the material cause as experience seems to

give us? The Sāṃkhya-yoga thinks that the manifestation of the unmanifested involves change, while the Vedānta thinks that it does not. The favourite example of the former is milk changed into curd, and that of the latter is clay which remains clay even when it assumes a certain form known as ghaṭa. The Sāṃkhya theory has been called vikāravāda and the Vedānta theory is known as vivartavāda. Let us take for example the case of ghaṭa. Clay has assumed a certain form and has suffered a change in assuming this form. Similarly in the case of gold bracelet which also has assumed a certain form and has suffered change in the process. These 'forms,' the Sāṃkhya-yoga thinks, were implicit in clay and gold, and so the pot or bracelet are not new. But in the process of the implicit form to become explicit, the respective material cause has to undergo certain change, for if the material cause is not changed how can the implicit form become explicit? "As it is necessary to press seed to bring out oil or to hew stone to make a statue from a slab, so it is necessary to make some change in the material cause." The effect is implicit in the cause because of some thing which hinders it from being presented to us, and unless this barrier is removed the effect is not visible; and to remove this barrier it is necessary that changes should be made in the material cause, though, however, for the yogīs such change in the material cause is not required. The function of the instrumental cause (karaṇa) is just to destroy this barrier. Physical change is due to change of parts, and the Sāṃkhya takes its stand upon this. Reason demands that the effect should be potential in the cause, and experience shows that a physical object remains what it is unless there is a change of parts, so that without this change of parts the implicit cannot be explicit. The position of Bergson and of the Sāṃkhya-yoga is, thus, the same.¹

¹ It is interesting to note that Bergson though an asatkāryavādi so far as evolution of life and mind are concerned, is a satkāryavādi in the physical world. We can do no better

The two parts of the Sāṃkhya doctrine of causation—satkāryavāda and parināma or vikāravāda—are, thus, got from two different sources. The former supplies the demand of reason that the effect should remain in the cause and the latter is due to the realistic attitude that unless the cause changes its parts it will never forsake its present form to give place to the future one which it contains within its bosom. The Sāṃkhya admits the reality of the manifested effect and also the reality of change which brings about the manifestation.

9. *The Anomalous Nature of the Effect.*

Sāṃkara has attempted to disprove the Sāṃkhya theory by showing the metaphysical difficulty it involves. The reality of change and the reality of the newness in the effect are, in fact, so interconnected that if one is accepted the other must also be accepted and if the one is rejected the other is also rejected automatically. Change means changing of the old form into the new, and the newness in the effect means that this newness is the result of change in the old. So one can disprove any one of the two—the reality of change in the material cause or the reality of the newness in the effect—one automatically

than quote *in extenso* the views of Bergson in his own words: "We say that a composite object changes by the displacement of its parts. But when a part has changed its position, there is nothing to prevent its return to it. A group of elements which has gone through a state, can, therefore, always find its way back to that state if not by itself, at least by means of external cause able to restore everything to its place. This amounts to saying that any state of the group may be repeated as often as desired and consequently the group does not grow old. It has no history, thus, nothing is created therein, neither form nor matter. What the group will be, is already present in what is... A super human intellect could calculate for any moment of time the position of any point of the system in space. And as there is nothing more in the whole than the rearrangement of its parts, the future forms of the system are theoretically visible in its present configuration" (Creative Evolution, p. 9). When Bergson admits that the future forms of the system are theoretically visible in the present configuration he has perhaps no objection to agreeing that the future effects are manifestation of the unmanifest, the unfoldment of the folded. Evolution in nature, according to Bergson, is not creative but a spreading out of the old in a form which appears new to our limited intellect, but even this form is not new to the superhuman intellect. This, however, is accepted by Bergson provisionally from the scientific point of view (*ibid.*, p. 11).

disproves the other.¹ Śamkara has sought to show the impossibility of the newness. In this Śamkara has allied himself with the Mādhyāmika. Gold bracelet, we say, is produced from gold, and in the former there are some qualities which differentiate it from the latter, otherwise gold and bracelet would have been the same. In the case of milk and curd the newness is palpable. This newness may not be absolutely new but only the result of the realising of the potentiality, so far Śamkara agrees. But what is the status of this newness? Is it metaphysically justifiable?

Gauḍapāda, in his Māṇḍukya kārīkā, has attempted to show the untenability of both the Sāṃkhya and the asatkāryavādi positions with a view to establishing what is known as vivartavāda. Śamkara accepted Gauḍapāda's doctrine and has argued against the theory of production whether it be in the Sāṃkhya line of manifestation involving transformation or on asatkāryavādi line of the arrival of the absolutely new. "If the effect is a fact, it is not born (of itself) like a clump of earth (which is existing) and as such is not born of itself" says Śamkara against the Sāṃkhya; "And if it is not a fact" he argues against the asatkāryavādi, "it cannot be born at all, like the horse's horn (which can never be a fact)." "If the effect is both a fact and a not-fact it is not born," he continues, "for it is contradictory."²

The asatkāryavādi position of the absolutely new effect

¹ Śamkara agrees with the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika that the transformation theory does not fit with the metaphysical position of the Sāṃkhya. The Sāṃkhya by its admission that the material cause is changed, runs the risk of admitting that Prakṛti itself as the ultimate material cause of all change is also changed. By some mysterious way Puruṣa disturbs the equilibrium of Prakṛti and creation begins. Prakṛti, as the primeval material cause, according to the Sāṃkhya theory of causation is, thus, liable to change, and if so, it cannot be eternal (nitya) as they hold. To avoid this, the Sāṃkhya has tried to prove the eternality (nityatā) of Prakṛti in spite of the changes it undergoes by calling it the "Changing Eternal" (paripamī nitya) by distinguishing it from Puruṣa the changeless eternal (aparipamī nitya). But a changing eternal is a contradiction. The Sāṃkhya has either to accept Prakṛti as non-eternal, or to accept the Vedānta position that the material cause does not change.

² Māṇḍukya Kārīkā Bhāṣya.

means that the effect was absolutely absent in the material cause. If so, how can it come to exist? The *asatkāryavādī* will admit that *abhāva* like a barren mother's son cannot exist or come to exist in future. The attempt of *Nyāya-vaiśeṣikas* to explain away the difficulty by holding the different kinds of *abhāvas*, we have seen, does not help them, for any differentiation among the so-called different *abhāvas* makes them accept that *abhāvas* are *bhāvas*, and they turn *satkāryavādī*.

The *Sāṃkhya* should either admit that the effect bodily exists in the cause, or that it is due to the change of the form of the material cause. The *Sāṃkhya*, of course, does not accept the first alternative. Against the second one, which the *Sāṃkhya* holds, *Gauḍapāda* and *Śaṅkara* argue that it is impossible. The newness of the form in the effect has to be accounted for by the *Sāṃkhya*, and in doing so the *Sāṃkhya* has either to say that the particular form was there in the cause, or that it is a new one. There are difficulties in both of them. If the *Sāṃkhya* says that it is absolutely new then, of course, this particular form being entirely new, the *Sāṃkhya* becomes *asatkāryavādī*; for the form that was not has come to be. By saying that the particular form was existing in the cause they open themselves a new charge. If the form is a fact, there is no necessity why it should be born, as an existing clump of earth need not be born. The *Sāṃkhya* cannot say that the form existed in the material cause, for the form which is already a fact need not be born; and it is tantamount to saying that the effect bodily existed in the cause (which the *Sāṃkhya* does not hold) for a thing is nothing if not a combination of matter and form. Nor can it say, that the form does not exist in the material cause, for that will be saying that the particular effect did not exist in the material cause, for a thing cannot be said to exist without a form.¹

¹ Candrakīrti, commenting on the *Mādhyamika kārīka* of Nāgārjuna, has argued against causation almost in the same way as Śaṅkara and Gauḍapāda have done. "What-

The status of the effect is, thus, anomalous. It can neither be said to exist in the Sāṃkhya sense nor can it be said to be non-existent in the Buddhist or the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika sense. The Sāṃkhya and the asatkāryavādī are both correct so far as they go, but the anomalous nature has been detected by the Vedantists and the Mādhyamikas, *e.g.*, Candrakīrti and Nāgārjuna. The advent of the new whether from nothing (asatkāryavāda), or as a result of manifestation involving change (pariṇāma-vāda), both being found unsatisfactory, the only way to explain causation is to deny its reality. This is what Śamkara has done. Following the Upaniṣadic text "all changes are only in name, clay is only true," he denies the reality of all effect as being metaphysically unjustifiable. We have noted before the anomalous character of the effect—it can neither be said to exist in the material cause in the Sāṃkhya sense, nor can it be said to be non-existent therein in the asatkāryavādī sense; and so it can neither be born from the material cause, nor can it be born of nothing. This is, according to Śamkara, sufficient proof of the unreality of the effect. Illusion has been characterised by Śamkara as something which can neither be said to exist nor can be denied altogether, and the effect is just a thing of this sort—effects cannot be denied altogether, for we have knowledge of them, nor can we admit its reality because of the anomaly which causation involves. Śamkara agrees with Nyāya-vaiśeṣika and the Sāṃkhya as against the Buddhist in admitting the necessity of material cause; he agrees with the Sāṃkhya in arguing against asatkāryavāda, whether in the Buddhist or Nyāya-vaiśeṣika form; and he also joins with the Mādhyamika as against the Sāṃkhya doctrines of real change involving newness in the effect. His theory of causation is, thus, satkārya-vāda *minus* the reality of the production of effect involving

ever already exists does not want to be produced, as the jar before us." says he, "nor does a thing rise from a different thing, because it is not there." English translation by Prof. Stcherbatsky.

transformation ; or in other words, causation is an illusion. Though in the practical world (vyavahārika jagat) he is as much a satkāryavādi as the Sāṃkhya, yet, for him, causation has no ultimate justification. This is saying like Kant who accepted it as a category of thought at the same time denying it in the transcendental world.

10. *The Difference between Vedānta and Mādhyamika standpoints—Satkāraṇavāda.*

This is, however, very much different from the Mādhyamika standpoint which denies not only the reality of change, but, along with all Buddhist Schools, the reality of material cause also. But Śaṅkara denies only change of the material cause but not the material cause itself. Though the Mādhyamika and Śaṅkara meet so near, yet this difference between them is actually a difference of great importance. There is neither causation and change nor material cause—this leads to Śūnyavāda ; but the acceptance of material cause and the denial of change of the material cause leads to Brahmvivartavāda—that Brahman, as the material cause, is the only reality and causation, change and effect are all illusory.

Śaṅkara's first analysis of causation that the effect remains potentially in the effect (satkāryavāda) brings out the necessity of a material cause, and so far he agrees with Nyāya and Sāṃkhya. But further examination of causation shows that newness in the effect is unjustifiable and hence causation, transformation, and effects are all false (vivartavāda). But since we cannot deny the effect altogether, we are to say that transformation and effects are real as facts of experience, and false from the metaphysical standpoint. In other words, the material cause is not transformed in producing the effect which is of an anomalous nature. Applying this to the world as a whole we may say that the world as an effect, requires a material cause which is not transformed in 'producing' it; and the empirical world, as effect,

is also of an anomalous nature,—neither existent nor non-existent—and as such, illusory.

Satkāryavāda, as modified by vivartavāda, thus, turns out to be the relation between a real cause and an unreal effect. Śamkara's satkāryavāda, has been appropriately characterised by some as satkāraṇavāda, *i.e.*, the cause alone is real and the effect illusory.

SATINDRAKUMAR MUKHERJEE

Reviews

Coleridge as Philosopher, by Professor J. H. Muirhead, M.A., LL.D. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 12s. 6 . net) is a masterly critical work of real worth and great value in which this able interpreter of Coleridge contends that the value of Coleridge's work as a philosopher has not been adequately recognised either by the educated public or the professed student of idealistic philosophy. The prevailing mid-nineteenth century impression is well reflected in the view that "Coleridge teaches no system, not even his own." Even Leslie Stephen held that Coleridge's admirers must "abandon any claim to the construction of a definite system." Yet Coleridge wrote in *The Friend*—"The grand problem, the solution of which forms the final object and distinctive character of philosophy, is this: for all that exists conditionally (that is, the existence of which is inconceivable except under the conditions of its dependency on some other as its antecedent) to find a ground that is unconditional and absolute, and thereby to reduce the aggregate of human knowledge to a system."

Professor Muirhead's is a thorough study of Coleridge's scattered published utterances supplemented by a careful study of his manuscript remains hitherto unavailable with a view to tackle the difficult problem of assigning to Coleridge his rightful place in the thought movement of nineteenth century England by means of a conscientious analysis of all his works, in addition to indicating clearly the part he plays in British Idealism and in the Platonic tradition. In doing this valuable service to philosophy, literature and to Coleridge as well as to the history of English thought (for, this volume belongs to the Library of Philosophy of which Professor Muirhead is the General Editor), the present author acknowledges a forerunner in J. H. Green, who, however, undertook a task he did not live to fulfil, at any rate, "on the large-scale plan he had designed." Up to now Coleridge's biographers and critics were prepared to admit nothing more than that Coleridge was possessed of a coherent body of thought having, at least, the importance of strikingly brilliant or suggestive speculations on a number of metaphysical topics. The "visionary" legend clung too fast to the poet-philosopher and the thinker was sunk in the Anglican theologian. Coleridge's philosophy, we admit, is, no doubt, inseparable from his theology but Professor Muirhead establishes beyond dispute that both had a foundation of systematic metaphysics. For this

service all students of Coleridge must feel grateful to the present writer as an interpreter of Coleridge's true philosophy.

Professor Muirhead has very successfully overcome the difficulty, properly appreciated by him, of connecting into a "clear and consistent form" the scattered and sometimes contradictory ideas, which, again, are always in a state of development, discoverable in all that Coleridge has left behind in published works or manuscript remains. He has practically rescued Coleridge the philosopher from unmerited neglect or partial or prejudiced interpretation.

Coleridge was the first in England to be alive to the problem that philosophy was more "an endeavour to bring together the different interests of the human spirit" than "the development of the view of the world that concentration on the logic of cause and effect seemed to imply." He clearly saw that the prevalent popular philosophy as represented by Locke, Hume, Hartley and supplemented by Spinoza was "wholly unable to give any intelligible account." To him the problem was far more comprehensive—"embracing the whole spiritual life of man, morals and education, law and politics, science and logic." While admitting with great insight the light thrown on the complex problem by German philosophy, specially by Kant, Coleridge did not fail to perceive that finality could no more be claimed by the German philosophical contributions than those of England.

In the eight chapters of his book Professor Muirhead deals elaborately, of course within the limits imposed on him, with philosophical development up to Coleridge's time and in him; the idea of Logic and Coleridge's parting with the Kantian logic and anticipation of the Hegelian metaphysics with special reference to Kant; the meaning of Ideas and how the Idea can involve Reality and Coleridge's theological Platonism; and philosophy of Nature, of Morals, of Politics, of Religion and the theory of Fine Art. The three Appendices are also valuable and helpful.

The result is a lucid and adequate history of "the influences under which Coleridge's philosophical convictions were matured, the principles of method he was led to adopt, the view to which these led as to the ultimate reality of which the world of nature and human life is the temporal expression, and the applications he made of it in the various departments of theory and practice." * * * "Fundamental points are indicated in which he manifestly failed." It is also indicated as to how and how far his body of doctrine exercised an influence on the succeeding generation of English thinkers. It is admitted that his influence on Anglican theology was greater than on the technical philosophy of the next generation.

We are made to see in this admirable book that Coleridge recognised that philosophical or religious truth could not be attained without reaching beyond the concrete and the visible, furnished by sensory forces, by means of a truly metaphysical discipline as suggested very early in the history of European idealistic thought by Plato. We are convinced by Professor Muirhead's cogent reasons that Traill was not quite correct in holding that in Coleridge there is an absence of any moral theory of life. We are made to realise Coleridge's remarkable insistence on God as Will and on the idea of Personality and feel that his place is supremely important and somewhat unique in the new department of psychology of religion.

Finally, there is an attempt to precisely state "the place which is likely to be assigned to Coleridge in the history of Anglo-Saxon philosophy, and the feature in his teaching that is the main ground of his title to it."

J. G. B.

Philosophy without Metaphysics by Edmond Holmes (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. (1930) is an attempt to free philosophy from bondage to Metaphysics which, according to the writer, has in the past done immense harm by arresting the progress of Physical Science, Medicine, Theology and indirectly Psychology and Ethics. The fundamental assumption of Metaphysics which for centuries dominated all knowledge is considered here to be a fundamental fallacy. What he specially deprecates in metaphysics is its assumption that intellect, alone and unaided, is competent to unravel mysteries.

The scheme of his book is briefly described in the introduction as an examination of (1) a typical metaphysical system of the logical type as represented by Bradley's *Appearance and Reality* (Ch. I of the book under review), (2) a typical metaphysical system of the Empirical type as represented by Professor Alexander's *Space, Time and Deity* (Ch. II), (3) two metaphysical systems belonging to the people rather than the schools, viz., Supernaturalism and Materialism, from which the author passes on to what he calls the philosophy, of intellectual despair, namely, Agnosticism (Ch. III), which critical examination of systems now prevalent is finally followed (in Ch. IV) by his advocacy of Intuition (which is "an alliance of thought and feeling") and an examination of Intuitionist Philosophy on its speculative and practical side. The "Conclusion" develops the intuitionist philosopher's creed.

The treatment throughout this comparatively short study (in 175 pages) of a great subject is lucid and popular which occasionally becomes,

however, irritatingly superficial. Our impression is that here Bradley is too cheaply disposed of. The writer fails to go deep into Bradley's philosophy which surely deserves a more careful and thorough preparation than is brought to bear on this alleged examination and should be approached with greater seriousness of purpose. Mr. Holmes is more convincing in his criticism of Professor Alexander's position and his conclusion is that "empirical metaphysics is a hybrid product of speculative thought. It is neither Science nor—I was going to say Metaphysics, but perhaps I had better say—Philosophy." "Take away," he adds, "from Philosophy its "wings" and its "songs." The resulting residuum may perhaps pass as Metaphysics. Whether there is any *locus standi* as it is for the empirical metaphysician is a matter which his fellow-metaphysicians must decide." This gives us a specimen of the manner in which Mr. Holmes scores a point against his opponents and there is something chevalier-like in it. All through, by metaphysics is meant "the intellectual attempt to understand the universe." Philosophy being "love of wisdom," the metaphysician's attempt, in this view, made from whatever standpoint—logical, empirical or materialistic—to bring ultimate Reality within its scope starts with an initial misconception which is hard to rectify. Mr. Holme's main contention is that the intellect is competent to interpret "the data of sense-experience by analytical methods" and the appeal, again, for verification of the results must be to the testimony of these very senses, whereas the philosophic quest of wisdom requires "the co-operation of all the higher powers of man." For, an *intellectual* system, according to Mr. Holmes, there is no escape from dualism and dualism is rampant in two spheres of human activity—our everyday life and our speculative philosophy and materialism and supernaturalism are "two chief types of dualism in its extreme form," the supernatural, as differentiated as an exclusive alternative to the material, leading to a form of dualism easily derived from the dualism of matter and spirit. The result of this disruption of the universe is, he holds, the replacing of the two entities of the phenomenal and the real by "three kinds of reality the created reality of the material world, the created reality of the soul of man, and the creative reality of the Supernatural world which is self-existent and therefore of a higher order." "From Philosophy to Theology, from Theology to Ethics, from Ethics to Conduct, the current of dualistic thought runs its course without let or hindrance. * * * The choice between the Supernatural and Nature becomes a choice between God and the Devil, between good and evil, between salvation and perdition, between Heaven and Hell." * * * "And with infinitude goes reality.

For the ideal is the real, and infinitude is of the very essence of the quest of the ideal. * * * Dualism deprives each of two correlated opposites of the very element of reality which it owes to the other."

"The loss," he argues, "of infinitude which is characteristic of metaphysical dualism" reproduces itself in practical life "as loss of idealism, as loss of spirituality, as the materialization of motives, as the mechanization of life."

"A reaction," he proceeds, "against Supernaturalism gives us Materialism" of which the essence is "the assumption that through the scientific analysis of dense matter lies the road to ultimate reality and "a reaction against materialism has led many metaphysically minded thinkers to take refuge in agnosticism" which "means nothing less than the final failure of the whole metaphysical adventure."

Next follows Mr. Holme's constructive criticism or enquiry and the supreme place of importance belongs here to feeling. "In the philosophy of the Upanishads, in which, as it seems to me, idealism touches its high-water mark, there is more of poetry than of Metaphysics." Speculation, reasoning, arguing, trying to intellectually comprehend life will not help us "to live life" to live our way into the *heart of Reality*." "If we are to know Reality we must be content to know it from within."

"It follows that, if we are to think about great matters, our thought must be in large measure intuitional and emotional."

We propose to conclude with one more quotation:—

"Our choice does not lie between mere feeling and pure thought. The great literatures of the world, which contain its best philosophy, and which no thinker, not even the most fanatical of metaphysicians, can afford to ignore, are the product, not of pure thought nor of mere feeling, but of thought co-operative with feeling; of thought transfigured and stabilized by feeling, and of feeling concentrated and disciplined by thought."

J. G. B.

Beyond Physics or the Idealisation of Mechanism (being a Survey and attempted extension of Modern Physics in a Philosophical and Psychological direction)—by Sir Oliver Lodge, D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 5s.) is one more thought-provoking and challenging

book of 155 pages of well-reasoned and lucid argument of which the descriptive title sufficiently explains its scope and aim.

Orthodox physics however advanced and up-to-date, proposes more or less to confine itself and its activities in a vast, yet, in a way, *closed* cycle of phenomena amenable to metrical comprehension and demonstration. It recognises, no doubt, at the same time, though refusing to tackle directly, man's aesthetic and spiritual intuitions as equally real and valid, nay important, as convictions of which the functions form a fundamental and essential part of human nature. Such a recognition tends to liberate physics from the severe grip of the strict and rigid law of causality beyond which this science, like the philosophy of Locke and Hume, hitherto refused to travel. This liberation is pregnant with marvellous possibilities specially bringing about a closer intimacy between science and philosophy. In this respect books like Sir Oliver Lodge's *Life and Matter, Ether and Reality*, *Modern Scientific Ideas*, Eddington's *Science and the Unseen World*, Dewy's *Quest for Certainty*, Urban's *The Intelligible World*, Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World*, Dr. J. S. Scott Haldane's *The Sciences and Philosophy* and *The Mysterious Universe* of Sir James Jeans are highly suggestive landmarks in the history and trend of modern thought and scientific speculation. This thought-movement makes science more philosophical as an interpretation of the universe and philosophy less speculative and abstract. A *rapprochement* becomes easy between two fundamental types of facts—between facts purely factual and facts important by reason of their *value*. There is thus a movement of modern thought behind or beyond strictly orthodox scientific theories into a region with which philosophy was mainly concerned.

Recent scientific speculations, based on relativity, of Bohr, Born, Heisenberg, Schrödinger, Whitehead and Eddington (with all of which Sir Oliver is not always in agreement) encourage the author of these book to hope that the day may come when scientists will see, from what they have already realised about the incompleteness and inadequacy of pure physics, that beyond its vast, but limited region, lies that of psychics, not altogether dissociated from it. They will admit that where physics ends psychics begins. His plea is definitely set forth thus:—"There are other avenues to truth than the metrical methods of physics," though mathematical physics may consider them to be non-scientific. "I want," says Sir Oliver, "to go further and claim that these other avenues, or some of them, are open to scientific exploration." * * * "We belong both to the physical and to the non-physical world, here and now; we cannot afford to separate them and keep them in water-tight compartments."

Chapter IV (of this book of only 7 chapters) contains a fairly elaborate and critical survey of modern physics leading into a realm beyond the physics proper of mathematical physicists who at the present time make use of abstract symbols in a highly speculative manner to represent things yet definitely unknown replacing the physical imagery of the 19th century physicists. The result, according to Sir Oliver Lodge, is necessarily a tendency towards an idealistic interpretation of the universe. His main contention consequently is that "different thinkers from different points of view are converging on some kind of guidance, some kind of mental activity, some kind of organising power, some rational and pre-determining influence, not only in the works of man, where it is conspicuous, but in the works of nature too." Some of his main objections to prevalent methods may be referred to here—viz., that "Relativists seem inclined to overemphasise the laboratory method of observation in a curiously impractical and imaginative fashion," that, because at present there is no means of measuring it, velocity through the ether must be considered to be meaningless, that though Relativists rightly lay stress on certain absolutes already detected by them, they should not shut their minds against other possible absolutes such, for instance, as absolute locomotion through the ether.

The book before us is full of highly interesting suggestions regarding incorporation into physics of the element brought in by life and mind for which physicists hitherto could not detect any permanent physical basis but for which he is prepared to hazard the **hypothetical** suggestion of the *constituent* waves of excessively high frequency (as opposed to group waves) as the basis. He envisages a day when even psychologists may find, as physical optics does in the case of ether waves with velocity c or mechanics in that of group waves with velocity u , use for waves with velocity v in utilising these at present dimly inferred and barely apprehended high-frequency periodicities as the instrument of the long-sought for physical basis of life and mind.

Let us finish with a reference to some of his conclusions.

"I feel compelled to assume," he adds, "that the latent possibilities of animation are already existent in space." "It appears that physics is now helping us to trace the gradual possibilities of interaction between space and matter."

J. G. B.

Cooperation in Bombay, by H. L. Kaji, with a foreword by H. W. Wolff, published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co, Bombay, pp. 311. Price Rs. 10.

Prof. Kaji is reputed to be an enthusiastic co-operator and an intelligent worker taking active interest in spreading the general culture of co-operation. Some of his co-adjutors, *viz.*, Mr. V. L. Mehta, Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, Mr. P. G. Kanekar and Mr. C. M. Gandhi are no less distinguished than Prof. Kaji himself and together they have succeeded in tracing the origin, development and the difficulties besetting the real progress of the co-operative movement in the province of Bombay.

As in the other parts of this vast continent the co-operastive principle has been applied with the specific purpose of the democratisation of credit. Realising quickly that "co-operation is the best gift that India has received" this principle has been extended to the other walks of life, namely, housing work, sanitary work, agricultural co-operation, co-operative labour societies and consumer's co-operation. The different essays deal with the celerity and popularity with which the movement has been extended by its enthusiastic supporters and commercial magnates of the stamp of the late Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey and Sir Lallubhai Samaldas. All these essays have been written in a vivid manner bristling with actual facts and all those interested in utilising the self-same agent of improvement, *viz.*, co-operation, would do well to make an intelligent study of this book, for the experience gained in this province would afford an invaluable guide. However differing the local conditions might be in the other provinces no one would gainsay the truth of the proposition that this democratic movement requires progressive de-officialisation.

It would indeed be impossible to convey the wealth of actual details and useful information which this book possesses. Prof. Kaji has written a lengthy and able introduction expounding lucidly the aims and ideals of the co-operative movement, the different types of co-operative societies and the relationship between the state and the co-operative movement. Another interesting chapter contributed by him is that on consumers' co-operation. He has rightly levied proper emphasis on the greater need of utilising the co-operative principle in uplifting the economic conditions of the Indian labourers. Commenting on the weakness of co-operative banking he wisely insists on the absolute necessity of securing efficient business management of the primary co-operative societies. The employment of trained staff by the urban banks and the undertaking of general banking business is advocated by him as well as Mr. V. C. Jadav who writes an illuminating description of the people's co-operative

banks of the Bombay Province (See Ch. VII). Like the distinguished and veteran economist Sir J. C. Coyajee he pleads for a wide extension of the urban co-operative banks. The most successful of these ought to open branches in smaller areas and with the adoption of the principle of centralisation in finance, *viz.*, the organisation of the Union of People's Banks for the whole Presidency, the movement would develop on sound lines.

Mr. D. A. Shah, the able and enthusiastic Assistant Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, discusses the principles underlying the rural co-operative credit. After giving an impartial account of the growth of the co-operative credit movement he estimates the economic benefits which the movement has conferred on the people and corroborates the widespread opinion that it is high time that internal check and supervision ought to displace the present-day outside check and supervision.

One of the most well-informing papers is the financial structure of the co-operative movement by Mr. V. L. Mehta, the Managing Director of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank. He draws attention to the necessity of maintaining high fluid resources by the Central Banks. As much as 60% against current accounts and 50% against savings bank accounts are considered as the adequate provision. Branch banking, financial inspection in addition to supervision and control in the absence of unions of primary societies, the undertaking of inland exchange business, the financing of urban trade and the helping of the purchase and sale societies are recommended as the proper duties of the Central Banks and he emphatically remarks that "without a bold and vigorous policy a state of stagnation may set in and stagnation, if not encountered in time by forces making for growth and progress, may bring in its train deterioration and ultimate decay."

The special and distinctive features of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank form the subject-matter of the next essay. The policy of branch banking by the apex Provincial Co-operative Bank is upheld on the ground of historical reasons. Its improvement of the remittance facilities and its help in the agricultural marketing business are vividly described. The cheapening of credit arising out of centralisation in finance has also been pointed out and the author advocates the formation of one such Provincial Co-operative Bank as the apex bank for the co-operative credit societies in each and every province. The prompt recovery of loans is another advantage flowing out of centralisation of the financing structure of the co-operative credit movement.

The necessity for the agricultural marketing organisation to be based on

a co-operative basis is ably expounded in Chapter IV. The present middlemen would attempt to snub and strangle the Agricultural Co-operative sale societies but it is the co-operative system that will enable the agriculturists to fight their battle with a good chance of success. The difficulties attending the finance, working and management of the co-operative sale societies form the subject matter of this interesting essay. He recommends the formation of an Agricultural Wholesale Society for Bombay somewhat on the lines of the Jute organisation for Bengal which is working on somewhat successful lines though there is plenty of scope for further improvement.

Chapter V is strictly speaking a continuation of the same discussion and the success of the co-operative cotton sale societies forms the topic. The Guzerat societies are working more successfully than the Karnatic type and both these would achieve greater measure of success if the Bombay merchants were to support them wholeheartedly.

In Chapter VI we find Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki contributing an able discussion on the subject of the suitable type of subsidiary industries which would supplement the agricultural income all round the year. Besides the dairying industry he advocates the conjoint working of beefarming, fruit-farming and vegetable-growing. Subsidiary industries should help the agriculturist and supply him with all his primary needs. So he rightly advocates subsidiary industries in the matter of food and clothing. A critical summary of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture is tacked on and forms a happy ending of this useful chapter.

The wisdom of launching forth the consumers' co-operative movement is ably discussed by Prof. H. L. Kaji. Co-operative distribution has been sadly neglected and the little success attending the formation of stores, has been commented on by the writer. More intensive propaganda and the starting of a separate salaried staff to run this branch of the much-neglected aspect of co-operation is the recommendation made by this writer.

The indefatigable Mr. Kanekar points out the direct and indirect benefits which labour would enjoy out of the co-operative movement. Credit co-operation, consumers' co-operation, and co-operative production are the three recognised aspects of the co-operative movement and these ought to be enrolled for the service of the Indian labourers. He aims at rousing the co-operative conscience of the masses and when once this is aroused he would make it purely a peoples' movement depending less and less on official encouragement.

An able summary of the existing co-operative law is to be found in Chapter X. The salient features of the 1925 Act are commented on and as co-operative law forms the foundation of the co-operative edifice everyone interested in the success of the movement would have to digest these rules.

Chapter XI gives an outline of the historical evolution of the Provincial Co-operative Institute of Bombay. After describing the work of the Institute—the position of the Institute in the co-operative movement of the Province is discussed. He would like the non-statutory work in connection with the co-operative movement to be studied and undertaken by the Institute. Education, supervision, propaganda, and the voicing of popular opinion on co-operative questions form the proper field of the work of the Institute. The eschewing of politics from the Institute is also clearly enunciated by him. The Institute which is constituted as the third main arm of the co-operative movement should co-operate with the Registrar and the financing Banks which are the other two arms and make the movement a successful one. He would proceed further and constitute a fourth arm, namely co-operative trade, which ought to form a fourth wheel accelerating the progress of the co-operative chariot.

There is no gainsaying the truth that if the co-operative conscience of the masses is once roused and the co-operative machinery is worked in true co-operative spirit by specially trained and experienced men there would be no set-back and the co-operative movement would achieve immeasurable progress in the direction of making the masses realise the ideals of better living, better business and better farming.

The charts, graphs and statistical tables constitute a striking appeal to the eye and every worker devoted to the co-operative movement ought to read this book.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselfes

ASUTOSH ANNIVERSARY.

The seventh death anniversary of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was appropriately observed on the 25th May last at the Darbhanga Building by the friends, relations and admirers of the noble departed son of Bengal and the glory of the Bengali race. The marble bust of Sir Asutosh was profusely yet decently decorated with roses, lilies and fresh greens and incense was burnt. The memorial service was very feelingly and reverentially conducted by Sir Nilratan Sircar with an emotional fervour which deeply touched every heart and in which he briefly recounted the memorable services rendered to the University, to education in general in all its phases, and to the intellectual, social and political uplift of India by the great man whose loss the country still feels strongly. This was preceded by a holy Vedic chant which lent an additional solemnity to the proceedings brought to a close with a fervent prayer for the peace of the departed soul from which inspiration shall ever flow into the heart and soul of all selfless workers for the country's cause. Songs composed for the occasion were sung followed by *Kirtan* which was highly appreciated by the assembled guests.

The solemnity of this year's celebration was deepened by a genuine touch of perfect sincerity which powerfully appealed to our hearts as something rather unique in such annual functions.

. One reflection was uppermost in our minds—Is Sir Asutosh's splendid ideal of a great University in Bengal as an exemplar to other Indian Universities, more or less, nearer fulfilment to-day as rolling years were transforming his remarkable guiding personality into a cherished sacred memory?

A NEW PH. D.

Mr. Narayanchandra Bandyopadhyay, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the following theses :—

Main Thesis :

“Hindu Polity and Political Theories”

Subsidiary theses.

(a) Kautilya or an exposition of his Social Ideal and Political Theory.

(b) Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India.

(c) Katyayana-Mata-Sangraha or a collection of the Legal Fragments of Katyayana.

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MOUAT MEDAL.

A Mouat Medal has been awarded to Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., on his research work during the third years' term of his Premchand Roychand Studentship in Literary Subjects for the year 1925.

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RESULT OF THE B. T. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination, held in April, 1934, was 90 of whom 71 passed. Of the successful candidates 12 passed in the First Division.

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RESULT OF THE L. T. EXAMINATION.

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination held in April, 1931, was 8 of whom 7 passed and 1 failed. Of the successful candidates 5 passed with Distinction.

